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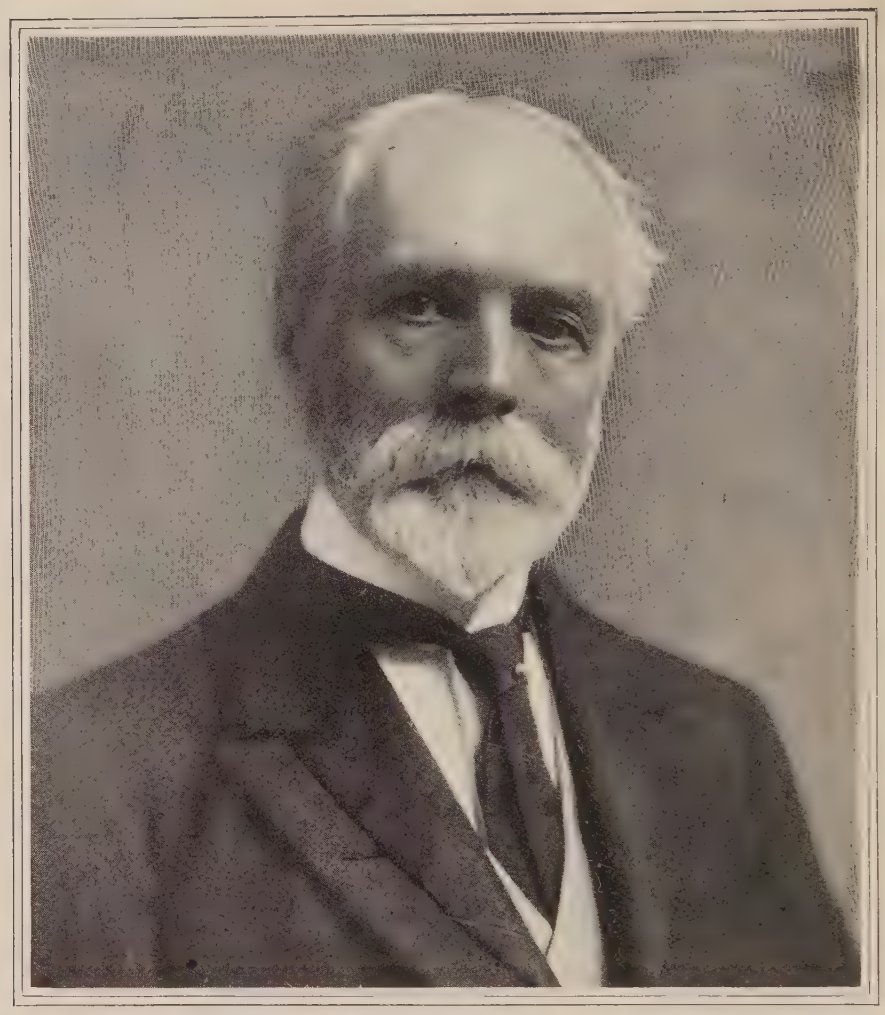

AMBASSADOR WHITELAW REID

Ambassador Reid, who died at Dorchester House, his London residence, on December 15, 1912, at the age of seventy-five, was one of the very few well-known American journalists of the Civil War period who had survived and continued their activities down to the present day. For more than half a century Mr. Reid's name had been potent in the newspaper offices of this country. His distinction in diplomacy was won after a long and eventful career in journalism. Born of Scottish ancestry, in the little town of Xenia, Ohio, Whitelaw Reid was prepared for college at the local academy and was graduated, after three years' work, from Miami University, at the age of nineteen. After a year of teaching, he purchased and for three years edited the Xenia *News*, which he allied with the new Republican party. After the Civil War broke out, Mr. Reid, employing the pen name of "Agate," rapidly developed into one of the most brilliant and trustworthy correspondents in the field. His descriptions of some of the great battles of the war, notably Shiloh and Gettysburg, are still regarded as classics. It was in the summer of 1868 that Horace Greeley offered to Mr. Reid the post of chief editorial writer on the New York *Tribune*. Within a few months Mr. Reid was made managing editor of the *Tribune* and in the disastrous campaign of 1872, when Mr. Greeley resigned the editorship of the *Tribune*, Mr. Reid was chosen by the directors to fill his place. After the election Mr. Greeley resumed the editorship for a few days, but died before the end of the month, and immediately the responsibility for building up the newspaper on the ruin wrought by political defeat and loss of prestige devolved upon Mr. Reid. He made it the most influential exponent of Republicanism in the East, and when at the beginning of President Harrison's administration the appointment as Minister to France was tendered him, he was able to leave the editorship of the *Tribune* in other hands. Mr. Reid served three years at Paris, dealing with important international questions. Mr. Reid's next important public service was on the peace commission which met in Paris at the close of the Spanish-American war. In the work of that commission chief credit for the retention of the Philippines by the United States has usually been accorded to Mr. Reid. In 1905 President Roosevelt appointed Mr. Reid Ambassador to Great Britain. Throughout his residence as American Ambassador at London the hospitalities extended to Americans visiting the United Kingdom were famous in both hemispheres. Mrs. Reid, who survives her husband, is a daughter of Darius O. Mills.

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THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

A Year of Historic Events

The year 1912 will be notable in history for its considerable number of events and movements that will stand on the records as having permanent importance. It is true that there is no standard by which to judge of the historical significance of any contemporary happening. Yet there are certain classes of events that in the retrospect have been found to have great importance; and it is reasonable to believe that things of a like nature will continue to have prominence in the pages of history. Such events are foreign and domestic wars; changes in laws and governments; social and economic changes of a kind that affect great masses of people. It is generally agreed that war is deplorable, and that peace among men of all nations is to be supremely desired. But there is divergence of opinion, among those who love peace, as to the best way to secure it. Furthermore, there is wide difference as to the justification of war in a particular instance. Thus in Europe and America there are many people of high character who have felt the keenest sympathy with the Balkan states in their recent war against Turkey, and who have rejoiced in every victory of the allies against the armies of the Sultan. There have been many other good people, especially among the adherents of peace societies, who have looked with abhorrence upon the conduct of Bulgaria and Servia in resorting to arms, and have regarded the aims and ambitions of these small States as indefensible. Either one of these opposing views can be stated intelligently and in convincing terms.

Wars Come from Unsettled Questions

Those who sympathize with Balkan aspirations and with the heroic patriotism of Bulgaria, Servia, and Greece, seem to be supported by the logic of history. Those, on the other hand, who declare that the war was needless and wrong, would seem to give us the better analysis of actual conditions, whether social, political, or international. From the historical standpoint, almost every war takes its place in a sequence. Until fundamental questions at issue between nations are settled in the line of broad tendency, they will provoke armed conflict. It is four hundred and sixty years since the Turks established themselves at Constantinople. They had been in possession of Adrianople, however, for more than a hundred years; and their militant position in southeastern Europe may now be said to cover more than five centuries. Through this period, their occupation of European soil has been marked by a series of wars. It has been one long story of oppression, strife, discord, massacre, widespread misery. The Turks as a race have many good qualities. But as rulers over other races in southeastern Europe, they have brought untold calamity. It has been the dominant idea of a majority of the inhabitants of European Turkey that sooner or later the Turks must go. The process of expulsion has been going on through many generations, marked by numerous wars and convulsive efforts. The recent war is simply another in that long series.

A Wrong Peace Now, Means Future War

This frightful contest, whatever of good it may seem to have secured, exacts a penalty of human suffering that is almost indescribable. At the end of the great Balkan war of 1877, in which Russia came to the help of the Bulgarians and Servians against the Turks, all the questions now at issue ought to have been settled. The mischievous interference of England, Germany, and Austria, in the Berlin congress of 1878, is chiefly responsible for several subsequent outbursts, and for this

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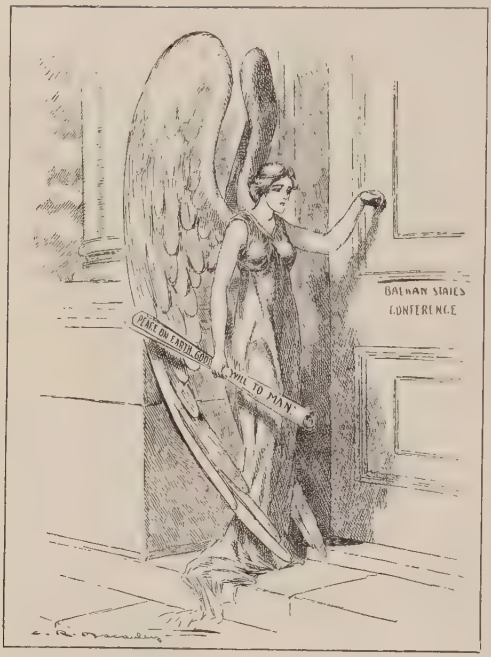


THE MESSAGE—WHAT WILL THE SEASON BRING TO THE BALKANS?
From the *World* (New York)

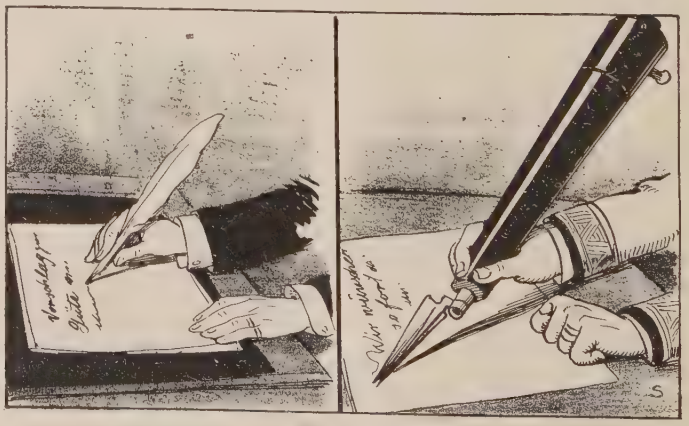
latest conflict of magnitude. The participants in the war of 1877, if left to themselves, would have settled the issue wisely by transferring Turkish rule across the Bosphorus to Asia Minor. And this would have been by far the best solution for the Turks themselves. If now the great powers again support Turkey, and conspire to cheat the Balkan states out of the accomplishment of their plans, we shall see still more wars in the near future, having the same fundamental object of driving the Turks out of Europe.

The Great Powers at Fault

Peace will come to prevail among men, not so much through declaiming against war and denouncing public expenditure for armies and navies, as through the study and settlement of questions that provoke war, and the cultivation of a spirit of international justice. This particular war is chiefly due to the fact that British public opinion permitted Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury to perpetrate their infamous schemes through the Congress of Berlin. The patriotism and military efficiency of the Balkan states have astonished the world. But their populations are small and their economic resources are very limited. If the concert of Europe, in its oversight of Turkish affairs, had been either beneficent or sincere, and if the obligations assumed by them thirty-five years ago had been carried out, these small countries would not now have been provoked to warfare, but would have cultivated the arts of peace, building up their populations and their resources, and allowing the further history of southeastern Europe to be made by the normal forces of human progress and not by the destructive engines of war and rapine. It is to be hoped that the conferences in London, following the armistice, will have worked out a basis for permanent peace. But, again, the menace lies in the intermeddling of the great world powers, with their imperial and colonial rivalries.

"Imperialism" the Chief Menace

The chief political danger and curse of the world, in our age, lies in that false governmental tendency called "imperialism." The latest phase of this tendency is shown in the determination of the government of Canada to make the Dominion a veritable part of that European system of armed dread and expectancy from which it ought to be both the duty and the privilege of all countries in the Western Hemisphere to keep aloof. There is nothing in the relations of Canada to Great Britain that could justify the Dominion in becoming embroiled in any British war whatsoever. So far as the world at large is concerned, Canada is a quiet, peaceful, self-governing republic.



OLD AND NEW WAYS OF WRITING A PEACE TREATY
(Is the world to discard the historic method of writing peace treaties with a quill pen for that of inditing them with a bayonet?)
From *Kikeriki* (Vienna)

She has no possible need of an army or a navy. For her to create a navy of dreadnoughts, to be used as a part of the British navy in a war against one of the three or four other naval powers of the world, is the most menacing step away from the paths of peace, toward hopeless and inevitable strife among men, that has been witnessed in modern times. For the Dominion of Canada is without present or future enemies; and it has nothing conceivable to gain and everything to lose by abandoning its normal position and its hitherto enlightened policy.

ONE THRONE, ONE FLAG, ONE FLEET
(Canada's magnificent offer to insure the continuance of Great Britain's supremacy)
From the *Saturday Globe* (Utica)

Canada to Become Militant

If the lovers of peace have felt depression over the armed strife in southeastern Europe, they have vastly more cause for disheartenment over the decision of Canada to prepare herself needlessly for participation in the struggles and quarrels of the great powers of the Old World. However difficult and imperfect has been the progress of civilization in the Western Hemisphere, its ideals hitherto have been those of peace. The principal object of the navy of the United States has been to protect both North and South America in a development that should not depend upon armaments. Canada, by reason of this state of affairs, has had the most favorable position of any country in the world. She could always have relied on the neighborly assistance of the United States, if menaced by any foe, whether European or Asiatic. But, in point of fact, Canada has never had a foe and has had no cause to expect any. Elsewhere in this number of the REVIEW we publish an article by Mr. McGrath, setting forth this movement in Canada and elsewhere toward a great British imperial navy; and in a subsequent page of this month's editorial comment will be found a further presentation of Premier Borden's proposals.

The Panama Question

Elsewhere, also, in these pages, occurs some statement of the objections presented by the British foreign office to the law enacted at Washington, several months ago, regarding Panama Canal tolls. This law, as commented upon in our number for October, provided that the ordinary commercial tolls should be remitted in the case of vessels engaged in the coastwise trade of the United States. It is claimed by the British Government that we had agreed to permit all nations to use the canal on equal terms with our own shipping. In view of the wide differences of opinion shown in current treatment of this subject, it may be worth while to quote a part of our own editorial comment upon this point eleven years ago, at the time of the adoption of the treaty with England. The following sentences will suffice to show what we ourselves understood the treaty to mean at the time of its negotiation,—a view that no one then would have thought of disputing.

This new treaty, signed by our Secretary of State and the British ambassador at Washington, contains a variety of stipulations requiring the United States, after it has built its canal, to give to all other nations, both in peace and in war, exactly the same rights in the actual use of the canal that it reserves for itself. It is well known that a great many Senators thought that our State Department should simply have secured an abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. Nevertheless, the new convention was ratified on December 16 by a vote of 72 to 6. The text of the treaty does not quite bear out the popular idea of a canal under absolute American control, inasmuch as we have gratuitously, in advance, pledged ourselves never to exercise control in our own interest. On some accounts it would have been much better to have had a simple declaration by Congress of its intentions as to the equal use of the canal by all nations, copies of such declaration being trans-

mitted to all foreign governments through diplomatic channels. So far as we are aware, there is no other instance in all the history of the world in which a government has proposed to take the money of its citizens by taxation for the construction of the most costly of all its public works, while pledging itself in advance that all other nations under all conditions and circumstances, without incurring any of the expense or risk, shall share in the results as freely as if they themselves were in ownership and control. The simple fact, however, is that the people of the United States seem perfectly willing to do this magnanimous thing. . . . So far as military and naval advantages are concerned the canal will naturally serve our interests more directly than those of other nations, and we can doubtless afford to be generous. Future generations of Americans will, of course, deal in their own way with this treaty as with all others. Treaties that merely express a policy, even though perpetual in their terms, can in practical effect bind only a single generation of men.

A Curious Diplomatic Episode

The first and also the second of the Hay-Pauncefote treaties contained stipulations that were quite preposterous. We had already proceeded very far with our plans for constructing a canal, without the slightest reference to the so-called Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850. That treaty had never gone into effect, and had been regarded by all American authorities for more than a generation as non-existent, except in the historical sense. Nor had there been any attempt on the part of Great Britain to bring that lapsed and extinct convention into force. The British Government had not questioned our right to exercise full sovereignty over a strip of territory which we might, as a government, acquire either in Nicaragua or on the Isthmus of Panama. It remained for a new American Secretary of State, as a matter of personal initiative, to revive the old Clayton-Bulwer treaty and project it across the path of our legislative program as respects the canal. We had negotiated for a canal zone in Nicaragua, and were completing the passage of the Hepburn bill authorizing the construction of a canal. All this was going forward with England's hearty good wishes, and with the full understanding that no obstruction would come from any European sources, when there suddenly appeared the first Hay-Pauncefote treaty, every line of which was written by our own representative. This treaty assumed that we could not construct this government work upon our own soil without England's consent, and that we ought not to ask such consent unless we should renounce every special benefit and advantage in the use of the canal, and should also confer upon the maritime powers of Europe its full political and military control

Our Great Renunciation

Lord Pauncefote declared privately, before his death, that neither he nor his government had ever thought of asserting any such claims, and that the entire instrument was a voluntary offering of the American Secretary of State. There is no explanation, except that truth is stranger than fiction, and that in statesmanship the most absurd things are sometimes the things hardest to defeat. The Senate supposed that Mr. Hay was engaged in a mere formality, and that it had seemed to him a matter of politeness to abrogate the Clayton-Bulwer treaty in writing, although American Presidents and Secretaries of State had repeatedly declared that no such treaty was in force. It was difficult to persuade the Senators to read the first Hay-Pauncefote treaty. Naturally, when they discovered its contents they amended it materially. There followed, after an interval, the second Hay-Pauncefote treaty. Mr. Hay was reluctant, but was constrained to permit the United States to exercise a certain measure of political and military control over the canal. He was, however, still determined that as respects all its practical uses, the other maritime powers should have exactly the same advantages as if the canal were their own.

No Reason for Any Treaty

It should have been obvious to Senators that there was no reason for discussing canal tolls at that time, in a treaty with a foreign power. Nor had there been any demand in England or elsewhere, for an expression of our intentions regarding the charges we would make for the use of our waterway. In short, there was no need of any treaty at all, and none should have been ratified. Our government had precisely the same right to create the isthmian canal that it now has to construct one across Florida or to complete the ditch across Cape Cod. Nevertheless, we actually ratified the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, and thus gratuitously and absurdly limited our rights as respects our own canal. There was no *quid pro quo* of any sort; so that we are not under obligation to England in this matter. But we are under every sort of obligation to ourselves. We must act with frankness and honor. No improper treaty can stand, if one of the parties to it gives open and fair notice of its desire and intention to withdraw. Thus the Japanese commercial treaties were perpetual, on their face; but there was no real obligation involved in them, and Japan was justified in asserting her full rights of sovereignty over her own tariff and judicial sys-

tems, and in abrogating those treaties. As a matter of fact, the people of the United States will not, in years to come, admit any limitation upon the sovereignty they exercise over the Panama Canal. But Congress ought not to enact a law that violates a treaty without first declaring its purpose either to denounce the treaty or to secure its abrogation. Mr. Taft, to be sure, has held that the law is consistent with the treaty; but there is argumentative ground for the British view, set forth by Sir Edward Grey.

A Purely Domestic Problem

The coastwise traffic of the United States is by law restricted to American vessels. Whether or not such vessels pay tolls in going through the Panama Canal, must always be a purely domestic question for the United States to settle without European interference. The people of the United States would not intentionally have made a treaty that could have allowed England to make an attack upon a detail of one of our domestic policies. If our law does not agree with the treaty, we are under obligation to ourselves, from the standpoint of frankness and honor, either to change the law or to change the treaty. The British argument is that, although we must not remit the tolls of our coastwise vessels, we are at liberty to pay an equivalent amount in the form of a subsidy. Since this is obviously true, as respects our vessels engaged in foreign trade as well as those in the coasting business, it is somewhat difficult to understand why England should deem it desirable to take up the question at all.

Shall Railroads Own Ships?

Privately, it is understood that England would not have raised this quibbling point but for the insistence of the trans-continental railroads of Canada, which object to that part of the American law that forbids the canal to vessels operated by railroad companies. It is hard, indeed, to see any real value in this part of the law. If transcontinental railroads may own and operate ships, why should they be denied the privileges of the Panama Canal? It would seem possible to bring such direct pressure to bear upon railroads through the interstate commerce power as to keep them from operating steamship lines in any way that would be detrimental to shippers or unfair to independent steamship companies. But if they can own and operate ships for any purposes of commerce, it is hard to understand on what principle of public benefit they should be forbidden to pass through the canal.

UNCLE SAM MONOPOLIZING THE PANAMA CANAL
From *Punch* (London)

Changes in the Law are Proposed

It is now strongly urged by influential men at Washington, with much support of public opinion, that Congress should at once repeal that clause of the law which remits tolls in favor of a certain part of the tonnage passing through the canal. This would satisfy the British contention for the moment, and terminate a diplomatic controversy. It would not, however, provide a permanent settlement unless England should passively admit that, in the very nature of the case, the United States must be expected to use the canal without restriction where nothing is involved except questions that are strictly those of domestic policy. If Canada and Mexico wish to consider the canal as a domestic waterway for the purpose of their own ships engaged in trade between their Atlantic and their Pacific seaports, they are at liberty to pay the canal tolls as a subsidy, if they so desire; and they will thus be doing in effect the same thing that our government does when it proposes to remit the tolls of our own ships. For to remit these tolls has the same effect as if we collected them at one end of the canal, through an official toll-keeper, and paid them back at the other end of the canal through a treasury agent dispensing a subsidy. The American people consider themselves permanently committed to treat

all foreign ships alike in the use of the canal,—not because of any treaty but because of our impartial attitude toward all maritime nations. But it has not been the intention of the American people that any question should be raised as to our full sovereignty over the canal. That part of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty relating to canal tolls was not a bargain, but an expression of our intentions. It had no proper place in a treaty; but we must not take the position of treating lightly anything that has been cast in the treaty form.

Women in Public Affairs

Among the history-making events of the year 1912, perhaps no other has so permanent a significance as the action of several States in conferring the full suffrage upon women, and of several other States in taking marked steps in that direction,—while one great national party has made woman suffrage a cardinal doctrine in its creed, and the other parties have ceased to be unfriendly. The public activity of women throughout the United States was vastly greater in 1912 than in any previous year. While it cannot be shown as yet that the States in which women vote have in any marked way changed their laws, or introduced new methods or ideas into public affairs, it does not follow that the increased activity of women will not have important consequences. The quickened interest of women in matters of general concern is not by any means confined to the States where suffrage has been granted. On the contrary, it would seem that the aroused interest of intelligent women in such questions as public sanitation, housing reform, regulation of child labor, and other topics of social, industrial, and moral concern, is even more effective in some communities that have not conferred political rights than in others where women possess full power. This is because the efforts of intelligent women, in the case of full enfranchisement, have to overcome the double obstacles afforded by the mass of unintelligent men and the equal mass of unintelligent women. Nevertheless, it is admitted that woman suffrage seems destined to prevail in the United States; and it will have made rapid gains everywhere through the complete espousal of the cause by the Progressive party.

THE FEMALE OF THE SPECIES IS MORE CURIOUS THAN THE MALE

From the *Times* (Detroit)

(Although Michigan was at first included in the number of States that went for woman suffrage, the completion of the vote-counting showed a defeat for the women, who were somewhat suspicious as to the honesty of the count)

Historic Nature of Democratic Victory

In the political history of the United States, the sweeping Democratic victory of 1912 will have a large place, not only because of the events leading up to it, but also, it may well be assumed, because of the consequences that will follow. Thus it will probably mean the beginning of a change in the commercial and fiscal policies of the American government. It will tend in the direction of an abandonment of discriminating tariff duties. It will probably also result in an income tax and a serious attempt to shift the burdens of taxation from the poor to the rich. It will bring about a change in the currency and banking system of the country, marked by an attempt as earnest as that of the period of Andrew Jackson to decentralize the control of the country's bank deposits and reserves and to take the money power away from Wall Street. It will signalize, also, some striking efforts to deal with the problem of regulating industrial and transportation monopolies, and financial corporations of great size and power.

Parties and Our World-Policy

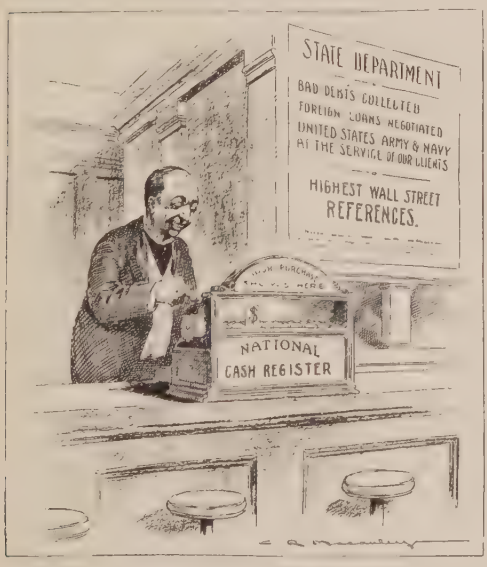
Furthermore, the Democratic party stands committed to provide for the withdrawal of the United States from the Philippine Islands, which are now under our sovereignty. Elsewhere in this number, we publish an extended article on the attitude of this victorious party toward all of our external relationships. The Republicans have for many years pursued a definite and constructive policy. They have believed that the great growth and inherent power of the United States make it the duty of this country to bear its share of responsibility for the peace and the modernization of the world at large. Thus we have undertaken to play a great part in the West Indies and in the countries surrounding the Caribbean Sea. We have also regarded our interest in the Pacific as demanding our assumption of enlarged responsibility. We are fortifying

the Hawaiian Islands and carrying on a vast program of government, education, and industrial progress in the Philippines. We are completing the Panama Canal as a connection between our interests in the two oceans. We have created a large navy, and it is the conviction of the Republican party that the navy should be made still larger and more effective. The policies of sixteen years under the administrations of McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft have greatly expanded the influence and authority of the United States as a world power. Some Democrats have been in accord with this evolution, but the party's national platforms have been against it, and the attitude of the Democrats as an opposition party in Congress has, generally speaking, been opposed to each successive step in the development of this expanded policy.

Future of the Philippines

It is to be remembered, however, that when a party comes into power it cannot always act as freely as it has talked when in opposition. Perhaps the eggs ought not to have been scrambled, but to unscramble them is not so easy. Thus the future of the Philippines can hardly be dealt with on a mere theory. Other interests have been created in the islands that are quite as real as those of the so-called Filipinos. As for the ordinary inhabitant, it is probable that for the present and the immediate future his real interests —those of personal liberty, property and labor, family and neighborhood—are better guaranteed by the existing authority of the United States than they could be by any other governmental plan that could be substituted. Furthermore, there are large interests in the islands that belong to Americans, Spaniards, Germans, Chinese, and various other foreigners. The United States is under some obligation to safeguard these interests. Very likely a calm study of the subject will show that the best way to deal with the Philippine question is to go forward on the present lines, precisely as expounded by President Taft in his message of December 6, a portion of which we have quoted on page 92 of the present issue of the REVIEW.

WHEN THE DEMOCRATIC SCHOOLMASTER BEGINS
From the *Oregonian* (Portland)

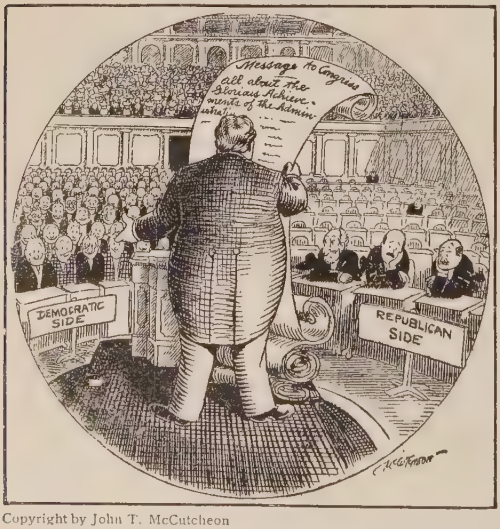

STATE DEPARTMENT
BAD DEBTS COLLECTED
FOREIGN LOANS NEGOTIATED
UNITED STATES ARMY & NAVY AT THE SERVICE OF OUR CLIENTS
HIGHEST WALL STREET REFERENCES.
NATIONAL CASH REGISTER

THE NEW DIPLOMACY
(This cartoon illustrates the constructive business motives that Secretary Knox and the Republicans have shown in their management of foreign policies)
From the *World* (New York)

Now, or a Century Hence?

A century is a short time in the history of a given country or region. Having undertaken to guard the welfare and guide the progress of the Philippine Islands, it would seem as if we should have assumed that our presence will be needed for at least a hundred years. We found the islands wholly lacking in unity from any standpoint whatsoever. There was no such thing as a Filipino people, a Filipino language, or a political or economic system that made the archipelago a self-recognized entity. It has been our business to establish civil order, to provide schools, to encourage agriculture and industry, and to create local governments with a view to training as many of the native people as possible in the habits

of responsible citizenship. There cannot be a self-governing country which has few citizens capable of acting either as private voters or as public officials. It has been the purpose of the United States to make the people of the Philippine Islands capable of self-government just as rapidly as possible. No such effort has ever been made by any other government on a scale of such magnitude or with motives so unselfish. Shall we then confer independence upon the Philippines? By all means, at the earliest moment compatible with the largest measure of justice to everybody concerned. Democrats in the United States have neither more nor less wisdom than Republicans or Progressives for treatment of a problem like that of the Philippines. It is no longer a question whether we ought to have acquired the islands. If we were unwise in assuming authority, we should be all the more careful not to act hastily in abandoning what we have undertaken. Practically everybody will agree that we do not wish to follow the European powers in their dangerous and evil policies of empire-building. The inhabitants of the Philippine Islands should have self-government just as soon and as completely as they can exercise it with success. They should have national sovereignty whenever they can creditably assume the burdens and honors of a place among the nations. If they can attain such fitness by the year 1950, they will have made unprecedented progress. If they wait fifty years longer than that, they will probably be much better off.



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PRESIDENT TAFT PAYS HIGH TRIBUTE TO DIPLOMATIC TRIUMPHS OF THE ADMINISTRATION

From the *Daily Tribune* (Chicago)

Suits Under the Sherman Law

Last month brought the ending of another of the great suits under the Sherman anti-trust law brought by President Roosevelt and pending in the courts for several years. While Mr. Kellogg, of the well-known firm of St. Paul lawyers, was appointed to prosecute the case against the Standard Oil Company, his partner, Mr. Severance, was put in charge of the government's case against the railroad combination brought about by the merging under one control of the Union Pacific and Southern Pacific Railroad systems. The intense bitterness of Wall Street against President Roosevelt was largely due to the bringing of four great suits to test the authority and scope of the anti-trust act. These four cases have now been decided. The first was the Northern Securities suit, brought by Attorney-General Knox for the purpose of breaking up the unified control of the Northern Pacific and Great Northern railway systems by Mr. Hill, Mr. Morgan, and their associates. Next came the Standard Oil case, then the case against the American Tobacco Company, and last, the suit to break up the combination of the so-called Harriman railroads. When the clouds and fogs of current controversy have blown away, and the truth of history stands revealed, it will probably be seen that at least nine-tenths of the bitter hostility to Mr. Roosevelt, which still keeps its virulence, has been due to the bringing of these lawsuits. The case of the government has been successful in each one of the four.

Dissolving Union Pacific System

In the case of the Pacific roads merger, the United States circuit court, by agreement of three judges (Van Devanter, Sanborn, and Adams), with one judge dissenting (Hook), had decided in favor of the defendants. In other words, the Circuit Court decided that the control of the Southern Pacific by the Union Pacific did not result in a monopoly, or a restraint of trade, contrary to the Sherman law. But the Supreme Court of the United States last month reversed the Circuit Court, and ordered that the combination be dissolved. Both benches that have passed upon this case are composed of learned and upright judges. One bench decided the matter in one way, while the other bench took a diametrically opposite view. The administration at Washington was reported by all the newspapers to be "highly elated" over the outcome. Mr. Severance, indeed, had won a professional victory which all lawyers must

regard as notable. But why the administration should be "elated," is indeed a puzzling thing. We are told that suits may now be brought against the Pennsylvania system, the New York Central system, the Rock Island system, and one or two others, not to mention the New Haven system which is already singled out for onslaughts from a dozen other directions, besides the proposed attack under the Sherman anti-trust law.

A Law that Works Iniquity

It was at least to the great credit of Mr. Roosevelt, while President, that he constantly deplored the existence of so crude a piece of legislation as the Sherman anti-trust act,—a law which (as shown in this latest case) means one thing to one set of judges, another thing to another set, and only confusion to the mind of the layman. We have witnessed of late an orgy of legal attacks on large corporations under a system that works in effect very much like the machinery of law and government in France just before the Revolution. In that period in France, any man of importance might be suddenly assailed by arbitrary legal action against his person or his property. Nobody knew where the law was going to strike next. It has been like that in these recent years in the United States, allowance being duly made for changes of time and place. There are hundreds of industrial and business corporations against which the administration may bring suits at its own pleasure. Last month it happened to be the large butter dealers, with headquarters at Elgin, Illinois. For some reason, the clearing-house of the New York banks and the association called the New York Stock Exchange have not been prosecuted by the Attorney-General, although their practices, as also shown by sworn witnesses before the Congressional committee last month, would seem to the layman to be a great deal more oppressive in relation to the business of the country than many other companies or combinations that have been singled out for government prosecution.

The "Quality of Mercy" Exemplified

Under the fostering care of the public authorities the Standard Oil Company and the American Tobacco Company have been permitted to bind up their wounds and go forth again quite prosperously. In fact, their readjustments have been the most profitable events in their respective careers of fabulous aggrandizement. Two things have happened by reason of that "quality of mercy" that is

MR. C. A. SEVERANCE OF ST. PAUL
(Who won the case against the railroad merger)

so becoming to victorious champions of the law. First, technical dissolution of these great companies has been followed by reorganizations highly gratifying to the "defeated" monopolists. Second, the minions of the law have been so well satisfied with winning civil suits that they have abstained from attempts to enforce the criminal features of the Sherman anti-trust law. This magazine has always frankly informed its readers that it considers the Sherman anti-trust law a humbug; and there are those who think the recent spirit and method of its enforcement a much worse thing than the law itself. Every successive "victory" in the so-called "enforcement" of that statute, only shows how bad is the law and how dangerous is the power reposed in a political administration, to pick and choose here and there among the great corporations,—this one being prosecuted and that one being spared. Those who dominate the railroad systems that Mr. Harriman had brought under united control, seem to be in no way disturbed by what has happened. Outside investors and stockholders will be unfortunately placed in this reorganization, as in all the preceding

MR. ROBERT S. LOVETT, CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF UNION PACIFIC AND SOUTHERN PACIFIC RAILROADS

(Mr. Lovett's abilities as a lawyer and railroad manager are held in such high repute that the financial world sees no disasters ahead for the properties under his administration. It is thought likely that the court decision will result in a rearrangement favorable to all the lines involved)

cases. Favored individuals will have abundant opportunity to increase their own wealth. Railroad rates are no longer fixed by what the courts call competition, but by the direct or indirect authority of public commissions. It has taken four years to find out whether the successors of Mr. Harriman were obeying the law or were breaking it.

Democrats, Adopt Some Plan!

It is quite time for honest and intelligent men to speak plainly about a scandalous condition that no other country would tolerate. It makes comparatively little difference whose theory is adopted. There should be a law that can be understood, and one that can be easily and simultaneously enforced. Nothing in those recent court decisions should be thought to relieve the Democrats of a duty that the Republicans have lacked the courage to perform. The country can do business under Mr. Bryan's plan of dealing with trusts and corporations, or it can get along with Mr. Martin Littleton's. Senator Cummins is prepared to defend his carefully prepared bills, that would provide a method under which the business of the country could go forward. Three years ago Mr. Wickersham had a constructive plan which, with some amendments, would have provided a useful remedy. Let it be hoped that President Wilson and his Cabinet will join with the Democratic leaders in Congress to provide a plain, practical way of dealing with trusts and combinations. Mr. Louis D. Brandeis, the well-known Boston lawyer, had much to say upon this subject during the recent campaign, and he endeavored to impress his views upon the President-elect. Let us have these views put in the form of a bill and subjected to discussion from the standpoint of actual legislation.

New England's Railroad System

The newspapers have been quite persistent in the suggestion that Mr. Brandeis is to be made Attorney-General. However that may be, the country has much more need of his talent in helping to secure a proper law than in bringing suits against corporations under the existing statute. It happens that Mr. Brandeis has taken a leading part in the current attacks upon the management of the New York, New Haven, and Hartford Railroad Company. For many years past there has been no time when this New England corporation has not been under criticism

SOUTHERN PACIFIC R.R.
UNION PACIFIC R.R.
"CHEER UP! DISSOLUTION ISN'T SO BAD WHEN YOU GET USED TO IT."
"DON'T BE DOWN-HEARTED! DIS-SOLUTION GIVES YOU THAT NICE LEGAL FEELING."
TOBACCO TRUST
OIL TRUST
S.P.-U.P. RAIL ROAD COMBINATION
SUPREME COURT DECISION MERGER OF UNION PACIFIC SOUTHERN PACIFIC MUST DISSOLVE

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U. P. AND S. P. RAILROADS TO BE UNSCRAMBLED
From the *Tribune* (Chicago)

from some source. But last month found it under fiercer fire, perhaps, than any railroad system in the country has hitherto faced. The attacks have been largely directed against the president of the road, Mr. Charles S. Mellen. Mr. Mellen was born in Massachusetts and began his railroad career as a clerk while in his 'teens. In that period New England had a great number of separate railroad companies, owning and operating small roads. The company of which Mr. Mellen is president to-day controls almost the entire transportation system of New England. What is known as the "New Haven System" has resulted from the consolidation of perhaps forty companies that once operated independent lines. In addition to its own properties, the New Haven system also controls a good deal of mileage under leases.

Mr. Mellen's Remarkable Career

Mr. Mellen had grown up in New England railroading until in 1896 he was made president of the Northern Pacific. But ten years ago he came back to the East as president of the New Haven. He brought with him the reputation of a man of very broad views and frank speech, who took the public into his confidence and who believed that the interest of a railroad company was bound up with that of the communities which it served. Mr. Mellen's career during the past ten years has been very remarkable for its ceaseless activity in building up for his company a unified control over the transportation business of the northeast corner of the United States. The most important New England system apart from his own was the Boston and Maine. This road was so unpopular that Mr. Mellen's acquisition of it was regarded as a public boon. In conjunction with the New York Central, he acquired the Boston and Albany; and by several other strategic acquisitions, he sought to improve his Western and Southern connections. He entered upon a policy of acquiring electric roads as feeders, and brought the coastwise steamship lines into association with his railroads.

Grounds of Hostile Criticism

All this policy of acquisition has been accompanied by a great deal of expenditure to improve trackage, terminals, and railroad service. The kind of railroading now practiced on the New Haven system is very different from that of the small New England lines of forty years ago. Several things have happened to precipitate the present attacks. There have been some deplorable accidents on the main line between New York and Boston. In its latest report, published last month, the Interstate Commerce Commission severely criticizes American railroads for neglect of the measures and precautions that would have prevented most of the recent loss of life by accidents to passenger trains. It does not appear that the New Haven road is worse than others in these regards. It is probably better than most roads. The most acute cause of criticism, however, has been the abandonment of a piece of trackage that the Grand Trunk Railway (which is a Canadian system) had begun to build to Providence, Rhode Island. Mr. Hays, the energetic president of the Grand Trunk, who was one of the victims of the *Titanic* disaster, had undertaken to build a short piece of road as a branch to connect with the Central Vermont's line (controlled and operated by the Grand Trunk) from Montreal to New London, Connecticut. It seems that Mr. Chamberlin, the new head of the Grand Trunk system, has been able to make a satisfactory traffic arrangement with the New Haven system, so that he does not find it necessary to complete the projected new piece of road.

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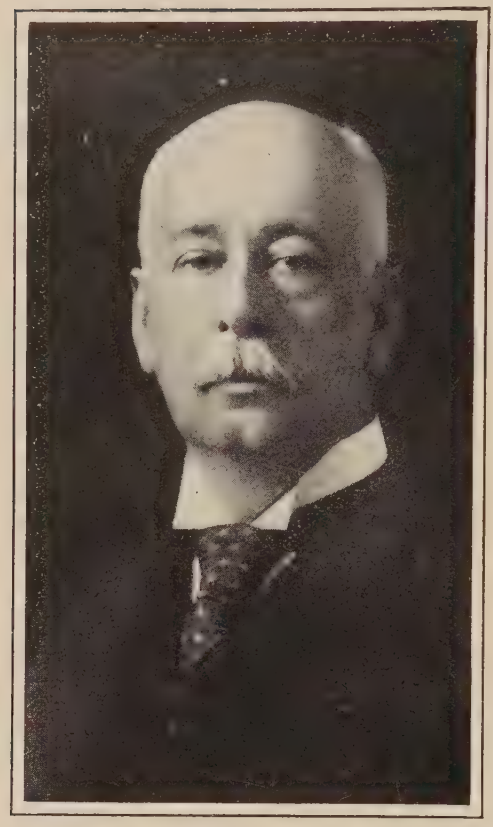
MR. LOUIS D. BRANDEIS



MR. CHARLES S. MELLEN

The Complaint of Providence

Towns and cities naturally like to have new railroad outlets; and Rhode Island has been stirred up because its much proclaimed new artery of trade was given up, after charters had been granted and expenditure for right of way and grading had been incurred. All the local State railroad commissions of New England are in action, and many governors and mayors are vying with each other in pointing out Mr. Mellen's sins of omission and commission. The Interstate Commerce Commission has been invoked, and the Department of Justice is expected to bring suit to break up the merger of the New Haven road with the Boston and Maine. Mr. Brandeis, meanwhile, declares the best solution to be the ownership and operation of certain main lines directly by the State of Massachusetts. Out of all this excitement, it is to be hoped that the public welfare may make some substantial gains. It would seem that the policy most difficult to defend is that of acquiring electric trolley lines all over New England. The New Haven is said to have paid an unduly high price for many of these local trolley systems. But this, after all, is a question that more directly concerns the New Haven stockholders.

Blaming the Wrong People

It seems for the time being to have been forgotten that there is ample public authority in New England to require all transportation companies to give good service at reasonable rates. If the people are not obtaining satisfactory treatment from trolley lines, railroad lines, or steamship companies, they should call to account their own public authorities. We are prone in this country to blame the wrong people. A harmonized system of transportation ought to be a benefit to New England, rather than otherwise. But complaisant politicians and public officials are an offense there, as in every other community. Spasmodic attacks upon the president of the New Haven railroad system cannot remedy such harm as may have come from the lack of unceasing, intelligent, and honest supervision of every phase and detail of transportation service by the State and municipal authorities. It would seem as if Mr. Mellen had, upon the whole, made a rather enviable record; while many of those who should have safeguarded the public interest,—being put into office and paid salaries for that purpose,—have a good deal less to their credit. It is at least certain that the New Haven will try to improve its record for safety.

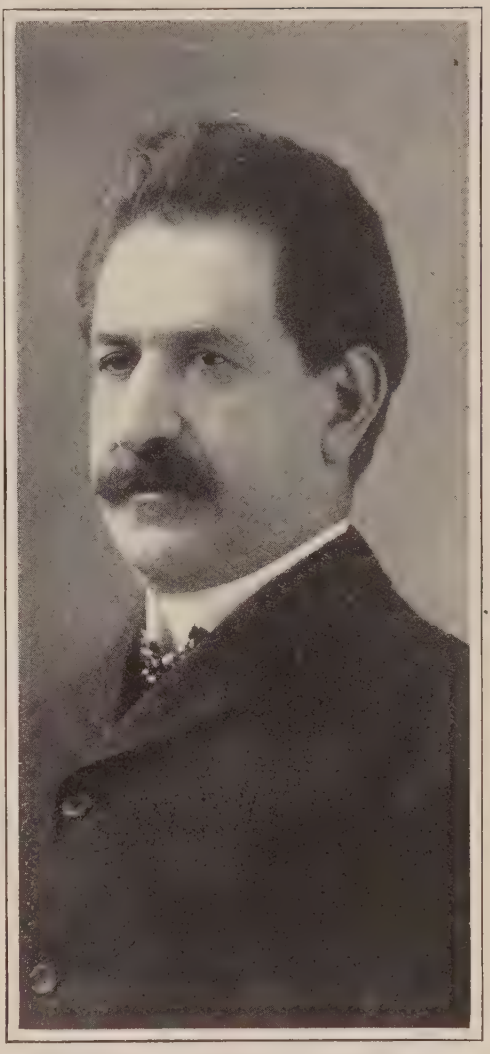
THE LID WON'T STAY "PUT"
From the *Press* (New York)

Probing the Money Trust

There are many things to be improved in the business system and economic conditions of this country; but little of value can come to pass through attacking established enterprises with lawsuits. The necessary remedies must be secured through constructive statesmanship. Mr. Samuel Untermyer, the prominent New York lawyer, acting as counsel for the House Committee on Banking and Currency at Washington, has been probing the so-called "Money Trust," with disclosures that have attracted wide attention. Under the present banking conditions, the reserves of the country gravitate to New York, where also is centered the financial control of the largest railroad, industrial, and insurance companies. There has been a rapid concentration of banks and trust companies of New York, in consequence of which a very small number of bankers and financiers in Wall Street have a larger power over the management of deposits and loanable funds than has ever been known before, in this or any other country. To those familiar with financial affairs, the facts brought to light at Washington are not wholly new or surprising. But the nature and extent of the employment of the loanable funds of banks to support the stupendous volume of speculation on the Stock Exchange, is a matter that has never before been so clearly brought out. Some of these tendencies are not wholesome and ought to be corrected without delay.

Good Men and Bad Systems

It does not follow, however, that the individual men at the head of the New York banks, or those prominent in the Stock Exchange, are more guilty of punishable offenses than thousands of other bankers and business men throughout the country. Most of these men are much better than the average, and they are not governed by sinister motives,—although this exoneration is not meant to apply to certain men who have manipulated the stock market with the deliberate purpose of robbing small shareholders and innocent investors. But however free from evil intent the men of high finance may be, everybody should know that such men have derived their undue power from a bad banking and currency system, and from other loose conditions that ought to be remedied. Since the Aldrich plan of monetary reform is opposed by the Democrats, it is incumbent upon the new political leaders to agree upon a plan of their own, and, above all things, to adopt it and put it into effect. We have been promised a revision of the tariff in a special session of the new Congress to be called for that purpose soon after President Wilson's inauguration in March. But, however much we may need to have the tariff question settled for a time, there is far greater need of settling the currency question. Of all the great business countries, ours is the one most likely to have panics and disasters growing out of a disturbance of credit. Yet no other large country has business conditions that are so uniformly favorable from the fundamental standpoints of agriculture, industry, transportation, and social stability. With the right kind of banking and currency system we ought to have less danger of panics than any other country. It is to be hoped that Mr. Untermyer's inquiry will not merely expose



MR. SAMUEL UNTERMYER, OF NEW YORK

conditions that need reforming, but will also help to find and to apply the best and simplest remedy for bad conditions.

Progress in Social Conditions

Various questions having to do with the relations of labor and capital have engaged public attention in the year now ended; and never has there been a time when these questions have been so generally considered from the standpoint of human welfare. A great impetus has been given to social reform in this country by the programs of Mr. Lloyd-George and the humanitarian statesmen of Great Britain and Germany. A year or two ago the very idea of the "minimum wage" was rank heresy, even among many social reformers. To-day, the idea of wage commissions to promote decent standards, especially where women and children are employed, may be regarded as accepted even by the conservatives. A year or two ago, the opponents of injurious forms of child labor were finding it hard to make headway against public apathy and private greed. Everything is different now, and the children's cause is widely proclaimed. The principle of workmen's compensation has overcome all theoretical opposition, and its application awaits only the necessary removal of legal obstacles. In a hundred indirect ways, movements are on foot to give the wage-earner and his family a better chance for comfort and happiness. For a good deal of this awakened interest in human welfare thanks are due to the amazing vigor with which Colonel Roosevelt and the Progressive party have proclaimed the doctrine that it ought to be the business of a people's government to better the people's condition in every practicable way.

Wages and Railroads

One of the concrete issues involving labor and capital last year was the controversy between the locomotive engineers and the railroads of the territory east of the Mississippi River and north of the Potomac and Ohio. This controversy was settled by the plan of leaving the points at issue to a board of arbitration. The report of the Board was not announced until late in November. The engineers had demanded a standardizing of their pay on all the roads, together with a large increase in average compensation for each of several classes of service. While the award of the board did not go nearly as far as the demands of the engineers, it made marked advances in the direction of wiping out surviving anomalies and giving a standard character to the important public service rendered by the man who drives a locomotive. The plan adopted was to fix the minimum wage for men in the passenger service, the fast freight service, the local service, and so on. Many improvements were made in the rules governing conditions of work. Apart from the award in the concrete issues before them, the arbitrators felt it necessary to emphasize the serious public aspects of the controversy. A strike of locomotive engineers on all the railroads would paralyze business and cause untold human misery and financial loss. The public has interests and rights that require the continuous operation of such public utilities as railroads. The arbitrators urged that railroad strikes should be wholly superseded by some method, provided by law, for the just settlement of differences between the men and the companies. It was proposed that a wage commission, somewhat analogous to the present Interstate Commerce Commission, should have cognizance of all labor disputes upon interstate railroads, with a view to settlements that would lead to the abandonment of strikes. But while railway employees deplore strikes, they are very reluctant to surrender the leverage that their strong unions and brotherhoods have given them. The subject is one of increasing importance, and its problems will have to be squarely met. Railway workers, like teachers and physicians, should be regarded as "soldiers of the common good." Their service is arduous, but highly responsible. The public must see that their pay is just and that their conditions of life and work are such as to bring contentment.

Justice, Before All Things

However men may strain arguments to put their political opponents in the wrong, the one great issue in this country is that of social justice. Last month the Governor of Arkansas, in despair over the frightful evils of convict-labor camps and of maladministration of criminal law through unfit judges, created an object-lesson by pardoning and releasing 360 convicts at one stroke. Many of these prisoners were serving long terms for trivial offenses, and were sold as slaves to private contractors. The State of Massachusetts is supposed to be foremost in the dealing out of justice to common men under accusation. Yet it was not until the beginning of December that the cases of Ettor, Giovannitti and Caruso were disposed of, although they had been arrested on charges

JOSEPH CARUSO JOSEPH J. ETTOR ARTURO GIOVANNITTI

THE THREE MEN WHO WERE FOUND INNOCENT OF MURDER AND RELEASED AT SALEM, MASS., AFTER TEN MONTHS' IMPRISONMENT

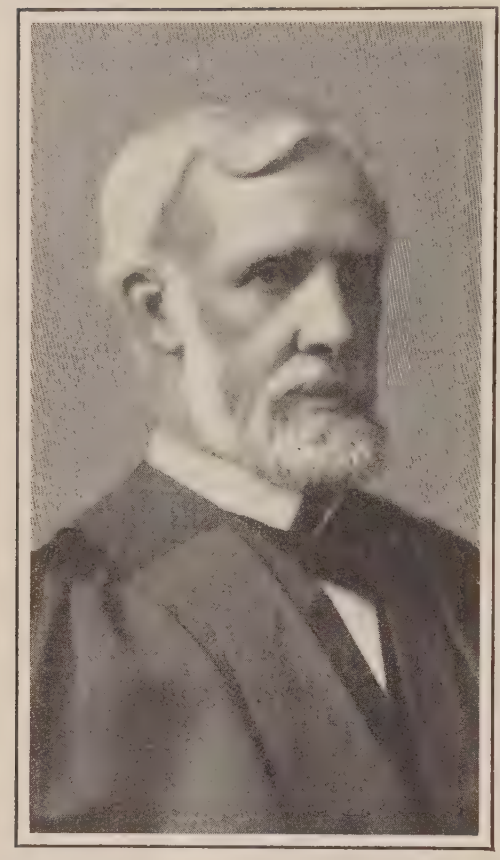
connected with the strike at Lawrence in the month of January. They were released and given their freedom as innocent men. But they had been held in prison in Massachusetts from January 30 until November 26, a period of ten months. Joseph J. Ettor was an officer of the labor organization known as the Industrial Workers of the World. Arturo Giovannitti is an Italian Socialistic writer of marked ability. Joseph Caruso was one of the striking mill-workers at Lawrence.

A Case in Massachusetts

It may be remembered that during the period of disorder at Lawrence, almost a year ago, a woman was accidentally killed by a stray shot. Caruso was accused of having fired the revolver. The charges against Ettor and Giovannitti were that they were leaders of the strike and that their words had incited disorder and violence. They were all indicted for the crime of having murdered the woman who was accidentally shot. There was no clear evidence that Caruso had done the shooting; and to attempt to make out Ettor and Giovannitti as guilty of a specific act of murder in this case was, to say the least, carrying matters rather far. For if they had been found guilty, it would have been easy enough to have used the same kind of argument and evidence to convict at least a thousand other people who had spoken with passion or acted with turbulence at some time during the strike. Fortunately, a sensible and wise judge and a fair-minded jury saved the reputation of Massachusetts by setting the prisoners free. But let it be remembered that they had been kept in prison for nearly a year.

The Trial at Indianapolis

The trial was in Salem, where, in an earlier period of orthodoxy and fanaticism, scores of people were tortured and imprisoned as users of witchcraft, and twenty were executed. We have also to-day some wrong-headed people who would punish labor-leaders and strikers as conspirators against a beneficent economic order. But the danger is past, and practical justice is the almost universal desire. But in these conflicts between labor and capital, justice must be even-handed. If innocent labor leaders are set free in Salem, it does not follow that guilty labor leaders should be set free at Indianapolis. The McNamara trial in Los Angeles brought to light enough evidence of dynamite plots to justify an attempt to secure further convictions. The trials have been going on in the federal court at Indianapolis, Judge A. B. Anderson presiding and District Attorney C. W. Miller prosecuting. Forty-one labor-union officials have been under indictment and trial for complicity in dynamite outrages, nearly all of which were associated with strikes or disputes of the structural iron-workers and



JUSTICE JOHN W. GOFF, OF NEW YORK
(A great power for the swift enforcement of law and justice)

bridge builders. These unions of workmen have a fair chance under our laws and customs; and the resort to dynamite is the blackest infamy.

Police Reform in New York

In an introductory foreword to a remarkable new book, entitled "Modern Philanthropy," Mrs. Mary W. Harriman has in the following paragraph expressed the spirit and meaning of the great democratic movement that is asserting itself in all countries:

> The world over, it is recognized that the welfare of the government is bound up with the welfare of the individual and that the strength of the family is as the strength of each member. Why not concentrate united individual efforts upon making efficient government everywhere? Instead of being satisfied with intense individualism, let that individualism lead the way to establishing good government for the benefit of all. To-day there are very strong signs of a general awakening to the advantage of such coöperation.

Mrs. Harriman has shown her practical faith in these ideas by large support of efforts toward improved efficiency in the administration and public services upon which the welfare of the teeming millions of New York City must depend. She is helping to maintain agencies that can interpret the trend of things, as well as guide the methods of reform when a great community is stirred up as by current police disclosures in New York. A proper study shows that there is no reason to be either bewildered or disheartened about American municipal conditions. It is possible to analyze the problems of city government, to discover the causes and extent of failure, and to apply remedies.

What Has Been Happening

Last summer it was shown in a startling way that the New York police were in collusion with illegal gambling resorts, were protecting them for pay on a regular system, and were ready to resort to any means to save themselves and their graft. A gambler, threatening to tell tales, was murdered by direct instigation of a high police officer. An energetic District Attorney secured the conviction not only of the unfortunate gangsmen who shot the gambler, but also of the official who employed them. The protection of gambling by policemen in New York is as old as the State laws that make gambling places illegal.

DISTRICT ATTORNEY CHARLES S. WHITMAN
(Whose vigorous work, free from partisanship, is helping to improve conditions in New York and indicating his probable choice as the next mayor)

The thing that marked this recent episode was the swiftness of the law in finding the criminals and securing their conviction and sentence. There have been further revelations of organized graft in the protection of other forms of evil that State laws proscribe. Much good can come from a thoroughgoing enforcement of the laws, and a frank attempt to break up police collusion. But a careful study of the situation shows that the police force of a great city should not be charged with what may be called the "moral administration." The laws should be changed in character, and should be made honest and enforcible in their penalties. If saloons should be closed on Sunday, the obvious punishment for breaking the law is to cancel the license of the saloon-keeper and to refuse the granting of another license to the same property for a term of years. The present law is not sincere, and it leads inevitably to police graft. Policemen ought to be men of trustworthy character. A part of their duty is to protect the law-abiding community against the dishonest and the disorderly. But if policemen by previous contacts are in sympathy with members of the criminal or corrupt classes, their official power merely increases their opportunity for harm. No man should ever be employed as a policeman in any community, whose record has not been thoroughly searched and found satisfactory, on the positive as well as on the negative side. The stirring up of the police situation in New York indicates progress rather than decline in the direction of good government.

JUDGE ALBERT B. ANDERSON

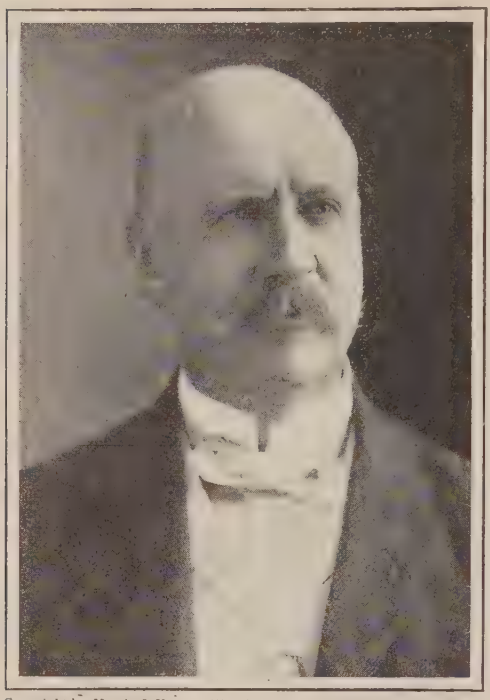
(In whose court at Indianapolis the dynamite plotters are under trial)

Various Affairs of State

The President-elect returned in the middle of December from a month of restful vacation with his family in Bermuda. Democratic politicians and party newspapers had been busy meanwhile making and unmaking cabinets. The opinion had grown at Washington that Mr. William J. Bryan would be offered the position of Secretary of State and that he would accept it. The earlier opposition within the party to this suggestion had almost entirely disappeared. The Republican leaders, including such men as Senators Gallinger, Penrose, and Smoot, President Taft, ex-Speaker Cannon, Mr. Barnes of New York, and many others, were said to favor the plan of giving the Democrats the fullest opportunity to revise the tariff, deal with the currency and pass an income tax, regulate trusts, and change the country's colonial and foreign policies. The theory of these Republican leaders is said to be that the Democrats would thus quickly bring on a panic, and the country would lose no time in calling the Republicans back to power. But this program is just a little too easy to be quite convincing. The country is growing more fastidious as respects individual leadership, and much less prejudiced as respects parties. We have reached the time when the people would even trust a good Democrat in preference to a bad Republican. Meanwhile President Taft made another trip to Panama last month, and the chief topic in the Washington newspapers has been the plans for the inauguration of President Wilson. Congress has been conducting investigations, impeaching a judge, working on routine appropriation bills, and getting ready for the new dispensation. The Democrats are not anxious to encourage Mr. Taft in making appointments. He has made several good ones, however, notably that of Mr. Theodore Marburg, of Baltimore, to be minister at Brussels.

Progressive Party Plans

A conference was held last month in Chicago by representatives of the Progressive party from practically every State in the Union. The purpose of the gathering was to formulate plans



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SENATOR AUGUSTUS O. BACON, OF GEORGIA

(Senator Bacon and Senator Gallinger of New Hampshire have been chosen as alternative presidents of the Senate, to perform the duties of the late Vice-President Sherman. Senator Bacon will probably in the next Congress be chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee)

for perfecting the party organization and pushing its propaganda. It was decided to establish a permanent publicity bureau and a permanent legislative reference bureau in Washington. Such procedure is something of a novelty in American party politics, although entirely in accord with the declared objects of the Progressive party and in fact essential to the attainment of those objects. The purpose of the legislative bureau is to gather information from all sources relating to the form and actual effect of laws now in force or proposed for enactment. Such a bureau has been maintained for some years by the State of Wisconsin, but there is need of a national agency of this kind. The Progressives now undertake to perform this service not merely for the benefit of legislators, but for the general good.

A Serious Program

To this end the party's executive committee will send to Europe a commission of seven members to study the legislation of England, Germany, and other countries, and all the information obtained by this commission will be made available to the public through the legislative bureau. In this country we have not yet learned to think of a political party as an organization for research. Aids to constructive legislation have not heretofore come from the party managers. The Progressive party, however, offers its platform as a program of action. Its candidates who were elected to Congress and to State legislatures are pledged to offer bills embodying the platform promises. These measures, the Progressive leaders assert, propose nothing that has not already been tried in some State or foreign country, and it will be the business of the legislative bureau to find out just how these proposed laws operate under various conditions. For the first time in our history one of the great parties seriously undertakes, as a party, to carry out definite constructive policies.

Republican Prospects

The plans of the Progressives are made without reference to the conduct of either of the old parties, and their working out is not in any way contingent on action that may be taken by the Democratic majority or the Republican minority in Congress. The Republicans, on the other hand, are compelled to shape their course, to a certain extent, with regard to Democratic action on the tariff and on other public questions. Thus for the time being the Republican leaders have no aggressive program. There is a growing sentiment in the Republican ranks in favor of a revision of the rules for representation in national conventions. Some of the party leaders now take the ground that representation of the Southern States should be more nearly on the basis of party strength. President Butler, of Columbia University, who is one of this number, advocates the calling of a national convention in 1913 for a reorganization of the party, a new apportionment of delegates, and a renewed declaration of party faith. This convention would be open to all voters willing to stand on the Republican platform of 1912, without regard to which candidate they supported in the election last fall.

Dr. Butler on "Progress in Politics"

On December 14, Dr. Butler made an address in Chicago entitled "What Is Progress in Politics?" He describes progress as "moving forward to the consideration and solution of new problems with intelligence and sympathy, and in the full light of experience gained and principles established in the past." Dr. Butler holds firmly to our system of written constitutions as limiting the power of executives and legislatures; but would have

the framework of government more flexible and make it easier to amend constitutions. He would also improve nominating methods and make party machinery more responsive to public opinion. He would elect comparatively few State and local officers, and favors in a general way the principle known as the "short ballot." He would have legislation expertly drafted, and thus avoid the passage of crude laws. He would give Cabinet officers seats in both houses of Congress, in order to answer questions and share in debate. He would have a newly elected Congress enter upon its duties soon after the election, like a State legislature. He does not believe in control of political party machinery by law. With a few reforms of machinery and method, he would leave concrete problems of legislation and administration to be dealt with on their merits. He would reform the currency; reform public expenditure and adopt the budget plan; reform judicial procedure; make taxation more direct; improve social conditions "for those who live on the very margin of want"; promote self-help by preventing many difficulties and injustices now existing in society; deal with business in such a way as to "keep open the channels both of competition and of useful combination"; go forward with the policy of conserving natural resources; hold a place of leadership in the world in promoting international peace and the judicial settlement of disputes. There is little in President Butler's address that could not be heartily endorsed by public-spirited men of all parties.

"MY, HOW YOU'VE GROWN!"
(Referring to the Bull Moose conference held at Chicago four months after the party's organization)
From the *Press* (New York)

MR. THEODORE MARBURG, OF BALTIMORE
(Our new minister to Belgium)

Canadian Naval Policy

The announcement of the Canadian naval policy was received with much satisfaction in London. The reception accorded in Canada to the government program is varied. There is some opposition to it among the Liberals, who refer to it as a policy of tribute. The Liberal press takes the Premier to task for playing politics and refusing to put the matter, before decision, to a referendum of the people as he had promised the Quebec French Nationalists to do. As we have already noted, Mr. F. D. Monk, the Minister of Public Works, resigned some weeks ago as a protest against the government's refusal to make a referendum to the people in this matter. It is predicted that Mr. Borden will have some difficulty in getting his bill through the Parliament, although Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the opposition leader, has complimented the Premier on his temperate statement, and the Liberal party, as an organization, is not certain to oppose the measure. The Nationalists of Quebec, however, led by Mr. Monk and Mr. Bourassa, are pledged against it. In a long article which appears in the last number of the London quarterly, the *Round Table*, a summary of which we present on

page 95, we give the point of view of the various sections of the Dominion. The Borden statement aroused considerable interest in continental capitals, particularly in Berlin, where there was a good deal of speculation as to whether Canada's contribution to the navy would mean a slackening of Britain's Imperial building or whether it would be an addition thereto.

How Britain's Colonies Help the Navy

Winston Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty, speaking in the House of Commons, on December 9, averred that he but set forth the view of the Canadian government when he declared that

> The aid given by Canada [three battleships at an aggregate cost of $35,000,000] should be in addition to the existing British program and that any steps Canada might take should directly strengthen the naval forces of the Empire and the margin available for its security.

This contribution from Canada is sixth in order from the British dominions. In reply to the imperial "suggestion" Australia has already contributed one dreadnought cruiser and will add other warships later. New Zealand has given one dreadnought cruiser. The federated Malay States have contributed one dreadnought battleship. India, represented by her independent rulers and princes, has announced that she will present three super-dreadnoughts and nine first-class armored cruisers. The South African government is now conferring with the British Admiralty on the subject, but has already announced that it is in favor of providing six small cruisers. When the Dominion's contribution is completed, the Imperial navy will have received from the loyal dependencies six super-dreadnoughts, one dreadnought battleship, two dreadnought cruisers, nine first-class armored cruisers and six smaller cruisers. Canadian press comment generally maintains that this contribution of warships to the Imperial navy means that the British Empire has outgrown its organization, and that it is about to be rejuvenated with the assistance of its children. Accordingly Canada is to have a permanent member of the Imperial Defense Commission. The eldest daughter of the Empire announces that she is grown up and is able to discuss Imperial affairs to her mother's face and in her mother's house.

Britain's Canal Protest

The formal protest of the British government against that provision of the Panama Canal act (passed by the Senate on Aug. 9) which exempts American coastwise ships from paying tolls, was submitted by Ambassador Bryce to Secretary Knox on December 9. The statement, which bears the signature of Sir Edward Grey, the British Minister of Foreign Affairs, is an amplification of the original note of protest by the British Chargé d'Affaires on July 8 last. It is a lengthy statement of the British contention that the legislation favoring American ships is a violation of the rights of Great Britain as set forth in the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1901. The British argument rests on two chief points: First, that in interpreting the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1901, which superseded the Bulwer-Clayton Treaty of 1850, the British government understands that it retained for itself the guarantee of equal treatment of its vessels within the canal as compensation for returning to the United States (in the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty), the right to construct the canal independently, a right surrendered by the United States in the earlier agreement. The second is that if American ships are granted the free use of the canal, British ships passing through that waterway will be forced to bear more than a proper share of the burden of maintenance. This, the note claims, is in violation of that clause of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, which declared that all charges made by the United States for the use of the canal shall be "just and equitable." It appears, says the note, that

> The intention of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty was that the United States was to recover the right to construct the Trans-Isthmian canal upon the terms that when constructed the waterway was to be open to British and United States ships on equal terms.

Gist of the British Position

Sir Edward Grey dissents unequivocally from the argument in President Taft's proclamation sent to the Senate (on Nov. 13), that the United States has been excepted from the application of the phrase "all nations" in the treaty. The note does not question the right of the United States "to exercise belligerent rights for its protection" in the canal zone. The substance of the entire note may be found in this paragraph.

> His Majesty's Government do not question the right of the United States to grant subsidies to United States shipping generally, or to any particular branches of that shipping, but it does not follow, therefore, that the United States may not be debarred by the Hay-Pauncefote treaty from granting a subsidy to certain shipping in a particular way, if the effect of the method chosen for granting such subsidies would be to impose upon British or other foreign shipping an unfair share of the burden of the upkeep of the canal, or to create a

discrimination in respect of the conditions or charges of traffic, or otherwise to prejudice rights secured to British shipping by this treaty.

The British government, says the note further, has not failed to take

cognizance of the fact that many persons of note in the United States, whose opinions are entitled to great weight, hold that the act of Congress in question does not infringe the treaty obligations of the United States, therefore, the British government is perfectly willing to submit the question to arbitration, if the United States prefers.

The significant sentence is then added:

A reference to arbitration would be rendered unnecessary if the Government of the United States should be prepared to take such steps as would remove the objections to the act which his Majesty's Government have stated.

BRITAIN'S MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, SIR EDWARD GREY

(Whose Panama Canal protest and leadership in the settlement of the Balkan war made him last month a dominant world figure)

British Opinion on the Protest

In closing, the note states that it is "only with great reluctance" that the British government has "felt bound to raise objections" and has "confined its objections within the narrowest possible limits," recognizing "in the fullest manner the rights of the United States to control the canal." The complete text of the protest was considered at a cabinet meeting on the day following its reception. The preparation of the American reply, it is expected, will take several months. The British press is unanimous in upholding the contents of the note and generally expresses the hope that President Taft will settle the Panama question before the close of his administration. The London journals agree in the contention that if the United States government is not prepared to modify the canal act, it cannot refuse Sir Edward Grey's invitation to submit the question to The Hague for arbitration. The *Times* pointedly remarks that the "studied courtesy and moderation" of the note must not be construed in the United States to signify "that the protest was not made in earnest and that it will not be pressed." The *Daily News* suggests that there could not be a better way of celebrating the hundred years of peace between the United States and Great Britain than by the "concrete example of how peace may be maintained without loss of dignity or mutual respect."

The Liberal Reforms in England

Very slowly but none the less surely, the social reform program of the Liberal government in Great Britain, under the chief leadership of Chancellor Lloyd-George, is being carried out to completion. Despite the tactics of the opposition in Parliament and the Ulster agitators outside, the Irish Home Rule bill was put through the committee stage on schedule time, with the exception of the ten days' delay resulting from the "accident" of November

12 (the "snap vote" obtained by the opposition to an amendment) to which we referred last month. The Home Rule bill passed its first reading in the Commons April 16, and its second on May 9, each time by substantial majorities. The measure was then referred to a committee of the whole House. Home Rule and Welsh disestablishment were advanced together and the final committee stage was not reached until June 11. The setback of November 12 was "corrected" later by the full government majority. The government announces that it intends to pass through the Commons before Parliament "rises" on March 30, the three important measures of Home Rule for Ireland, Disestablishment of the Welsh Church, and the reform of the franchise, the chief clause of the last of which is the abolition of plural voting. The Asquith Ministry expects that the House of Lords will at once reject the Home Rule bill. Two years must then elapse before it can become law by the action of the Commons alone. It is expected also that the opposition will attempt to force dissolution and a new election on this issue of Home Rule. The Unionists have been gaining in the bye-elections during the past two years. Unless, however, they present a constructive plan of Irish administrative reform as a substitute for the present bill, it does not seem likely that they can carry the country.

Land Laws and Others

The Asquith Ministry, furthermore, is intending to devote its attention immediately to the thorny subject of breaking up the large landed estates. These properties "being lightly taxed and often entailed, tend to monopolize the land and drive the rural population into the cities or abroad." In these words, Chancellor Lloyd-George, in a speech at Aberdeen last month, vigorously denounced the "present iniquitous land laws." The Dominions of Australia and New Zealand are solving this problem more quickly than the mother country. They are already beginning to promote rural prosperity by buying up estates and selling them to settlers in small holdings and on easy terms extending over long periods. Unfortunately, when the Home Rule bill was taken up, a number of other measures had to wait, notably the measure known as the Mental Deficiency bill. This was a non-partisan measure which had the support of many distinguished and social reformers. England is not well provided with arrangements for the care of defectives, and this delay or neglect, to quote the words of the appeal, is making it likely that

> the rising generation, which tends to become inebriates, prostitutes, criminals, and paupers, will leave behind it a new generation of mentally and physically degenerate children not only continuing, but increasing the numbers that must be supported at the expense of the community.

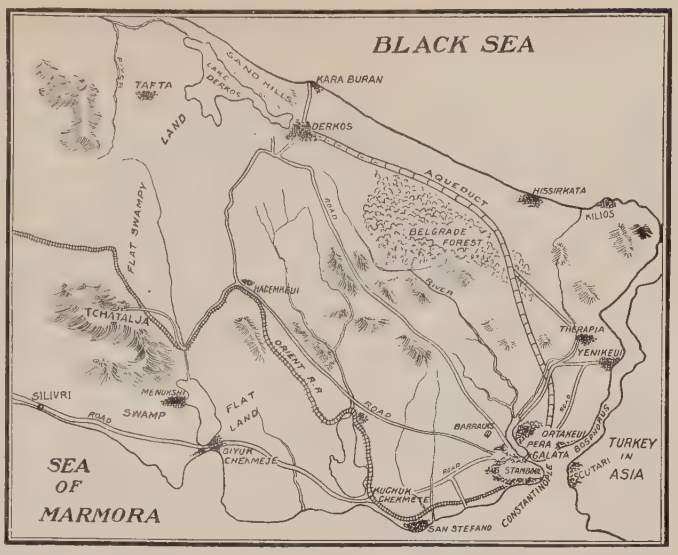
Awarding the Nobel Prizes

The Nobel prizes were presented by the King of Sweden, at Stockholm on December 10. Dr. Alexis Carrel, of the Rockefeller Institute, of New York, received the prize for medicine. In this magazine for November we gave Dr. Carrel's portrait as a frontispiece, and recounted the significant events of his useful career. The prize for physics was awarded to Gustav Dalen, of Stockholm, that for chemistry was divided between two French savants, Professor Grignard, of Nancy University, and Professor Paul Sabatier, of Toulouse University. The prize for literature was awarded to the German poet, dramatist, and novelist Gerhart Hauptman. On another page this month our readers will find a summary of the main facts of Hauptman's life, and an estimate of his artistic and literary eminence. For the first time since the prize was established, no award was made for service in the cause of international peace, because the committee was unable to discover a person who "within a year has worked most or best for the fraternization of nations, the abolition or reduction of standing armies, or the calling or propagating of peace congresses."

The Scandinavian Art Exhibit

The two best known winners of this peace prize are, of course, ex-President Roosevelt and Baroness Bertha von Suttner. This eminent Austrian lady, reformer and author, visited the United States last month and made addresses in the interest of the peace movement and the cause of votes for women. The founder of the Nobel prizes was a Swede, but the prize foundation itself was an international matter. We do not think of it as Swedish only. The Scandinavian spirit, however, was brought impressively to the attention of art lovers in the East, last month, by the itinerant exhibition of Scandinavian art, which was held in New York up to Christmas Day, and then took its journey to other eastern cities. Most of the modern Swedish, Norwegian and Danish artists are represented, and from the canvases of Zorn, Munch, and Johansen there exhales the real Scandinavian spirit. The lesson of this exhibition, made possible by

the endowment of the American-Scandinavian foundation in New York City, is that the northern nations of Europe (we quote the opinion of Henry Reuterdahl, in an article in the *Craftsman*) "not only materially support their artists, but look upon them as national assets, figures of importance in their spiritual development."



CONSTANTINOPLE AND ITS VICINITY
(The scene of the last operations of the Balkan War)

The Fourth Russian Duma

The Russian Duma assembled on November 28, after an election that lasted nearly three months. As we predicted in these pages in December, the complexion of the new Duma is far from being "Red." According to the *Ryetch* (St. Petersburg), the membership (442) is divided: Extreme Right Nationalist, 180; Octobrists, 91; Mussulman and Polish factions, 23; Progressists, 45; Constitutional Democrats, 65; Extreme Left, 32; and Non-partisan, 6. With the Right side abnormally developed and having no strong Center, the new Duma seems to be doomed to failure. The radical Russian press takes a very pessimistic view of the situation and all agree that no serious word can be expected from it. Mr. A. E. Shingarev, a prominent leader of the Constitutional Democrats, recently elected a deputy, characterizes it "as a bird with wings but without a head and body. It evidently will not be able to fly and the question is if it will have enough strength to crawl. . . ." A hopeful sign of its ability to "crawl" is the election of M. Rodzianko, an Octobrist member, as President. The Russian government, seemingly satisfied with its activities in the recent elections, is very busy introducing in the new Duma a great variety of legislative projects, among which we may mention, as of special interest to our readers, a new commercial treaty with the United States, which expires by denunciation of our government on the first day of the present month. It may be safe to say, however, that in view of the strong Nationalist element in this Duma the passport question is not likely to receive a satisfactory solution. Nor is it expected that the grave internal problems which confront present day Russia will be more efficiently dealt with. Of Russian foreign politics we speak elsewhere.

Making Peace in the Balkans

When the peace conference to settle the Balkan war began its deliberations in London, on December 16, the question of absorbing interest, not only to the delegates, but to the world at large, was not the terms which would be agreed upon between the victorious allies and their beaten adversary, but to what extent the great powers of Europe would insist upon modifying these terms. Added to this was the harrowing uncertainty as to whether these great powers would be able to hold themselves back from the brink of war. An agreement between Turkey and her conquerors was the least difficult. In fact, it had become quite evident, after the amicable break-up of the conference at Tchatalja battle lines, on December 3, that the Turks and their adversaries would not find much difficulty in coming to an agreement if Europe would permit them. It was even openly stated that after the peace terms had been agreed upon, treaties of friendship and commerce would be immediately negotiated and that Turkey would, later, enter the Balkan confederation.

Concluding the Armistice

After some parley between the Bulgarian and Turkish delegates at the little village of Bagtche, near Hademkeui, on the Orient railroad, the delegates of Bulgaria and Turkey, meeting on December 3, at the suggestion of the Turkish government, signed an armistice, which provided (1) for the suspension of hostilities until peace negotiations were concluded:

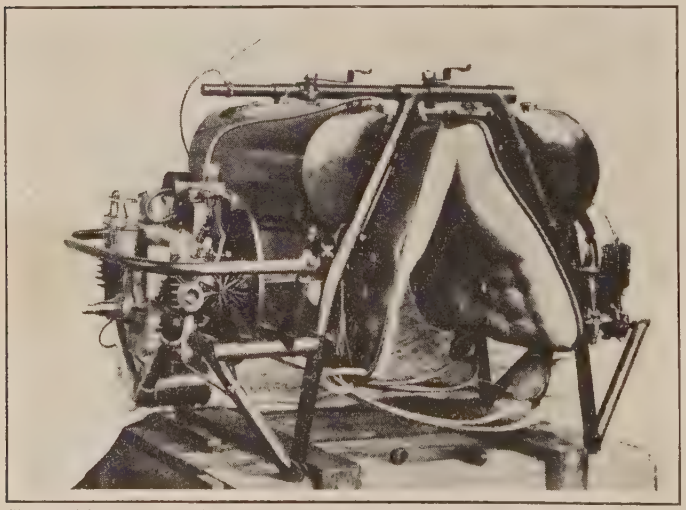
(2) for the right to revictual Adrianople, Scutari, Janina and the Turkish detachments cut off by the allies, as well as the Bulgarian battle lines at Tchatalja; (3) the removal of the blockade of the Dardanelles and the Adriatic and Egean seas. During the fortnight preceding, the allied advance had continued with scarcely any interruption. Scutari, however, continued to hold out against the efforts of the Montenegrins to take it and Adrianople maintained a heroic resistance to the Bulgarians. On November 18, Monastir, one of the chief cities of Macedonia, surrendered to the Servians after two days of hard fighting with heavy losses on both sides. Servian armies also proceeded westward, and on November 28, entered Durazzo, the port on the Adriatic which for many years has been the aim of Servian ambition. The Greeks and Bulgarians obtained other minor successes, and by November 28, the last Turkish force of any considerable size in Thrace and Macedonia had surrendered to the Bulgarians and Servians.

Ravages of the Cholera

The Bulgarian attack halted at the Tchatalja line of fortifications, constructed in 1877 for the purpose of protecting Constantinople against the Russians. It was reported more than once that the Turks had checked the Bulgarians by force of arms, but these reports were denied from Sofia, as well as were the persistent rumors that the fear of the cholera had halted the armies of King Ferdinand. The pest wrought great havoc among the Turks, and eye witnesses of the scenes around the Turkish intrenchments described the suffering and death as horrible in the extreme. For miles in the rear of the Turkish lines the country was dotted with cholera camps and a large force of Red Cross and Red Crescent (the Turkish society) nurses was endeavoring to alleviate the sufferings of the victims. Stern sanitary measures were taken by both Turkish and Bulgarian commanders, and it was believed that when the heavier frosts of early December arrived that the plague had been checked.

Greece's Independent Action

As soon as the armistice had been signed, delegates were appointed to the peace conference, to assemble in London on December 13. The Greek delegates did not sign the armistice, Greece reserving to herself the right to prosecute the war in the meantime. The motives of the Athens government in not giving in its adhesion to the armistice are obscure, but, according to printed interviews with Bulgarian and Servian public men, it later became evident that this action was taken with the knowledge and approval of the other allies. One reason given was that the Hellenic fleet might be left free to continue the blockade of the Dardanelles and the Egean coast to prevent the Ottoman government from replenishing its supplies for the army by sea. Several naval engagements between Greek and Turkish vessels took place after the conference had begun its deliberations. The Greek warships had taken a number of islands in the Egean, including the famous Chios. It may be that Greece desired to regain most of her ancient province of Epirus before the signing of the peace treaty, so that she might claim it at once, or that she might actually occupy most of the Egean islands. A difficulty presented itself at this point. A number of these islands are still held by Italy. The Treaty of Lausanne, which ended the Turco-Italian war (signed at Ouchy, in Switzerland, on October 18, and ratified by the Italian Parliament on December 4), provided that these Egean



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY IN THE BALKAN WAR

(Wireless telegraphy has been an important factor in the Balkan War. The allies used it more extensively than the Turks and they inaugurated several ingenious methods of transporting their stations from place to place. One of them was rigged up on a saddle so that it could be carried by horse or mule)

Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, New York

THE VICTORIOUS BULGARIAN KING, FERDINAND, GOING TO THE FRONT IN HIS MOTOR CAR AT THE BATTLE OF LULE BURGAS

islands should be given back to Turkey only on condition of "guarantees for the proper protection of inhabitants." Since Turkey could not give these guarantees, Italy still occupies the islands and Greece may not capture them. But the Greek navy desired to hold physical possession of as many islands as possible, on the assumption that possession is at least nine points of the law.

Problems Before the Conference

It was seen that when the conference assembled at St. James Palace, London, with Sir Edward Grey, British Foreign Minister, as official host for Great Britain and one of the chief movers in bringing about the agreement of the powers, there would be three problems to solve. In their order, these would be (1) the settlement of terms between Turkey and the allies; (2) an absolute agreement between the allies themselves—it having been reported that disagreements had arisen between them; and (3) the extent to which the great powers would revise the resulting treaty in their own interests. The delegates from Bulgaria, Servia, Montenegro, and Greece, insisted that the minimum terms demanded from Turkey would be the cession of all the territory captured by the allied troops, the capitulation of Adrianople, Scutari, Janina and the Tchatalja forts. When the London conference was agreed upon, King Ferdinand of Bulgaria is reported to have remarked, that it was more important for the allies to appoint their best men as delegates than it had been to get their best generals for the fighting—"because incompetent delegates might lose over the council table what our brave generals and soldiers have won on the battlefield."

Will Austria and Russia Fight?

Austro-Russian relations were the storm center in the complicated European situation which last month hung over the peace conference in London like a menacing cloud. We have already set forth in these pages the genesis and complexity of the Austrian-Servian difficulty. Servia, a land-locked country, has always claimed that she must have a port. Austria and Italy, insisting that the Adriatic Sea is their special sphere of influence, deny the right of Servia to hold Durazzo, on the Albanian coast, which is the particular port she craves. The only other port which may

be used by Servia as an outlet for her commerce and expansion is Salonica on the Egean. This has also been for years marked as on the line of Austrian expansion to the southeast. Servia, moreover, is looked upon in Vienna as merely the advance guard of Russia, and it is openly insisted by Austrian statesmen that an Adriatic or Egean port under Servian control would mean practically the advent of the Russian bear upon these seas. For half a century Germany and Austria have looked to the Near East as the direction in which their commercial, as well as their political advance must take its course. The menace that a united Balkan confederation would oppose to this expansion ideal is shown graphically in the map which we reproduce here.

War Preparations

Last month Austria mobilized troops throughout the entire extent of her polyglot domain. Russia, for her part, concentrated upwards of half a million men in her Polish provinces on her German and Austrian frontier. One feature of Austria's war preparations particularly interesting to Americans was the floating of a loan for $25,000,000 in the United States. This is the first time that the Viennese government has borrowed money on the American market. This mobilization on the eve of the conference was resented in Paris and St. Petersburg, as a threat to the peace of the continent. Germany's open support of Austria increased the gravity of the situation. Three noteworthy declarations of policy, made during November and early December, served to clear the European atmosphere somewhat. On November 9 the British Premier, Mr. Asquith, announced publicly that "British opinion is unanimous on the point that the victors are not to be robbed of the fruits which cost them so dear."

Germany Supports Austria

The visit of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the heir apparent to the Austrian throne, to Berlin late in November was followed by a statement from the German Chancellor, who declared that Germany would support Austria in her legitimate demands upon Servia. The Chancellor said:

> When our allies, Austria, Hungary and Italy, in maintaining their interests, are attacked by a third party and thereby threatened in their interests, we, faithful to our compacts, will take their part firmly and decisively.

This was followed, on December 6, by a speech by Premier Poincaré, of France, in the French Chamber of Deputies, in which he

WOMEN OF THE TURKISH RED CRESCENT SOCIETY PREPARING BANDAGES FOR SOLDIERS

(On this occasion these women, for the first time, have taken off their veils)

WHY GERMANY AND AUSTRIA OPPOSE THE BALKAN CONFEDERATION: IT WILL CHECK THEIR EXPANSION IN THE ORIENT

said: "We stand by our allies and our friendships." These declarations of loyalty to political friendships, which caused a good deal of discussion in the press, were of course to be expected. Nevertheless they had the effect of clearing the atmosphere, and undoubtedly of conducing towards the preservation of that important but curious doctrine, the balance of European power.

The Albanian Problem

The chief Austrian contention, after her refusal to permit Servia to have an Adriatic port, is for the autonomy of Albania. In this she is supported by Italy, and, it is generally believed, by Russia and some of the other great powers. The Albanian question is a thorny one. This distinct, vigorous, and unmanageable people have been for some time the largest national element in European Turkey. Albania has furnished many Turkish statesmen of eminence. Albanians were at the head of the army that deposed Abdul Hamid, both because the Albanians were modern and progressive in their spirit and also because the despotism of Abdul Hamid had imposed oppressive regulations upon them. When the Albanians were forbidden to read or write in their native tongue, they began to form political organizations in Rumania, Bulgaria, France and the United States. Soon after the constitution was proclaimed by the Young Turks, the new régime began to break its promises to the Albanians and a punitive expedition was sent against the Malissori, a vigorous Albanian mountaineer tribe. This Malissori movement, which finally grew to such proportions that it presented to the allies opportunity to begin the war just closed.

Who the Albanians Are

The Albanians, originally Christians, were conquered by the Moslems in the eleventh century, but did not wholly embrace the Moslem faith. There are about 3,000,000 of them almost ready to return to Christianity, if they can get from under the yoke of their Turkish oppressors. By granting certain demands of the Albanian Nationalist Committee in 1911 the government of the Porte made a national existence for the Albanians a possibility, and now Europe has hit upon the scheme of setting up an autonomous Albania as a curb to Servian and Greek ambitions. It was reported last month that, at the meeting of the oldest and largest of the Albanian clubs held in Bucharest, Ismail Kemal, an Albanian Moslem, had been chosen as provisional head of the new Albanian nation. Ismail Kemal, who was President of the Council of

ARCHDUKE FRANZ FERDINAND, HEIR TO THE AUSTRIAN THRONE, AND HIS FAMILY

State under Sultan Abdul Hamid, is a liberal statesman with a wide European education. We hope, next month, to give our readers more detailed information about this little and obscure but interesting European people, who have suffered so much from Turkey.

The European Money Power and Peace

On the eve of the peace conference in London, it seemed that what the French call la haute finance dominated the general European situation. The great banking groups in England and on the continent were saying the word as to war and peace. The *Investor's Review*, a financial paper of London, which often seems to speak with inside knowledge of what is going on, in a recent issue hints at the practical extinction of Turkish rule in what is now known as the Ottoman Empire. Dealing with the problem of what is to be done with the territories liberated from the grasp of the Turk, it says:

> There is also the question—what is to be done with the Turk himself? Probably, as we have said before, some strips of territory will be nominally left to him in Europe to "save his face," but the real government, not only of European Turkey, *but of Asiatic as well*, must now pass into other hands. The remains of the Turkish Empire will have to be governed by an international commission henceforth in order to give its suffering victims a chance to straighten themselves up and become men even as the Bulgarians, Greeks and Servians have done.

Can Austria Make War?

The influences that are working to bring about this revolutionary change from Turkish to international rule in the Ottoman Empire are the financial; and in treating of this phase of the crisis the *Investor's Review* foreshadows the eventual break up of the Empire of the Hapsburgs if the Austrian Government forces a conflict with Servia. This it sees in the inevitable crash in the stock markets of Europe if a general war should break out. It says:

> Already the tension in Vienna is extreme, and in Budapest it is at the agony point. Hungarian provincial banks, we are told, are unable to obtain money at less than 8 per cent., and as 8 per cent. is the legal maximum they are permitted to charge for loans granted by them, their business has reached a deadlock. Money is just as dear in Vienna, and in some of the outlying non-Teutonic provinces of the empire, runs promoted by mobilization or rumors of such, have begun upon the savings banks. These runs have but to combine and spread to the great Austrian savings bank itself and the government of the Hapsburgs will be reduced to a state of paralysis. One of these days unless it alters its attitude towards its weaker neighbors it, too, will die. Austrian statesmen seem as unteachable at times as the Turk. No state, however, is in a position to make war now. That is the merciful fact. The suspense of the intermediate period has already cost such enormous sums of money that *la haute finance* itself has become paralyzed, or is locking up its means until better times come.

Has Europe Become Paralyzed

The *Review* then goes on to quote M. Edmond Thery, the eminent French economist who has been pointing out that the depreciation of securities upon the European stock markets had already reached between £1,200,000,000 and £1,400,000,000 since Montenegro declared war against Turkey. What the depreciation would be were a great war to break out the imagination cannot reckon. M. Thery says Europe holds £30,000,000,000 of marketable securities and between £2,000,000,000 and £2,500,000,000 of bank notes, cheques and commercial bills in circulation. Against all this Europe together holds only between £1,400,000,000 and £1,600,000,000 in cash, of which a good third is locked up in state treasuries or in the vaults of the note issuing banks. This abnormal condition of things is being availed of by the controllers of the world's cash to dictate terms to the governments believed to

be opposed to the policy of Turkish dismemberment or internationalization, and French financiers who are supporting that policy refuse to loan either to Germany or Austria. German borrowers have offered 5¾ per cent in Paris for money without being able to find it, and Vienna has offered almost any rate lenders chose to ask in order to obtain the help without which a catastrophic crisis may soon devastate the Hapsburg Empire. On December 9 it was announced that the Austrian government had succeeded in placing a loan for $25,000,000 in New York. The power of finance and the force of events are holding governments as in a vise, and what the end of it will be cannot be foreseen, although the floating of the loan in this country is held by American bankers to be an indication that the word is peace. The resignations of the Austrian Minister of War, General von Auffenberg, and of the Chief of the Austro-Hungarian General Staff, Field Marshal Schemua, seem to imply that there is a serious military crisis in Austria-Hungary; and Dr. Schiemann, in his weekly review of the week's foreign politics in the Berlin *Kreuz Zeitung*, has asked what is the meaning of the Russian concentrations on the Austro-Hungarian frontier, and the rush of Galician landowners to increase their insurance with London companies. Taking things altogether, the clouds overhanging Europe do not show very many signs of dispersing with the New Year.

Egypt to be a British Protectorate

The uneasiness of the Mohammedans in Egypt following the proclamation from Constantinople, in November, of a Holy War against Christians, has impelled the British government to announce the early promulgation of a constitution for Egypt. This idea had been projected for some time, in fact, ever since, under the consulship of Lord Cromer, the growth of the Nationalist movement had attained serious proportions. According to reports from Cairo, the chamber provided for under the constitution will consist of 77 members, 35 to be nominated by the government, and 42 elected by the indirect method already employed in choosing members of the present legislative council. The power of the chamber will be restricted and will fall far short of responsible government. They will permit the chamber to decide unimportant matters of education and agriculture. Theoretically Egypt has a wide suffrage based on a small property qualification, but for all election purposes the complex indirect election system prevails. Early in December the governing committee of the Egyptian Nationalist party met in Cairo to elect a successor as leader to Mohammed Farid Bey, who was compelled to resign some time ago, owing to "pernicious activity" in the war between Turkey and Italy. Its choice fell on another Nationalist, although one of less open anti-English sentiments. Last month the London journals hinted at the proclamation in the near future of a British protectorate over Egypt.

Russia Aggressive in Mongolia

At the time when the attention of the whole world was being concentrated on the drama then enacted in the Balkans, Russia, true to her traditional policy, was taking advantage of the situation to further her own ends in the Far East. The Russo-Mongolian treaty recently concluded, by which Russia has practically guaranteed the independence of Mongolia from China is a move of far-reaching consequence. The underlying principle of this move is: *divida et impera*. One has only to examine the articles of the agreement to see what it will ultimately lead to. According to the *Ryetch*, the well informed journal of St. Petersburg, Russia, by the terms of the treaty, promises the Mongols "her assistance in preserving their established

THE COLOSSUS OF THE DARDANELLES
What? Is he still on the European shore?
From the *Novoye Vremya* (St. Petersburg)

autonomy, i. e., in supporting their rights to disallow Chinese administration on their territory, in maintaining their own national troops in barring the admission of Chinese troops, and in disallowing colonization of Mongolian lands by China." The Mongolian government, on the other hand, pledges itself "not to conclude any treaties conflicting with these principles and to grant Russian subjects in Mongolia rights they previously enjoyed." Commenting upon the hostile attitude the Chinese government has shown toward the mission of Mr. Korostovetz, the Russian envoy in Urga, the *Ryetch* significantly remarks: "Nevertheless, it will have to reckon with the existing state of affairs, to change which is no longer within the power of China." The spectacle of Russia upholding Mongolian autonomy—by force, if necessary—is truly inspiring!

Russifying the Firns

But those who know the fate of Finland will not mistake the intentions of Russia. Finland has enjoyed the autonomy guaranteed to her by Alexander I for over a hundred years and now the Russian government urged by the Nationalist press, particularly the *Novoye Vremya*, has declared Finland's constitution null and void, and is introducing there the general laws of the empire. The Finnish authorities, those who have not sold their birthright, have adopted a policy of passive resistance, the only thing left for them to do under the circumstances, and one courageously and persistently opposing Russian encroachment. The Russian government responds by putting Finnish officials in St. Petersburg prisons, and trying them as political offenders. Europe, to whom Finland is vainly looking for support, is too busy with selfish interests to heed the supplications of the heroic nation which is being strangled by the Russian bear.

Chinese Elections This Month

Recently a bill was passed by the Chinese National Council and promulgated by President Yuan Shih-Kai for the organization in permanent form of a constitutional government to take the place of the present provisional government. In accordance with its provisions, general elections are now being held in all the provinces to choose representatives to form the national legislature, to be known as the "Yi-Yuan" or National Assembly. The Assembly is bicameral in form. The upper house is called the "Tsan-Yi-Yuan" and the lower house "Chung-Yi-Yuan." Each of the provinces is represented by 10 members in the "Tsan-Yi-Yuan," indirectly chosen by the provincial assembly. Mongolia is given 27 representatives in the upper house, elected by its special electoral college. Likewise, Tibet has 10 and Chinghai (Kokonor) has three. A unique feature is the representation of 8 members accorded to the Central Educational Society (similar to University representation in British Parliament), and of 6 members to the Chinese residents abroad. There are nearly four hundred members in the Tsan-Yi-Yuan. They serve for the term of 6 years, one third to retire every two years.

For a Permanent Republican Government

Representatives in the lower house, or Chung-Yi-Yuan, are apportioned among the provinces and territories according to population. The unit of representation is one representative for every 800,000 inhabitants. But if a province has less than 8,000,000 inhabitants, it shall nevertheless be entitled to 10 representatives. Accordingly, the metropolitan province of Chili (the largest) is represented by 46 members, while the recently created province of Hsinchiang has only 10 members. The Chung-Yi-Yuan has a membership of nearly six hundred, and the term of service is three years. Suffrage is granted to (1) those who pay a direct tax of $2 or more, (2) those who are owners individually of immovable property to the value of $500 or more, (3) those who are graduates from institutions of learning of certain grade, and (4) those who possess educational qualifications equivalent to those possessed by graduates from institutions of learning of certain grade. According to a recent report, there are approximately 30,000,000 persons of voting age, but so far only about 2,000,000 have been qualified to vote at the first national election. The newly elected representatives are called to assemble at Peking during the present month to adopt a permanent constitution and to organize a government under it. A committee consisting of an equal number of members elected from amongst the members of each house will be assigned the task of drafting the constitution, which will be adopted by both houses in joint session. It has been intimated by Secretary Knox, in a recent letter to a Pacific Coast Chamber of Commerce, that the Chinese Republic will be formally recognized by the United States after the January elections.

Photograph by Harris & Ewing, Washington

"HOUSE MANAGERS" OF THE ARCHBALD IMPEACHMENT CASE

(They are members of the House Judiciary Committee and are prosecuting the impeachment case before the United States Senate. Left to right: Representatives George W. Norris of Nebraska; Paul Howland of Ohio; Edwin Y. Webb of North Carolina; Henry D. Clayton [Chairman] of Alabama; John C. Floyd of Arkansas; John A. Sterling of Illinois; and John W. Davis of West Virginia)

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From November 17 to December 16, 1912)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

December 2.—The Sixty-second Congress assembles for the short session.

December 3.—The first portion of the President's annual message, dealing with our foreign relations, is received and read in both branches. . . . The Senate sits as a court of impeachment to try Judge Robert W. Archbald, of the Commerce Court, and hears the opening statements on both sides.

December 4.—In the Senate, the hearing of evidence is begun in the impeachment proceedings against Judge Archbald. . . . The House passes a measure granting pensions to widows and children of veterans of the wars with Spain and in the Philippines.

December 5.—The House passes the Adamson bill authorizing the Interstate Commerce Commission to make a physical valuation of railroad property.

December 6.—The second portion of the President's annual message—dealing with fiscal, judicial, military, and insular affairs—is received and read in both branches.

December 9.—The House passes the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial appropriation bill, ($34,900,583).

December 12.—In the House, the seat occupied by Charles C. Bowman (Rep., Pa.) is declared vacant because of methods employed in his election.

December 14.—The House discusses the literacy-test immigration bill prepared by Mr. Burnett (Dem., Ala.).

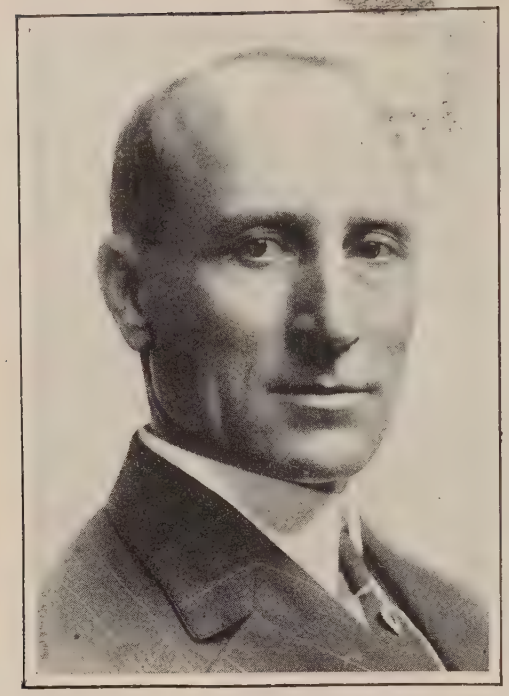
December 16.—In the Senate, the lawyers for Judge Archbald in the impeachment proceedings begin the presentation of their defense.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN

November 18.—The United States Supreme Court, ordering the dissolution of the so-called Bathtub Trust, holds that "license agreements" are illegal and that there can be no monopoly in the unpatented product of a patented machine.

November 20.—Simultaneous raids by post-office inspectors in twenty-two States result in more than a hundred arrests for the sale of illegal medicines and medical devices. . . . Carmi Thompson is appointed Treasurer of the United States.

November 29.—William Purnell Jackson (Rep.) is appointed United States Senator from Maryland, succeeding the late Isidor Rayner. . . . Charles H. Hyde, formerly City Chamberlain, is found guilty of bribery in the manipulation of New York City funds on deposit.



GOVERNOR-ELECT GEORGE H. HODGES, OF KANSAS

(For several weeks after the election it had seemed that Arthur Capper, Republican, was chosen Governor of Kansas. The official returns, however, gave the election to Mr. Hodges, the Democratic candidate)

November 30.—The official returns of the vote for Governor in Kansas show that George H. Hodges (Dem.) defeated Arthur Capper (Rep.).

December 2.—The United States Supreme Court orders the dissolution of the merger of the Union Pacific and Southern Pacific railroad systems, under the Sherman Anti-Trust law.

December 3.—Twenty-seven State executives attend the opening session of the fifth annual Conference of Governors, at Richmond, Va. . . . A federal grand jury at New York begins an inquiry into the alleged agreement between the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad and the Grand Trunk Railway, by which competition was avoided.

December 5.—The Secretary of the Navy, in his annual report to Congress, asks for the authorization of three first-class battleships.

December 6.—The annual report of the Secretary of Agriculture states that the value of farm products reached a figure half a million dollars greater than that of any preceding year. . . . Theodore Douglas Robinson is elected chairman of the New York State Progressive Committee.

December 7.—A committee of nine Governors is selected at the closing session of the Governors' Conference, to inquire into land credit systems. . . . Twenty thousand skilled laborers in the United States navy yards are placed in the civil service.

December 9.—The House committee investigating the alleged Money Trust resumes its hearings at Washington and examines prominent Eastern bankers.

December 10.—A national conference of leaders of the Progressive party, held at Chicago, is attended by more than a thousand persons and is addressed by ex-President Roosevelt.

December 14.—A suit to dissolve the so-called Butter Trust is begun by the Government in the District Court at Chicago.

December 16.—Governor Donaghey of Arkansas, as a protest against the convict-lease system, pardons 360 prisoners. . . . The Supreme Court holds that the Government has failed to prove the existence of a combination of the coal-carrying roads of the East, but orders the cancellation of the so-called 65 per cent. contracts with independent dealers.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN

November 21.—The second session of the twelfth Canadian Parliament is opened by the Duke of Connaught.

November 28.—The fourth Russian Duma assembles at St. Petersburg.

December 2.—Archbishop Adolfo Alejandro Nouel is elected Provisional President of Santo Domingo for a period of two years. . . . Lieutenant-General Uyehera tenders his resignation as Japanese Minister of War, because of the refusal of the Government to increase the army.

December 4.—The Italian Parliament ratifies the treaty of peace with Turkey. . . . Premier Saionji and the other members of the Japanese cabinet resign.

December 5.—The Canadian Prime Minister introduces in the House of Commons a bill appropriating $35,000,000 for the construction of three powerful battleships, as Canada's gift for the empire's defense (see page 63).

December 6.—Lieutenant-General Count Terauchi is appointed Premier of Japan.

December 7.—A bill is introduced in the German Reichstag creating a private monopoly in petroleum, under Government control.

December 9.—The Austrian Minister of War and the Chief of the General Staff resign their offices.

December 12.—Edouard Muller is elected President of the Swiss Confederation.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

November 22.—It is reported from Vienna that large bodies of Austrian troops are massed on the Servian border, because of threatened complications over the war with Turkey. . . . Theodore Marburg is named as American minister to Belgium.

November 23.—The retirement of Manuel Calero, Mexican ambassador to the United States, is announced at Washington.

December 2.—The German Chancellor, speaking in the Reichstag and referring to the Balkan controversy, declares that Germany would assist Austria-Hungary and Italy if those countries were attacked by a third party.

December 6.—Austria and Italy protest to Greece against the bombardment of Avlona, the capital of Albania (Turkey).

December 7.—It is officially announced at Berlin that the Triple Alliance between Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Italy has been renewed.

December 9.—Great Britain formally demands that the United States either repeal the measure granting free passage to American ships through the Panama Canal or submit the matter to arbitration.

THE WAR IN THE BALKANS

November 18.—More than 1,000 cases of cholera are reported daily in and around Constantinople, half of them fatal. . . . Monastir, the remaining Turkish stronghold in Macedonia, is surrendered to the Servian troops after three days' desperate fighting, in which 20,000 Turkish soldiers are killed or wounded.

November 21.—Turkey rejects the terms offered by the allies for the arrangement of an armistice.

November 28.—The Servian army occupies the port of Durazzo, Albania.

November 29.—It is stated at Sofia that Servian troops recently captured 9,000 Turkish soldiers, including two generals, south of Adrianople.

November 30.—The Turkish cabinet approves the protocol of an armistice. . . . Servian troops enter the town of Durazzo and haul down the Albanian flag.

December 3.—A fourteen-days armistice is signed at Baghchetch by representatives of Turkey and Bulgaria, Servia, and Montenegro; Greece refuses to sign the agreement; peace negotiations are to begin at London on December 16.

December 5.—It is officially announced at Athens that representatives of Greece will participate in the peace conference at London. . . . . Two Greek gunboats bombard Avlona, Albania.

December 16.—The plenipotentiaries of Bulgaria, Servia, Montenegro, Greece, and Turkey meet in St. James' Palace, London, to arrange terms of peace. . . . It is reported at Constantinople that the Turkish fleet was victorious in an engagement with Greek vessels near the Dardanelles, during which several ships were sunk.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

November 18-20.—The western end of the island of Jamaica is devastated by a hurricane and tidal wave; more than 100 persons lose their lives.

November 20.—A boiler explosion on the Japanese cruiser *Nisshin* kills twenty members of the crew.

November 21.—The fourth convention of the National Woman Suffrage Association is opened at Philadelphia. . . . Andrew Carnegie, through the Carnegie Corporation, offers an annual pension of $25,000 for future ex-Presidents and their widows.

November 22.—John Schrank, who attempted to assassinate ex-President Roosevelt, is pronounced insane at Milwaukee and committed to an asylum.

November 23.—Samuel Gompers is reëlected president of the American Federation of Labor at the closing session of the annual convention in Rochester.

November 24.—The award of the Board of Arbitration in the dispute between the Eastern railroads and the locomotive engineers is made public; State and federal wage commissions are recommended, a standard minimum wage is adopted, and general wage increases are granted. . . . The International Socialist Congress meets at Basel, Switzerland.

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THE LATE SENATOR ISIDOR RAYNER, OF MARYLAND

November 25.—Representatives from many States meet at New York City, under the auspices of the National Civic Federation, to discuss the securing of uniform State legislation in the field of workmen's compensation and employers' liability.

November 26.—Joseph J. Ettor, Arturo Giovannitti and Joseph Caruso are acquitted of charges of murder in connection with the death of a woman in a riot during the textile strike at Lawrence, Mass.

November 30.—The British lawn-tennis team defeats the Australian defenders in the final match for the Davis Cup, at Melbourne.

December 3.—Eleven persons are killed in a rear-end collision of passenger trains near Dresden, Ohio.

December 4.—The opening session of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress, at Washington, is addressed by President Taft.

December 10.—Ten thousand railway employees in northern England are on strike because of the disciplining of an engineer charged with intoxication.

December 11.—A new altitude record for aeroplanes (19,000 feet) is created by Roland G. Garros, at Tunis.

December 14.—The English railway strike comes to an end.

OBITUARY

November 16.—Dr. Isaac Norton Rendall, president of Lincoln University (Pennsylvania), 87.

November 17.—Joseph M. Terrell, formerly Governor of Georgia and United States Senator, 52. . . . George Ober, a well-known producer of open-air plays, 63.

November 18.—Major-Gen. Henry Clay Merriam, U. S. A., retired, 75.

November 20.—Rev. Dr. George Augustus Gates, president of Fisk University, Nashville, 61.

November 23.—Herman S. Hoffman, Bishop of the Reformed Episcopal Church, 71. . . . Charles Bourseul, believed to be the inventor of the telephone, 82. . . . Sir Edward Seaborne Clouston, a prominent Canadian banker, 63.

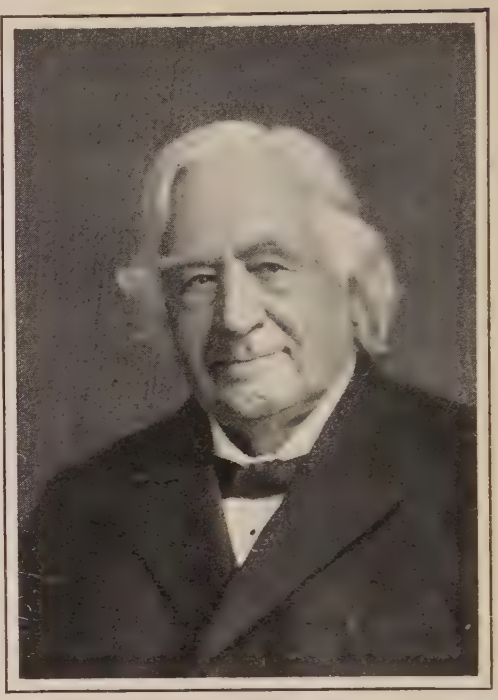
November 24.—William Luke, a prominent paper manufacturer, 83. . . . Dr. Markar Dadirrian, manufacturer of a well-known summer beverage, 72.

November 25.—Isidor Rayner, United States Senator from Maryland, 62. . . . Dr. James Woods McLane, a prominent New York physician and writer on medical topics, 74. . . . Frank Hall Scott, president of the Century Company, publishers, 64. . . . William Flavelle Monypenny, director of the London *Times*, 46. . . . Sir Horace Edward Moss, a pioneer English music-hall manager, 60.

November 26.—Princess Marie, mother of King Albert of Belgium, 67. . . . Robert Knight, the largest owner of cotton mills in the world, 86.

November 27.—John Percival Jones, formerly and for thirty years a United States Senator from Nevada, 84. . . . Prof. Daniel Bonbright, formerly acting president of Northwestern University, 81.

November 28.—Col. James Gordon, of Mississippi, recently United States Senator for a short period, 79. . . . Col. Daniel Moore Ransdell, sergeant-at-arms of the United States Senate, 70. . . . Dr. Edward Curtis, of New York, noted for his development of the art of microphotography, 74. . . . Dr. Elizabeth C. Keller, of Boston, a pioneer woman surgeon, 75. . . . Dr. John D. McGill, a distinguished New Jersey surgeon, 66.



THE LATE DR. ROBERT COLLYER, OF NEW YORK

November 29.—Dr. William Waugh Smith, president of Randolph Macon Colleges and Academies (Virginia).

November 30.—Rev. Dr. Robert Collyer, the noted Unitarian clergyman, 84.

December 1.—Col. Silas Wright Burt, a prominent advocate of civil-service reform, 82.

December 2.—Albert Keith Smiley, founder of the Lake Mohonk Conferences, 84. . . . Dr. Adam H. Fetterolf, president of Girard College for twenty-eight years, 71. . . . Prof. Eben Jenks Loomis, astronomer and naturalist, 84. . . . Edwin Smith, inventor of astronomical methods and instruments, 60. . . . Prof. Otis Bardwell Boise, of the Peabody Conservatory of Music, Baltimore, 68.

December 3.—Prof. William Armstrong Buckhout, of Pennsylvania State College, 66. . . . George Albert Kimball, chief engineer of the Boston Elevated Railway Company, 63. . . . Dr. Alice Bunker Stockham, physician and author, 79. . . . Rev. Joshua Kimber, one of the secretaries of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 77.

December 4.—Col. Archibald Gracie, U. S. A., retired, 54. . . . Gen. Julius Stahel, veteran of the Civil War, 87.

December 5.—Dr. Nathan G. Ward, an eminent surgeon of Philadelphia. . . . Capt. J. W. Meese, a veteran of the Civil War, 71.

MR. ALBERT K. SMILEY
(Founder of the Lake Mohonk Conferences)

December 6.—Jonathan Scott Hartley, a well-known sculptor, 67. . . . Leander P. Mitchell, assistant Comptroller of the United States Treasury, 63.

December 7.—Sir George Howard Darwin, the English scientist, 67. . . . Dr. William B. Crum, United States Minister to Liberia and former Collector of the port of Charleston, 54.

December 8.—John R. Planten, Consul-General for the Netherlands in New York for twenty-nine years, 78. . . . Gen. Gates P. Thurston, author and soldier, veteran of the Civil War, 77.

December 9.—Alfred Pancoast Boller, president of the American Institute of Consulting Engineers, 73.

December 10.—George Burnham, of the Baldwin Locomotive Works, 95.

December 12.—Luitpold, Prince Regent of Bavaria, 91. . . . Susan Lincoln Mills, founder of the first college for women on the Pacific coast, 87.

December 13.—Bishop Thomas Augustus Jagger head of the American Protestant Episcopal Church in Europe, 73. . . . Dr. William Hand Browne, Emeritus Professor at Johns Hopkins University, 84.

December 15.—Whitelaw Reid, American Ambassador to Great Britain, 75 (see frontispiece). . . . Paul Smith, the well-known guide and hotel man of the Adirondacks, 87.

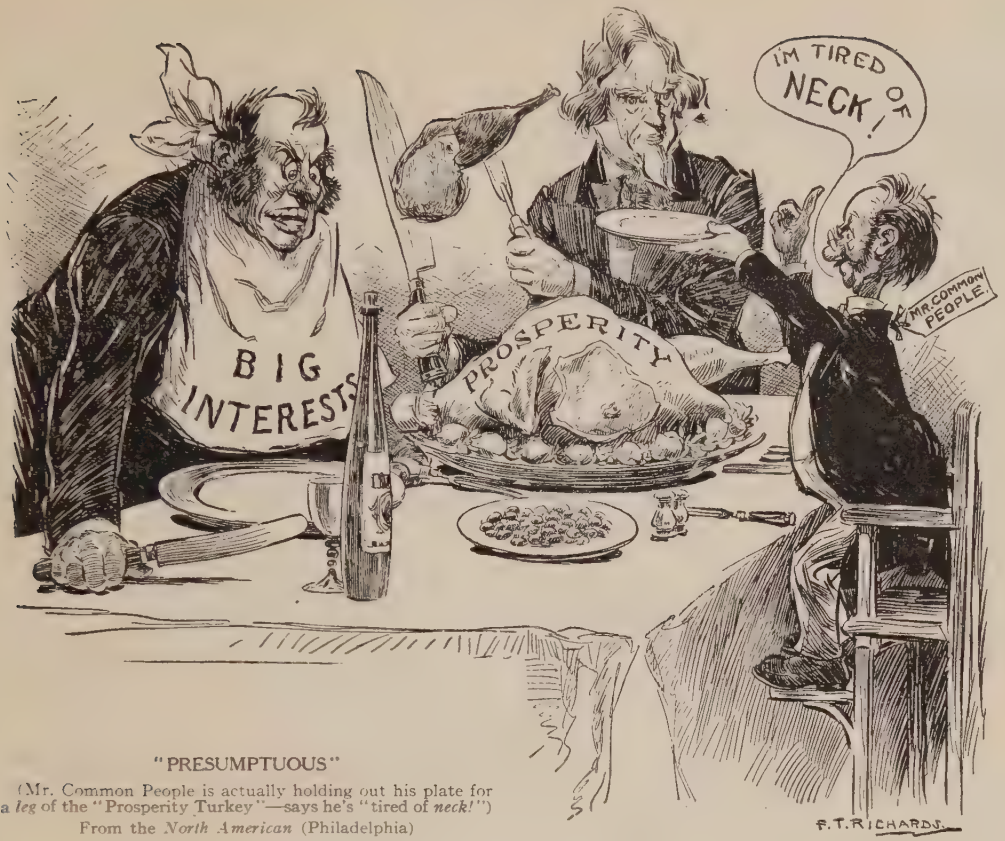
POPULAR AND ELECTORAL VOTE FOR PRESIDENT, 1912

States	Popular Vote						Pluralities			Electoral Vote		
	Wilson, Dem.	Roosevelt, Prog.	Taft, Rep.	Debs, Soc.	Chafin, Pro.	Reimer, Soc. Lab.	Wilson, Dem.	Roosevelt, Prog.	Taft, Rep.	Wilson, Dem.	Roosevelt, Prog.	Taft, Rep.
Alabama	82,438	22,680	9,732	3,029	.....	....	59,758	.....	....	12	..	..
Arizona	10,324	6,946	3,021	3,163	265	....	3,375	.....	....	3	..	..
Arkansas	68,838	21,673	24,467	8,153	898	....	44,371	.....	....	9	..	..
California	283,436	283,610	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	174	....	2	11	..
Colorado	114,232	72,306	58,386	16,418	5,063	475	41,926	.....	....	6	..	..
Connecticut	73,730	33,439	67,946	9,878	2,010	1,260	5,781	.....	....	7	..	..
Delaware	22,631	8,886	15,997	556	623	....	6,634	.....	....	3	..	..
Florida	36,417	4,535	4,279	4,806	1,854	....	31,611	.....	....	6	..	..
Georgia	93,076	21,980	5,181	1,028	149	....	71,096	.....	....	14	..	..
Idaho	33,921	25,527	32,810	11,960	1,537	....	1,111	.....	....	4	..	..
Illinois	405,048	386,478	253,593	81,278	15,710	4,066	18,570	.....	....	29	..	..
Indiana	281,890	162,007	151,267	36,931	19,249	3,130	119,883	.....	....	15	..	..
Iowa	185,325	161,819	119,805	16,967	8,440	....	23,506	.....	....	13	..	..
Kansas	143,670	120,123	74,844	26,807	.....	....	23,547	.....	....	10	..	..
Kentucky	219,584	102,766	115,512	11,647	3,233	956	104,072	.....	....	13	..	..
Louisiana	61,035	9,323	3,834	5,249	.....	....	51,712	.....	....	10	..	..
Maine	51,113	48,493	26,545	2,541	945	....	2,620	.....	....	6	..	..
Maryland	112,674	57,789	54,956	3,996	2,244	322	54,885	.....	....	8	..	..
Massachusetts	173,408	142,228	155,948	12,616	2,754	1,102	17,460	.....	....	18	..	..
Michigan	150,751	214,584	152,244	23,211	8,934	1,252	.....	62,340	....	..	15	..
Minnesota	106,426	125,856	64,344	27,505	7,886	2,212	.....	19,430	....	..	12	..
Mississippi	57,227	3,645	1,595	2,061	.....	....	53,582	.....	....	10	..	..
Missouri	330,947	123,111	207,409	28,148	5,222	1,778	123,538	.....	....	18	..	..
Montana	27,941	22,456	18,512	10,885	32	....	5,485	.....	....	4	..	..
Nebraska	109,008	72,614	54,216	10,174	3,383	....	36,394	.....	....	8	..	..
Nevada	7,986	5,620	3,190	3,313	.....	....	2,366	.....	....	3	..	..
New Hampshire	34,724	17,794	32,927	1,981	535	....	1,797	.....	....	4	..	..
New Jersey	178,289	145,410	88,835	15,801	2,878	1,321	32,879	.....	....	14	..	..
New Mexico	20,437	8,347	17,733	2,859	.....	....	2,704	.....	....	3	..	..
New York	655,475	390,021	455,428	63,381	19,427	4,251	200,047	.....	....	45	..	..
North Carolina	134,663	65,874	29,017	3,100	.....	....	68,789	.....	....	12	..	..
North Dakota	28,896	24,568	22,892	6,740	1,090	....	4,328	.....	....	5	..	..
Ohio	423,153	229,327	277,066	89,930	11,459	2,623	146,087	.....	....	24	..	..
Oklahoma	119,156	.....	90,786	42,262	2,185	....	28,370	.....	....	10	..	..
Oregon	47,064	37,600	34,673	13,343	4,360	....	9,464	.....	....	5	..	..
Pennsylvania	395,619	447,426	273,305	80,915	19,533	704	.....	51,807	....	..	38	..
Rhode Island	30,412	16,878	27,703	2,049	616	236	2,709	.....	....	5	..	..
South Carolina	48,357	1,293	536	164	.....	....	47,064	.....	....	9	..	..
South Dakota	48,982	58,811	.....	4,662	3,910	....	.....	9,829	....	..	5	..
Tennessee	130,275	53,710	59,392	3,492	825	....	70,883	.....	....	12	..	..
Texas	221,435	26,740	28,668	25,742	1,738	....	192,767	.....	....	20	..	..
Utah	36,579	24,174	42,100	9,023	.....	509	.....	.....	5,521	..	..	4
Vermont	15,354	22,073	23,334	928	1,115	....	.....	.....	1,261	..	..	4
Virginia	90,338	21,737	23,277	787	699	50	67,061	.....	....	12	..	..
Washington	87,674	111,797	71,252	39,552	7,467	1,872	.....	24,123	....	..	7	..
West Virginia	113,046	78,819	56,667	15,336	4,534	....	34,227	.....	....	8	..	..
Wisconsin	164,228	62,460	130,695	33,481	8,526	522	33,533	.....	....	13	..	..
Wyoming	15,310	9,232	14,560	2,760	434	....	750	.....	....	3	..	..
Totals	6,282,542	4,114,585	3,480,479	820,606	181,762	28,641				435	88	8

Total vote, 14,908.615; Wilson's plurality, 2,167,957 Wilson's vote was 1,171,766 less than a majority.

CARTOONS OF THE MONTH

From *Punch's Almanac for 1913*



"PRESUMPTUOUS"

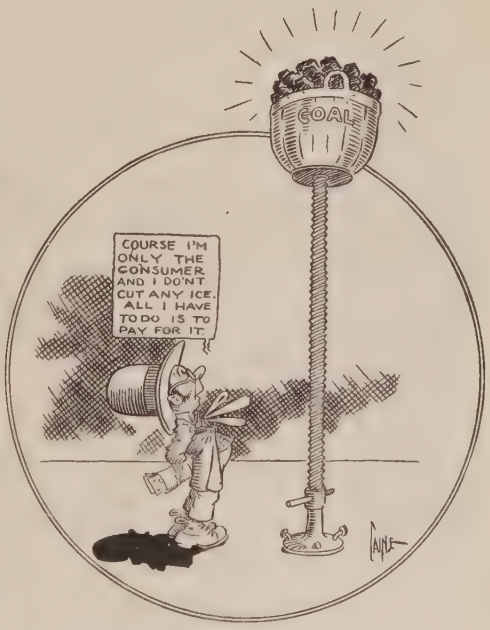
(Mr. Common People is actually holding out his plate for a *leg* of the "Prosperity Turkey"—says he's "tired of *neck!*")

From the *North American* (Philadelphia)

OVER THE JUMPS

Jockey "Beef Trust," mounted on "Consumer"

From the *Evening Journal* (New York)



"GOING UP!"

From the *Pioneer Press* (St. Paul, Minnesota)

PARENTAL ANXIETY

(Referring to the "no fusion" advice given to the Progressive party by Colonel Roosevelt at Chicago last month)

From the *Daily News* (Chicago)

THE GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY
"HEY, LET'S GET TOGETHER! COME ON BACK AND JOIN US - UNDER OUR FLAG"
PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT
FORWARD
VERMONT
UTAH

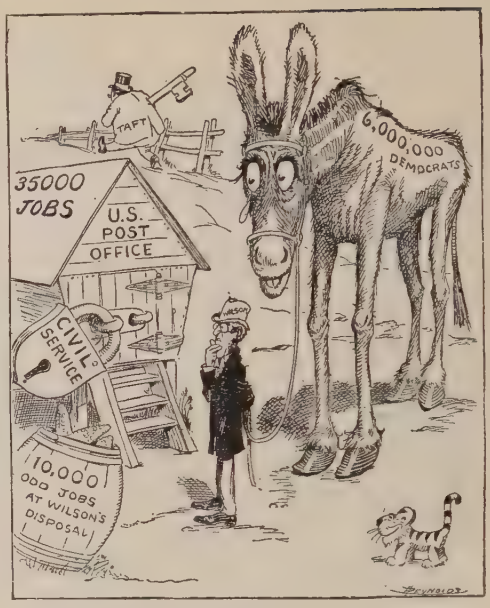
INVITING THE PROGRESSIVES TO COME BACK

From the *Tribune* (Chicago)

HOT ON THE TRAIL

(The Democratic plan calls for an immediate beginning of the task of tariff revision)

From the *Tribune* (South Bend, Indiana)

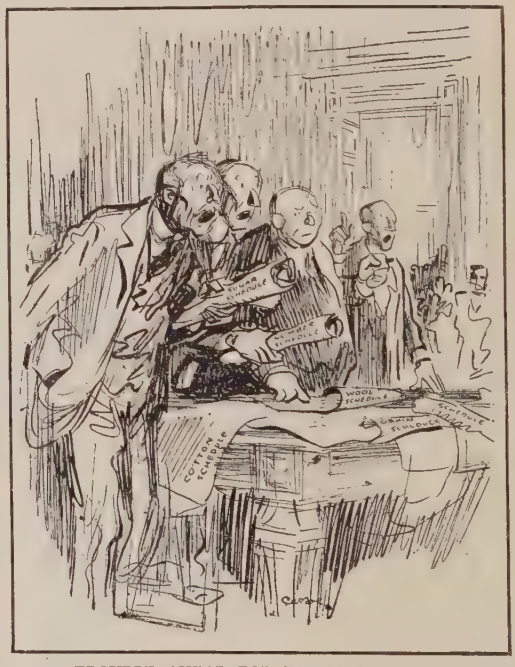


LOCKED OUT

(President Taft's action in putting into the Civil Service a large number of government positions, deprives the Democrats of just so many "jobs" for the faithful)

From the *Oregonian* (Portland)

The cartoons on this page reflect opinion on a number of miscellaneous situations dealing with the Progressive Party, the tariff, and the President's civil service activities.



TROUBLE AHEAD FOR TARIFF REVISERS

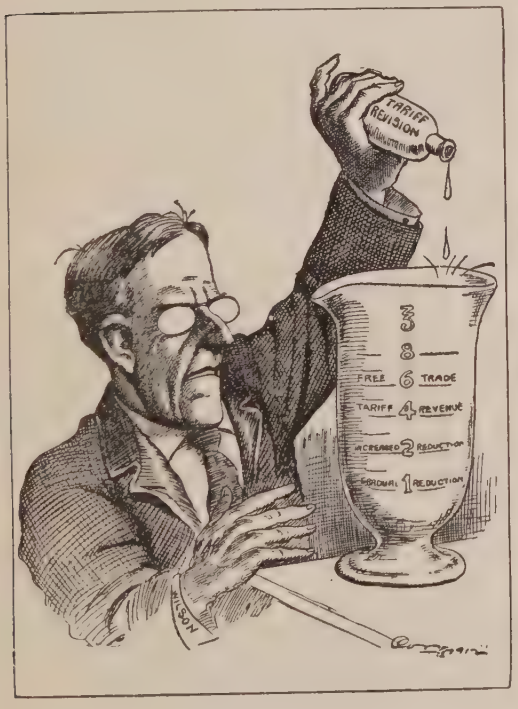
CHORUS OF CONGRESSMEN: "Reduce the tariff, but don't touch my State's interest"

From the *Sun* (New York)

WOODROW WILSON: "WELL, GENTLEMEN, ALL RIGHT!"

(This German cartoon apparently intends to convey the idea that while Messrs. Taft and Roosevelt were quarreling, Mr. Wilson captured the Presidential prize)

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin)



DROP BY DROP

(Professor Wilson will now arrange to make a delicate chemical demonstration, dropping his tariff revision solution into his graduated glass very carefully, in order to adjust it accurately to the requirements of present conditions)

From the *Register* (Mobile)

THE NEW PRESIDENT AND HIS TARIFF POLICY

Professor Woodrow Wilson, the President-elect of the United States, announces that he doesn't stand for free trade. All the same, he will probably try to find out how much tariff clipping the American bird will stand

From the *Bulletin* (Sydney, Australia)

"SHE WON'T LET ME"
(The abandonment by the Grand Trunk Railroad of its project of building a section to connect with Providence, R. I., has been popularly ascribed to the influence of the New Haven Railroad: see pages 10-14)
From the *Evening News* (Newark, N. J.)

The cartoons on this page deal with the New Haven Railroad situation and with the government's activities in the matter of trust regulation. Editorial comment on these subjects will be found on pages 10 to 14.

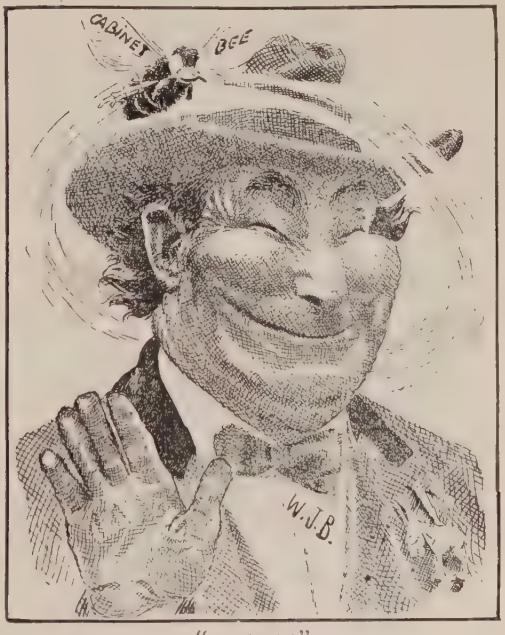
"UNCOUPLE THEM"
(Apropos of the United States Supreme Court decision in the case of the Union Pacific-Southern Pacific merger.)
From the *Post* (Pittsburgh, Penn.)

CLEANING IT UP
(Referring to the Government's action against the "Bath-tub trust")
From the *Journal* (Jersey City, N. J.)

"AND THEY LIVED HAPPILY EVER AFTER, ETC."?
From the *Advertiser* (Montgomery, Alabama)

Mr. Bryan is filling a large place in the speculative discussion regarding the make-up of the new President's Cabinet. That he will be a close adviser to President Wilson is generally believed, but whether official or not, is as yet unknown to the public. His name has been connected with several cabinet positions, particularly that of Secretary of State.

VERY NEAR TO IT (THE PRESIDENCY) AT LAST
From the *Journal* (Boston)

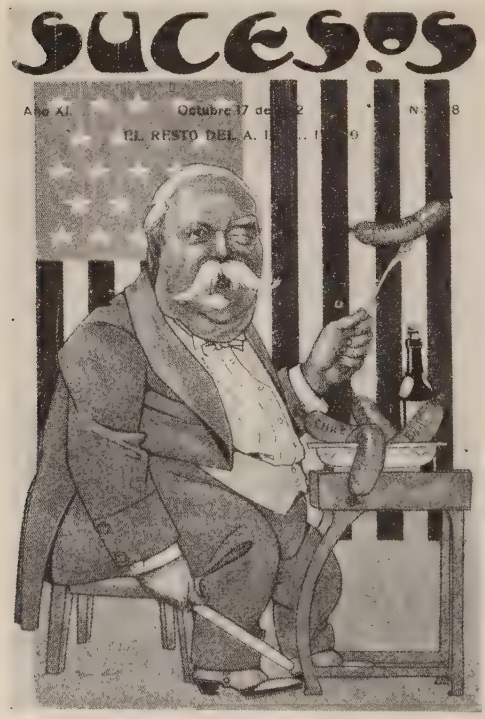


"GO AWAY"
From the *Call* (San Francisco)

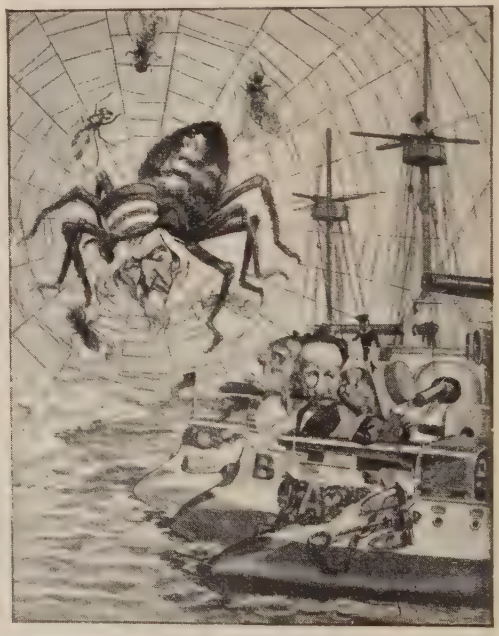
THE RIVALRY OF THE NATIONS FOR PRE-EMINENCE IN BRAZIL

(Germany, the United States, England, and France, represented by the figures on the right, are waiting for Brazil to show a preference as between them, while the fathers of these young ladies are solicitously looking on from the extreme left of the picture)

From *O Mahlo* (Rio de Janeiro)



AS TO "UNCLE SAM'S" GOBBLING UP SOUTH AMERICA
PRESIDENT TAFT: "These sausages (marked Chili, Ecuador, Argentina, Brazil, etc.) are very tasty, but digesting them—that is another question"—From *Succesos* (Valparaiso)



SOUTH AMERICA VERSUS THE UNITED STATES

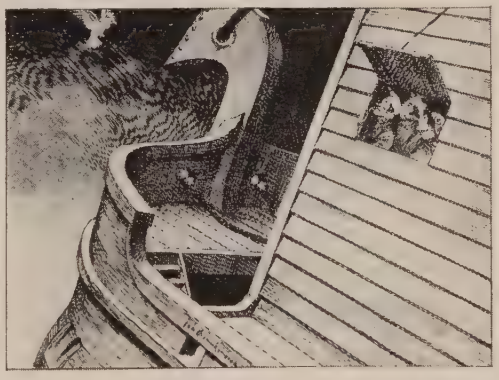
(The spider represents Uncle Sam, with Texas, Porto Rico, Panama, Havana, and Nicaragua already fast in his web. The battleships marked C, B, and A, stand for Chili, Brazil, and Argentina, who are considering the formation of a South American coalition against the further encroachments of Uncle Sam)

From *Caras y Caretas* (Buenos Aires)

A "THREATENING" SITUATION

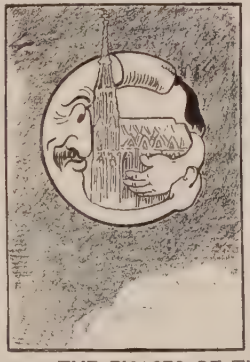
Servia, having captured a port on the Adriatic, is threatened by Austria, who sees in the capture a gain for Russia. Russia promptly comes to the protection of Servia and threatens Austria, whereupon Germany rushes to Austria's protection and threatens Russia, and so on down the line. From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)

THE POWERS SITTING UP NIGHTS
From the *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland, Ohio)

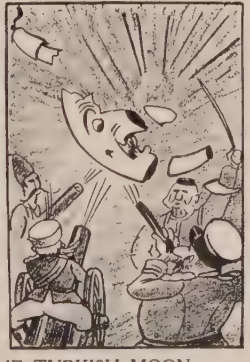


THE DOVE OF PEACE
—"and the dove found not a resting place for the sole of her foot" From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam)

First quarter—the conquering Turk (1389)



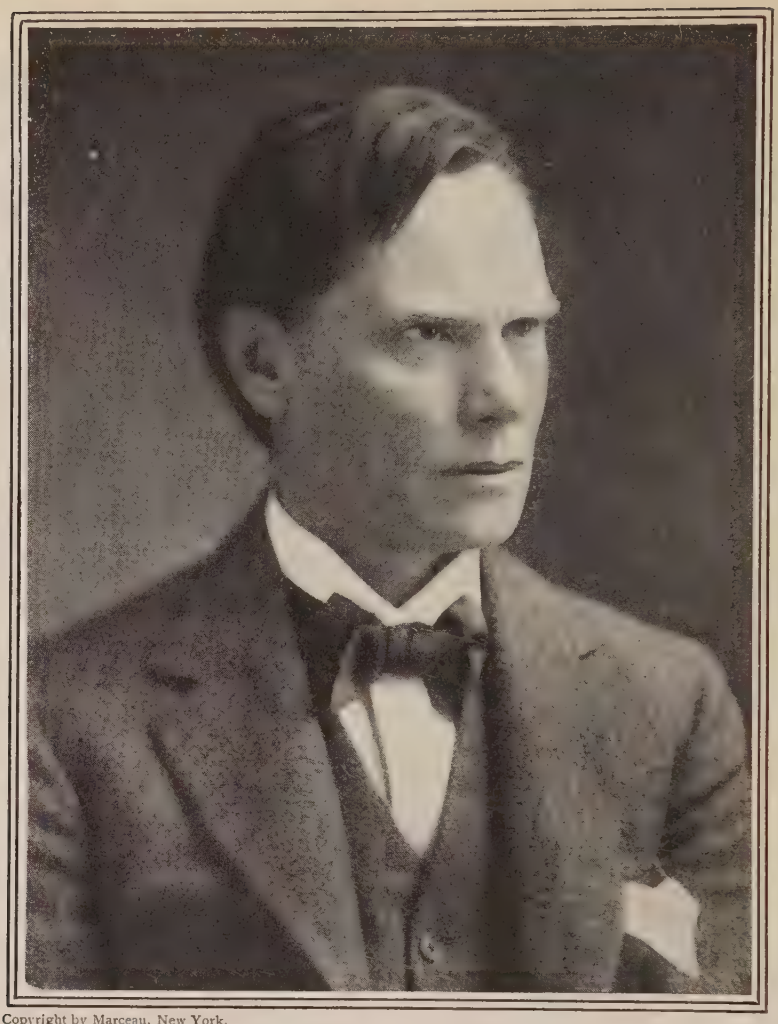
Full moon—in safe possession (1683)



Last quarter—the Balkan War (1912)

Total eclipse—is this the future?

THE PHASES OF THE TURKISH MOON
From *Kikeriki* (Vienna)



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A MESSAGE FROM THE NEW GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK

[Hon. William Sulzer, whose term as Governor of New York begins on New Year's Day, in response to a request from the editor of this REVIEW, sends the following message, as to the spirit and purpose with which he enters upon his work, to our readers throughout the country, who will observe his further public career with especial interest. It is a fine avowal that Mr. Sulzer here makes; and it will bring him many good wishes from those who know how important is the work of his office.—THE EDITOR]

THE Governorship of the State of New York is everywhere regarded the highest elective office in the United States save only the Presidency. I realize fully the responsibility it entails and know something of the problems I must meet and solve. In the future, as in the past, I shall do my duty to all the people to the best of my ability as God gives me the light. My object is to do right, and I shall struggle as I never struggled before to make good.

You know it is my belief that the only possible safety of any man holding a high executive position is to make every public action fully responsive to the highest and most serious motive of which he is capable. We are entering a new era in the political and social life of America. People care very little for parties, but they do care tremendously for efficiency and for high and noble conduct in public office. The keynote of my administration will be simplicity, economy, efficiency, and democracy in its better and its generic sense. WILLIAM SULZER.

WOODROW WILSON'S IDEAS OF THE PRESIDENCY

BY JAMES W. GARNER

(Professor of Political Science in the University of Illinois)

IT is doubtful if any one has written about American politics with more originality, keenness of insight, and depth of understanding than the distinguished scholar whom the nation has lately called to the chief magistracy of the Republic. In his little book entitled "Congressional Government," written twenty-eight years ago, while he was still a student in the university, he analyzed with remarkable clearness of vision the characteristic features of our methods of congressional legislation and explained, largely by way of contrast, the essential differences between parliamentary government, or government by a responsible ministry, and what he called "congressional government," or government by irresponsible committees.

In his book entitled "Constitutional Government," published about four years ago and which embodies the ideas of a more mature mind, he writes in a more or less general way of the Presidency, the Congress, the courts, political parties, and the functions of the States in our federal republic.

His ideas of the Presidential office as it was in the minds of the framers of the Constitution, as it has developed and as it actually is to-day or should be, are, if not wholly new, very positive and definite and certainly cannot be without popular interest, now that he is soon to have an opportunity to play the great rôle which in his writings and speeches he has assigned to the President.

THE PERSONAL EQUATION

At the outset Mr. Wilson very properly observes that the Presidency is not a fixed thing; it is one thing at one time and a different thing at another time, depending upon the man who occupies the office and upon the circumstances under which its powers are exercised. In short, the office is what the man makes of it. Some Presidents have been weak men and have not made use of the vast powers which custom and the written Constitution give them; others, not necessarily weak, have to a certain extent voluntarily effaced themselves somewhat as the French Presidents have done and renounced certain of their rightful functions in favor of the legislative department, either through fear of provoking a conflict with a coördinate branch of the government, or upon the theory that the will of the legislature should be paramount when a difference arises.

They have not considered that they should be leaders of public opinion, or that they were in any positive manner responsible for the character of legislation enacted by Congress. They have been followers instead of moulders and leaders of public opinion, mere servants of the legislative will instead of influential guides and leaders of the legislature. When they have made perfunctory recommendations to Congress and occasionally vetoed a bill in obedience to a popular demand so widespread that they could hardly do otherwise, their duties in respect to legislation were considered to have been fulfilled.

PRESIDENTS WHO HAVE BEEN REAL LEADERS

On the other hand, some Presidents have been men of great force and influence, with very definite and positive conceptions of their duties and unafraid of responsibility; they have considered the occupant of the Presidential office to be the leader and spokesman of the people, responsible for the carrying out of the legislative as well as the political policies of the party and consequently commissioned to guide and lead Congress in every legitimate way. Considering it their duty to direct Congress rather than to follow it, they have not been content to play the mere negative rôle of vetoing authority, but they have formulated their own programs of legislation and by means of argument and appeals to public opinion and sometimes by other means more reprehensible than legitimate they have compelled Congress to enact their recommendations into law. Such Presidents have left their impress upon the office, and it passed to their successors a very different office from that which they found.

For these reasons, as Mr. Wilson points out, it is easier to describe the Presidency as it is in the hands of a particular occupant than to describe the Presidency in general. The original conception of the Presidency, says Mr. Wilson, was that the President should be only the legal executive, that is, the presiding and enforcing authority in the application of the laws and the execution of public policy. This was the Whig conception of what the English King should be. His power in respect to legislation was to be chiefly negative, that is, the power to prevent bad legislation by means of his veto. It was to be a power of restraint rather than of guidance; he was expected to have little or no positive share in the determination of legislative policies and under no responsibility for the enactment of good laws. Much less was he expected to be the leader of his party and the guide of the nation in the shaping of its political policies. But as a matter of fact he has become both the guide of the nation in legislation and the chief of his party, and notwithstanding the varying practice and influence of different Presidents we have come more and more to look upon him as the unifying force in our complex system. And this dual rôle is not inconsistent with the spirit of the actual working Constitution though it may be with a mere mechanical theory of its meaning and intention.

BOTH LEGISLATIVE GUIDE AND PARTY CHIEF

In this connection Mr. Wilson elsewhere maintains that the Constitution cannot be regarded as a mere legal document to be read with subtlety and sophistication and to be construed as a will or a contract would be, but that it must, from the necessity of the case, be a vehicle of life, and the interpretation of it must change as the life of the nation changes, so that its spirit will always be the spirit of the age. The evolution of the working Constitution, and more especially that part of it which has to do with the method of his election, has forced upon the President the rôle of party leader. He is picked out from the body of the nation by the nominating convention, says Mr. Wilson, as a party leader and he is expected to stand before the country as the chief representative of the party in its purposes and principles. Not infrequently the country has shown a stronger belief in the man than in the party and nominating conventions have sometimes had the wisdom to perceive that what the country desires is not so much the election of an experienced and able statesman as some leader who represents the country in its national life and ideals and who can speak its real sentiments and purposes and direct its political opinion.

This explains to some extent why the old practice of nominating the most distinguished statesmen—members of cabinets, eminent Senators and great Speakers of the House of Representatives,—has fallen into desuetude. The office, as it has developed, no longer demands an able and experienced statesman so much as particular qualities of mind and character; it rather requires "a man who will be and who will seem to the country in some sort an embodiment of the character and purpose it wishes its government to have; a man who understands his own day and who has the personality and the initiative to enforce his views both upon the people and upon Congress." And this type of man is quite as likely to be found outside the ranks of experienced statesmen as within them.

The President is therefore preëminently the leader of his party and he cannot escape the responsibility except by incapacity; and as he is the only party leader for whom the entire country votes, he is consequently the only one whose responsibility is to the whole country. Senators and Representatives are chosen from restricted areas and are therefore not responsible in any effective manner to the nation as a whole, so that there is more and more a disposition to place upon the President the chief responsibility for carrying out the promises of the party in regard to legislation. Says Mr. Wilson:

> So far as the government itself is concerned there is but one national voice in the country and that is the voice of the President. His isolation has quite unexpectedly been his exaltation. The House represents localities, is made up of individuals whose interest is the interest of separate and scattered constituencies, who are drawn together, indeed, under a master, the Speaker, but who are controlled by no national force except that of their party, a force outside the government rather than within it. The Senate represents in its turn regions and interests distinguished by many conflicting and contrasted purposes, united only by exterior party organization and a party spirit not generated within the chamber itself. Only the President represents the country as a whole, and the President himself is coöperatively bound to the houses only by the machinery and discipline of party, not as a person and a functionary, but as a member of an outside organization which exists quite independently of the executive and the legislature.

In the opinion of Mr. Wilson, therefore, the President should not only be the leader of his party and the spokesman for the nation

in political matters, but since there is an increasing disposition to hold him responsible for the fulfillment of the party pledges, he should exert a large influence in the determination of legislative programs and in the enactment of legislation. Leadership in government, he says, naturally belongs to the executive officers, who are daily in contact with practical conditions and exigencies and whose reputations alike for good judgment and fidelity are much more at stake in the application of the laws than are those of the legislative body. The law-making part of the government ought, therefore, to be very hospitable to suggestions from the executive department in regard to legislative needs. Concerning the voluntary abdication by certain of our Presidents of their power over legislation Mr. Wilson says:

> Some of our Presidents have deliberately held themselves off from using the full power they might legitimately have used, because of conscientious scruples, because they were more theorists than statesmen. They have held the strict literary theory of the Constitution, the Whig theory, the Newtonian theory, and have acted as if they thought Pennsylvania Avenue should have been even longer than it is; that there should be no intimate communication of any kind between the Capitol and the White House; that the President as a man was no more at liberty to lead the houses of Congress by persuasion than he was at liberty as President to dominate them by authority,—supposing that he had, what he has not, authority enough to dominate them.

THE PRESIDENT'S RELATIONS WITH CONGRESS

And yet, he adds, the Constitution explicitly authorizes the President to recommend to Congress "such measures as he shall deem necessary and expedient" and it is not essential to the integrity of even the literary theory of the Constitution that such recommendations should be merely perfunctory. Notwithstanding the power expressly conferred on the President by the Constitution some Presidents, he also adds, "have seemed to entertain a timid fear that they might offend some law of taste which had become a constitutional principle." It is the undoubted right of the President to employ all the personal force and influence that he may possess to compel Congress to enact his recommendations into law, and a courageous President backed by public opinion can accomplish much in this way.

Some Presidents, indeed, have been able to carry through in the face of opposition, ambitious legislative programs by this means, and some recent governors, including Mr. Wilson himself, have succeeded in a similar manner. A tactful President of course will not attempt to bulldoze or cajole Congress into adopting his recommendations, and he will not be overbearing in his attitude, but if he is a strong man he will endeavor to overcome the opposition by persuasion, argument and what Mr. Wilson calls the force of "pitiless publicity," through which public opinion will be aroused and brought to bear upon indifferent or hostile representatives.

Mr. Wilson very properly recognizes, however, that there are illegitimate means by which the President may influence Congress—such as the use of his power of patronage, or by the more arbitrary method of ignoring or even of overriding the laws, but such means are "deeply immoral, they are destructive of the fundamental understanding of constitutional government and therefore, of constitutional government itself. They are sure, moreover, in a country of free public opinion, to bring their own punishment, to destroy both the fame and the power of the man who dares to practice them. No honorable man includes such agencies in a sober exposition of the Constitution or allows himself to think of them when he speaks of the influences of 'life' which govern each generation's use and interpretation of that great instrument, our sovereign guide and the object of our deepest reverence. Nothing in a system like ours can be constitutional which is immoral or which touches the good faith of those who have sworn to obey the fundamental law. The reprobation of all good men will always overwhelm such influences with shame and failure."

THE NATION DEMANDS LEADERSHIP

As Mr. Wilson observes, the President is at liberty both in law and conscience to be as big a man as he can, his own capacity being the limit, and if he is able to overcome the opposition of Congress it will be because he has the nation behind him whereas Congress has not. "The whole country," he said in his address before the Commercial Club at Portland, Oregon, in 1911, "since it cannot decipher the methods of its legislation, is clamoring for leadership; and a new rôle, which, to many persons, seems little less than unconstitutional, is thrust upon our executives. The people are impatient of a President or a Governor who will not formulate a policy and insist upon its adoption. They are impatient of a Governor who will not exercise energetic leadership, who will not make his appeals directly to public opinion

and insist that the dictates of public opinion be carried out in definite legal reforms of his own suggestion."

The history of the cabinet, he says, affords a striking illustration of the growth of the idea that the President is not merely the executive head of the country but is also its political leader. More and more the old practice of appointing to cabinet positions the recognized leaders of the party—those who had sometimes been the rivals of the President for the nomination, has been disregarded; the President has ceased to regard the cabinet as a council of party leaders but rather as a body of personal advisers, and he has come more and more to seek his associates from among his personal friends, business associates, and professional colleagues—eminent citizens rather than experienced political leaders, who have given evidence of their success in the management of private concerns, or in the prosecution of private professions—all of which goes to show that the President himself is the only leader of his party and the members of his cabinet merely his private advisers. The cabinet, therefore, is an executive rather than a political body.

THE CABINET,—NOT A POLITICAL BODY

From the very necessities of the situation the President cannot administer, he cannot himself execute the laws, he can give attention only to the larger questions of policy that are brought to him by his subordinates; he must therefore delegate the duty of carrying out the laws to his chief subordinates, that is, the heads of the great executive departments over whom he retains the right of control. Under these conditions the President has tended to become more and more a political chief and less and less an executive officer, while the cabinet has become an executive rather than a political body.

The relation of the President to his cabinet will depend upon the man and his gifts. "His office is a mere vantage ground from which he may be sure that the effective words of advice and timely efforts at reform will gain telling momentum. He has the ear of the nation as of course, and a great person may use such an advantage greatly. If he uses the opportunity, he may take his cabinet into partnership or not, as he pleases; and so its character may vary with his. Self-reliant men will regard their cabinets as executive councils; men less self-reliant or more prudent will regard them as political councils, and will wish to call into them men who have earned the confidence of their party."

INITIATIVE IN FOREIGN RELATIONS

One of the greatest powers of the President, says Mr. Wilson, is his almost absolute control of the foreign relations of the country. His initiative in the conduct of foreign affairs is subjected to no restrictions, and while the consent of the Senate is necessary to the conclusion of a treaty, his right of initiative gives him the power to determine what treaties shall be made, and when once made, if the times are critical, the government is virtually committed. The rôle of the President in this domain has been tremendously increased by the position which the United States has attained as one of the greatest powers of the world, so that the President can never again be a mere domestic executive as he once was. "Henceforth our President must always be one of the great powers of the world, whether he acts greatly and wisely or not, and the best statesman we can produce will be needed to fill the office of Secretary of State. We have begun to see the presidential office in this light; but it is the light which will more and more beat upon it and more and more determine its character and its effect upon the politics of the nation. We can never again hide our President as a mere domestic officer. . . . He must stand always at the front of our affairs and the office will be as big and as influential as the man who occupies it."

CENTERING POWER AND RESPONSIBILTY

We may summarize, then, almost in his own words Mr. Wilson's views of the great office which he is soon to occupy: Originally the President was regarded merely as the legal executive, perhaps, the leader of the nation, but certainly not the leader of his party, at any rate while in office. But through the operation of forces inherent in the very nature of government he has become all three, and by inevitable consequence, the most heavily burdened officer in the world. The burden of fulfilling these three rôles, with their ever increasing demands upon his time and strength, is so great that men of ordinary physique and discretion cannot bear it and live, unless the strain be somewhat relieved. If this is not done we shall be obliged, he says, to pick our chief magistrates from among the necessarily small class of wise and prudent athletes.

Mr. Wilson doubts, however, whether the deliberate opinion of the country would consent to make of the President a less powerful officer than he is. It lies with the President himself, he says, to secure his own relief, without shirking his responsibility or effacing himself. He may, if he will, act more and more upon the advice of his executive colleagues in the making of appointments and upon them he may devolve the determination of multitudinous details, reserving for himself only the larger questions of policy and a general oversight of the business of government and of his subordinates who actually carry it on. Too many Presidents have taken their work literally and have attempted the impossible. "But," he concludes, "we can safely predict that as the multitude of the President's duties increases, as it must with the growth and widening activities of the nation itself, the incumbents of the great office will more and more come to feel that they are administering it in its truest purpose and with greatest effect by regarding themselves as less and less executive officers and more and more directors of affairs and leaders of the nation,—men of counsel and of the sort of action that makes for enlightenment."

It may be said that this view of the executive office is not the theoretical opinion of an academic scholar. As governor of New Jersey Mr. Wilson acted on the principle that the office of governor is something more than that of a mere legal executive but, as he said in an address before the "House of Governors" at Frankfort in November, 1910, the executive must represent, persuade, and lead the people and when he is supported by public opinion he must also lead the legislature.

As governor, Mr. Wilson was remarkably successful in enforcing his own views upon the legislature. He appeared before legislative committees and at informal meetings of the legislature to urge the enactment of measures which he had recommended and he stood ready when occasion required to go before the people and make an appeal for the support of public opinion. But resort to such measures was unnecessary and the mere threat of the governor to appeal to the electorate broke down the opposition. The result was the enactment of a body of progressive legislation perhaps unequaled in the history of the single session of any other American legislature.

This idea of the rôle of the executive is not Mr. Wilson's alone although he has done more than any other American executive to give it practical form and to demonstrate its possibilities. It has been championed by other governors, notably by Mr. Hughes of New York, and it is in thorough harmony with one of the clearest political tendencies of the time, namely, the concentration of power and responsibility in the hands of a single person. This tendency is the inevitable result of a reaction against the evils of our American system of an overdivided responsibility and it is an indication that we are getting away from the notion that concentration of power is necessarily dangerous, especially when it is coupled with an effective system of popular responsibility. The old idea that the popular branch of the government must necessarily be paramount has fewer supporters now than formerly and it is patent to every one that the executive has been steadily gaining over the legislative department.

The chief difficulty with this view of the executive office, however, will be the practical impossibility of finding a man big enough to play such a rôle wisely and successfully. It will require tact, courage, fearlessness, a powerful personal influence, readiness to assume responsibility, the highest elements of leadership and rare qualities of statesmanship. Few of our later Presidents, at least, have possessed such unusual qualifications. Mr. Cleveland essayed to play somewhat the rôle which Mr. Wilson attributes to the executive and he succeeded not only in stamping his character on the Presidential office but he left it stronger and more powerful than he found it. However, and here is a warning for our new President, Mr. Cleveland's policy brought him into almost hopeless conflict with Congress and he left his party disorganized and he retired more or less discredited.

Whether Mr. Wilson will be able to succeed where Mr. Cleveland failed, remains to be seen. He has clearly demonstrated that he possesses unusual gifts of leadership, strength of character, and personal popularity—qualities which Mr. Cleveland did not possess in so full a measure. The office to which he has been called by the voice of the country is, even according to the narrowest interpretation of its powers, undoubtedly the greatest in the world (Mr. Bryce excepts only the Papacy), and if he succeeds in fulfilling the triple rôle which, according to his view, the occupant of the office must or should play—namely, that of legal executive, party leader, and political guide of the nation—he will leave the Presidency a more powerful office than it was when he assumed it.

PARCEL POST RATE ZONES FROM NEW YORK CITY

THE PARCEL POST

BY HOWARD FLORANCE

ON January 1 a system of sending through the mails packages weighing eleven pounds or less will go into effect in this country, the Government having heretofore refused to accept parcels weighing more than four pounds. Included in the scheme is a radical lowering of the existing rate.

No longer will the pondering American wonder why such a system could be operated advantageously in more than a score of the nations of the world,—even in China,—and yet not be practicable here. Nor will he ask himself and his friends why he could mail an eleven-pound package from San Francisco to London, via New York, but would not be permitted to mail an identical package from San Francisco to New York.

Almost everyone has seemed to favor increasing our postal service so as to include the carrying of parcels, and yet the fight had to be waged long and bitterly. Mr. John Wanamaker, the well-known merchant,—himself a former Postmaster-General,—is quoted as having said, many years ago, that there were four obstacles to the establishment of a parcel post in this country. And he thereupon enumerated four companies which were doing the greater part of our express business at that time. It also had been frequently asserted (whether justly or not) that no provision for a parcel post would come from the United States Senate so long as the Empire State was represented in that body by two gentlemen, one of whom was at the time chairman of the board of directors of one of the largest railroad systems in the country, and the other of whom was president of a large express company.

These express companies, however, are now fairly meek and mild under the benign influence of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the State of New York has lost the services of the two Senators in question.

The agitation for a parcel post in this country is said to date back forty years. The chief opponents, besides the express companies, seem to have been the small country storekeepers, who feared the competition of the large mail-order houses.

It fairly exemplifies our American temperament that when Congress finally passed a bill, last August, authorizing the establishment of a comprehensive parcel-post system, it seemed to attract but little attention from the public and the press. After forty years' agitation, the thing sought for is accepted with hardly a commendatory word or a "thank you."

A YEAR IN CONGRESS

Important legislation is often enacted by our national lawmaking body with comparatively little debate,—particularly if the bill in question comes up during the closing weeks of a session protracted through months of hot summer weather. The method of procedure, especially in the case of the annual appropriation bills (of one of which the parcel-post measure was a part), is for the standing committees of each House to devote many weeks to hearings upon each section; and then more weeks to debate among the members themselves. The measures which are reported from these committees are, with more or less modification, usually made laws.

The parcel-post provision in the Post Office appropriation bill, for instance, had its beginnings in the special session of 1911. During the debate in the Senate over the Canadian Reciprocity measure, Senator Jonathan Bourne, Jr., of Oregon, chairman of the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, was able to present and secure the passage of a resolution authorizing his committee to inquire into the practicability of a parcel post. That committee designated seven of its members as a sub-committee to carry on the investigation.

Inquiry was made into the parcel-post systems of other countries,—not by "junkets" or Congressional tours at Government expense, but by correspondence with our diplomatic representatives abroad. Precise information was obtained from forty-three countries having a parcel post. Hearings were then held at Washington, running over a period of five months; and any one who appeared was given opportunity to plead for or against the proposed extension of our postal service. The information gathered by this sub-committee was used in the preparation of a bill introduced in the Senate last May.

In the meantime, a strong fight for a parcel post had been waged in the House of Representatives, under the leadership of William Sulzer, of New York. The net result of the debate in this branch was the adoption of two amendments to the Post Office appropriation bill, one extending to our own communities the same rates which apply to foreign countries (i.e., an eleven-pound limit, at twelve cents per pound), and the other establishing an experimental system on rural routes, at five cents per pound. These measures were sent to the Senate, in the regular course of procedure.

Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

HON. JONATHAN BOURNE, JR.

(Chairman of the Senate Post Office Committee and author of the Parcel Post measure)

The Post Office committee of that body, however, believed it could secure the passage of its own bill, admitted to be more comprehensive. The Senate measure therefore displaced the two House amendments referred to. Chairman Bourne explained the bill in detail to the Senate, by means of printed reports, tables, and other memoranda, and it was adopted on August 13. The House cheerfully accepted the Senate's broader bill.

RATES AND ZONES

As adopted by Congress and signed by the President, the parcel-post measure extends the limit of weight on fourth-class matter from four pounds to eleven[1] pounds, and lowers the postage rate from sixteen cents a pound to a graduated scale (based upon distance) or from five cents to twelve cents

[1] The equivalent of five kilograms, the standard adopted by the Universal Postal Union.

for the first pound, and one cent to twelve cents for each additional pound. Because of the great distances between our boundaries, a zone system was adopted, so that those who send packages to nearby points will not have to pay part of the cost of the longer hauls.

In concise form the rates are as follows:

	First Pound.	Each Additional Pound.	Eleven Pounds.
Rural route and city delivery	$0.05	$0.01	$0.15
50 mile zone	.05	.03	.35
150 mile zone	.06	.04	.46
300 mile zone	.07	.05	.57
600 mile zone	.08	.06	.68
1000 mile zone	.09	.07	.79
1400 mile zone	.10	.09	1.00
1800 mile zone	.11	.10	1.11
Over 1800 miles	.12	.12	1.32

The package must not be greater than seventy-two inches in length and girth combined. If it is fourteen inches square at one end, for instance, it must not be more than sixteen inches long. If it is only three inches square at the end, it can be sixty inches long.

Books, magazines, and other printed matter are excluded from the parcel post. The present rates on these classes of merchandise are, however, comparatively low.

PARCEL POSTS IN WORLD-WIDE USE

Perhaps the greatest force in the campaign for the adoption of a package post was the successful experience of other countries, large and small, over long periods of years. It is not often that the United States lags behind in the matter of providing conveniences for its inhabitants. But a search through the postal laws of European nations shows that each and every one—with the single exception of Spain—had a parcel post while we were meekly urging one and Congress was debating its need and appointing commissions to inquire into its practicability and desirability.

If the seeker for the startling is not then satisfied, let him look at the postal laws of Asia. He will find that the Russian post office will carry a twelve-pound package from St. Petersburg, across Siberia, to the farthermost corner of the island of Saghalien or of Russian Manchuria—a journey of some 4500 miles—for less than a dollar. He will find that Turkey engages to forward by mail parcels weighing as much as eighty-eight pounds, and that China and Japan have up-to-date and efficient package service.

Mexico and many Central and South American countries also have parcel posts, varying considerably in rules and regulations but recognizing that the duties of a government post do not end with the forwarding of letters and other small pieces.

It is in the countries which control their railroad systems, or portions of them, that we find the parcel post *par excellence*. In Germany, Austria, Hungary, Belgium, Switzerland, Russia, and Colombia we find the post office offering to carry packages weighing 100 pounds or more. In Austria, for instance, you can send your trunk by mail, your bicycle, baby carriage, or even pieces of furniture.

Our Post Office Department is valiantly wrestling with innumerable problems which have arisen since the passage of the measure creating the parcel post,—such as when and where packages shall be accepted in the cities and towns, the issuing of a special postage stamp, and provision for the increased business.

A very difficult matter was the creation of means by which the postmasters throughout the country will be able to ascertain quickly the rate to any given locality. The plan adopted is based upon half-degrees of latitude and longitude, and divides the United States into 3500 units, about thirty-five miles square. Each of these is given a number, and all the post offices in the square bear that number. An alphabetical index gives the number of the square in which a city, town, or village is located; and a glance at the map, on which the zones are marked, shows immediately the rate to be applied.

As soon as these problems have been solved, and the Department has demonstrated its ability to carry on the work efficiently, it is

A COMPARISON OF EXPRESS AND PARCEL-POST RATES

		1 LB.	3 LBS.	5 LBS.	8 LBS.	11 LBS.
50 miles	Express rate[1]	.25	.25	.30	.35	.35
	Parcel-post rate	.05	.11	.17	.26	.35
150 miles	Express rate	.25	.30	.40	.45	.45
	Parcel-post rate	.06	.14	.22	.34	.46
300 miles	Express rate	.25	.35	.45	.55	.60
	Parcel-post rate	.07	.17	.27	.42	.57
600 miles	Express rate	.25	.45	.55	.70	.75
	Parcel-post rate	.08	.20	.32	.50	.68
1000 miles	Express rate	.25	.45	.70	.90	1.00
	Parcel-post rate	.09	.23	.37	.58	.79
1800 miles	Express rate	.30	.45	.80	1.20	1.50
	Parcel-post rate	.12	.36	.60	.96	1.32
2500 miles	Express rate	.30	.45	.80	1.20	1.60
	Parcel-post rate	.12	.36	.60	.96	1.32
3300 miles	Express rate	.30	.45	.80	1.20	1.60
	Parcel-post rate	.12	.36	.60	.96	1.32

[1] From New York, where express charges are said to be the lowest in the country.

to be hoped that it will devote its attention to several minor—though extremely important—extensions of the system, such as insurance, special delivery, and a C. O. D. provision, whereby the post office will collect, and forward to the shipper, the payment for the goods delivered. This system is successfully used in Germany. Mr. A. can order from Mr. B. a gold mesh bag or a diamond ring, valued at $200. Mr. B. never before had dealings with Mr. A., but he fills the order and sends the package by mail, C. O. D. The postman collects the $200 when he delivers the package, and forwards the money, by next mail, to Mr. B. The advantages of such a system are apparent.

THE WAY THE MAIL-CARRIER MAY APPEAR UNDER THE PARCEL POST, ACCORDING TO THE CARTOONIST OF THE NEW YORK "HERALD"

POSSIBLE EFFECT ON COST OF LIVING

Aside from the direct saving in rates, the parcel post may be the means of materially lessening the cost of living by bringing the producer in immediate contact with the consumer. Thus in Germany, and other European countries, many families in the cities and towns have for years obtained the more common articles of food by mail, direct from the producer.

It was pointed out in the article on "The Middleman," in the November issue of this magazine, that sometimes as many as six separate and distinct concerns or individuals handle an article before it reaches the one who purchases it for his own use,—and each adds a profit to its original cost. This is particularly true of the common articles of food.

As concrete illustrations, let us compare the prices which producers get for butter, eggs, and chicken, as reported by the Department of Agriculture, with the prices which the consumer pays, as given in the market reports of a metropolitan daily newspaper. Both sets of figures are for the same day (October 1), and each represents the average price for first-grade products.

	Producer Received.	Consumers Paid.	Middlemen's Profits.
Butter (pound)	$0.25	$0.36	$0.11
Eggs (dozen)	.22	.40	.18
Chicken (pound)	.11½	.21	.09½

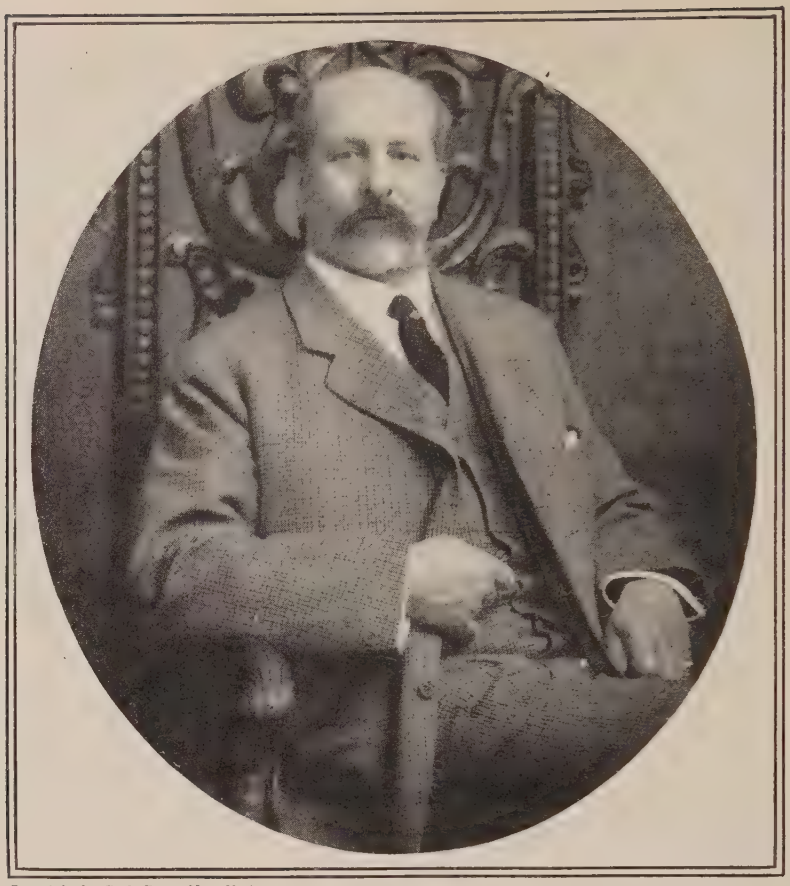
It is fair to assume that the small producer in the country would be willing to sell to consumers in the city at about the same prices that he gets from wholesale dealers. It is also likely that everyone lives within fifty miles of a farmhouse.

Purchasing your butter from the farmer, therefore, in quantities of two pounds or more, you pay him 25 cents a pound, plus the transportation charges—by parcel post—from his door to your own, about 4 cents a pound. Compared with the grocer's price, you save 7 cents on every pound of butter which you use, and you get fresh butter.

Two dozen eggs, in a suitable container, will weigh less than three pounds. Paying the farmer 44 cents for them, allowing perhaps 3 cents for the cost of the container, and adding the charge for carriage, your eggs would cost you 29 cents a dozen,—a saving of 11 cents on a dozen or nearly one cent on each egg.

A three-pound chicken, with head and feet amputated, would still weigh less than three pounds when wrapped securely. Buying direct from the producer, it would cost 11½ cents a pound, plus 3½ cents a pound for postage,—in all, 18 cents less than you would have to pay your butcher for the same fowl.

The use of the parcel post for these three items alone would materially lessen the cost of living for the average family in the city, besides insuring the purchase of fresh products. And if it is possible to get these things direct from the producer, it is easy to conceive how the system could be used advantageously in countless other fields. To have sent such things in the past, by express, the transportation charges would have been more than twice as much, and the farmer would have had to cart the package to the railroad station. Now he will simply hand it to the driver on his rural-free-delivery route.



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GUSTAV H. SCHWAB

A TALENTED business man, a citizen of active and intense patriotism, a man of refined tastes, benevolent disposition, and a healthy habit of recreation,—such was the rounded character of Gustav H. Schwab, who died in New York on November 12, last. Mr. Schwab was born in New York City, educated in Stuttgart, and began his business career in Bremen, returning after a few years to the United States to enter the firm of Oelrichs & Company, general agents in this country of the North German Lloyd Steamship Company.

Always a worker for civic betterment, Mr. Schwab helped to organize the Citizens' Union of New York, which elected Seth Low, Mayor, and in fact took part in three of the great municipal reform movements in that city during the past twenty-five years. As a member of the New York Chamber of Commerce, he participated in the sound money campaign of the early '90's, served on a number of important committees having to do with foreign commerce, the tariff, and revenue laws, and was instrumental in starting the movement for the thousand-ton barge canal for the State of New York. Large public committees also, for whatever purpose appointed, almost invariably included Mr. Schwab's name as a member. Charitable enterprises ever found him a ready sympathizer.

The grandson and namesake of a German poet, Mr. Schwab belonged to that substantial body of citizens of German ancestry who are remarkable for a high order of business ability, a political idealism that impels them to enter reform movements, and a native love of culture and progress characteristic of men of the type of Carl Schurz, with whom he was on terms of close friendship. His reputation as a business man and public-spirited citizen extended beyond the limits of the metropolis in which he lived, and was indeed international.

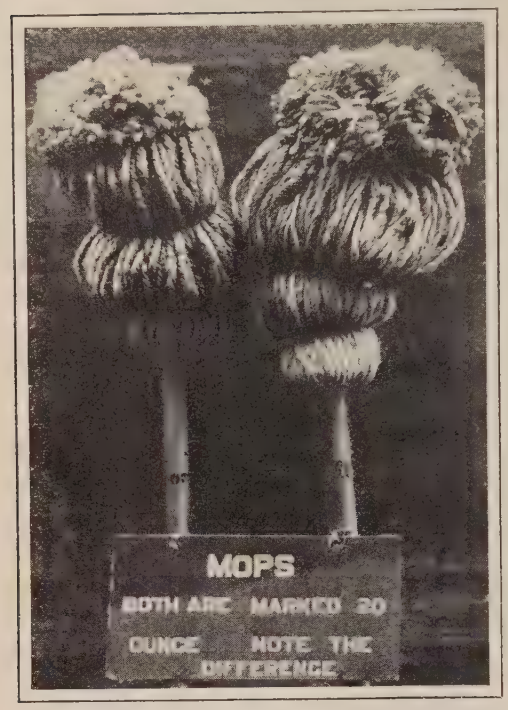
FRONT VIEW OF BUILDING (THE OLD ST. NICHOLAS HOTEL) WHERE THE CINCINNATI BUDGET EXHIBIT WAS HELD

VISUALIZING CINCINNATI'S BUDGET

AT the last election the voters of Cincinnati were requested to approve an extra tax levy for the year 1913 in order to provide for the city officials a sufficient sum to enable them to run their several departments. Under former conditions such a proposition would have been voted upon by the citizens without intelligence and its adoption would have been purely a matter of chance. The city government of Cincinnati at the present time, however, is alive to the importance of having the citizens know precisely how their money is spent. The approval of the tax levy, on November 5, by the decisive vote of 49,254 to 28,164 represented the deliberate judgment of the taxpayers of Cincinnati, reached after a thorough canvass of the financial needs of their city administration.

How was it possible to get such a decision, and by what process of education were the voters fitted to pass judgment on matters which ordinarily might seem to belong to the province of special departmental officers? The means employed for the enlightenment of Cincinnati's taxpayers on the finances of their city government was a so-called Budget Exhibit which was held by the Bureau of Municipal Research. When the city officials set up their claim that in order to run their departments as they should be run they required $1,000,000 more than was available without this extra levy tax, the bureau declared that it would not be possible for the people to act intelligently on the council's request for an increased levy until they should be shown what the city's departments were already doing, what they would be able to do if the levy were voted, and what service would have to be discontinued if it were not voted. The various city departments coöperated, therefore, with the Bureau of Municipal Research in presenting charts, diagrams, photographs, and a variety of object-lessons, all tending to illustrate the actual work carried on by the city, as well as possible improvements in service that might be instituted if larger annual grants were available.

It is quite probable also that besides serving to educate the taxpayers and the general public in these matters of city expenditures, the exhibit was further useful in stimulating public officials and employees to a keener appreciation of the tasks before them and

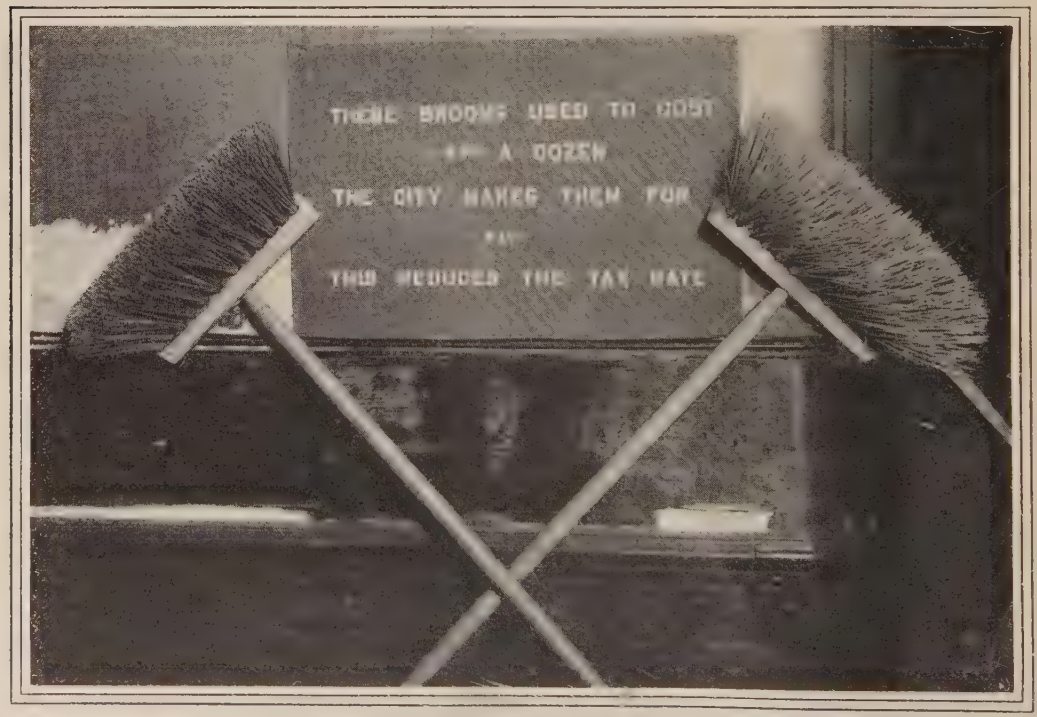


MOPS: IS INSPECTION NECESSARY?

a healthier interest in presenting the capacities and needs each of his own department. This, at least, has been the effect of similar "budget exhibits" held in New York and other cities, and indeed is to be reckoned as one of the chief benefits to be derived from such exhibits.

The Cincinnati Budget Exhibit was well advertised throughout the city and on the first of October it was opened to the public in the old St. Nicholas Hotel. It continued only two weeks, but during that time there was an attendance of 109,247, or nearly one-third of the entire population of the city. It had long been the rule in Cincinnati, as in other cities, to have a small proportion of men in attendance at public meetings held for educational, religious, and civic purposes, but this exhibit brought men in large numbers who were vitally interested in what they saw there.

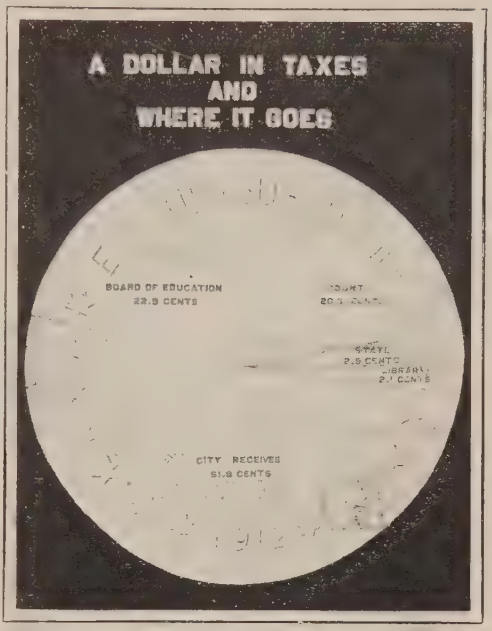
There were many things in the exhibit of direct personal interest to the individual consumer, whether man or woman, wholly apart from the main purpose of setting forth the municipal budgetary needs. For example, women learned from the city sealer of weights and measures how they might be cheated in their purchases of vegetables or coal. They also were taught how a small leak can increase the water bill, and one of the city firemen instructed them exactly how to turn in a fire alarm. All ages and classes of women were



IN THIS WAY THE CINCINNATI STREET-CLEANING DEPARTMENT SHOWED THAT IT WAS SAVING THE CITY'S MONEY

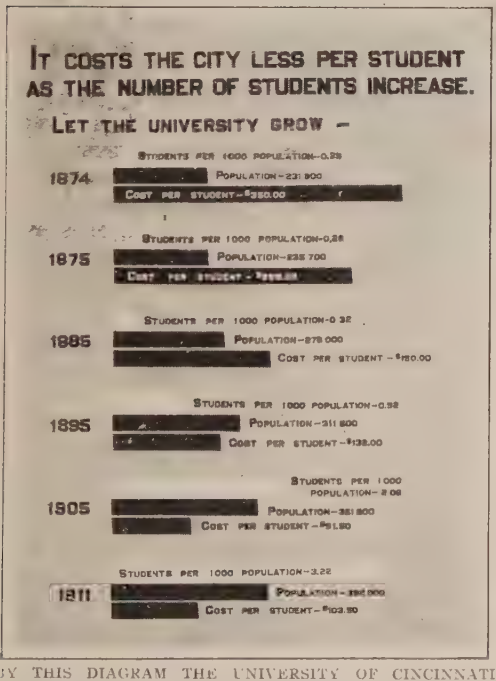
represented. Some came in their automobiles and some stopped on their way home from work. Every day at noon and in the evening public officials gave short talks, making it clear, for instance, why the city's purchasing agent has to test coal samples for heat units, how he saves money by making soap and paint, and how the dairy inspection of the Health Department directly affects the purity of the bottled milk delivered daily at every door. In a single day 10,000 people who could not have been hired to read a municipal report were brought, through their senses of sight and touch, to realize some of the most important activities of the Cincinnati city government, and to feel in some measures their own civic responsibility for the maintenance of those activities.

The visitor to the exhibit learned that among the objects for which the money derived from the new levy is to be spent are public concerts, a bureau of efficiency, a university night school, seven district physicians to look after poor people who cannot afford their own doctors, and ten school nurses.



A GRAPHIC WAY OF TELLING WHAT HAPPENS TO THE TAXPAYERS' DOLLAR IN CINCINNATI

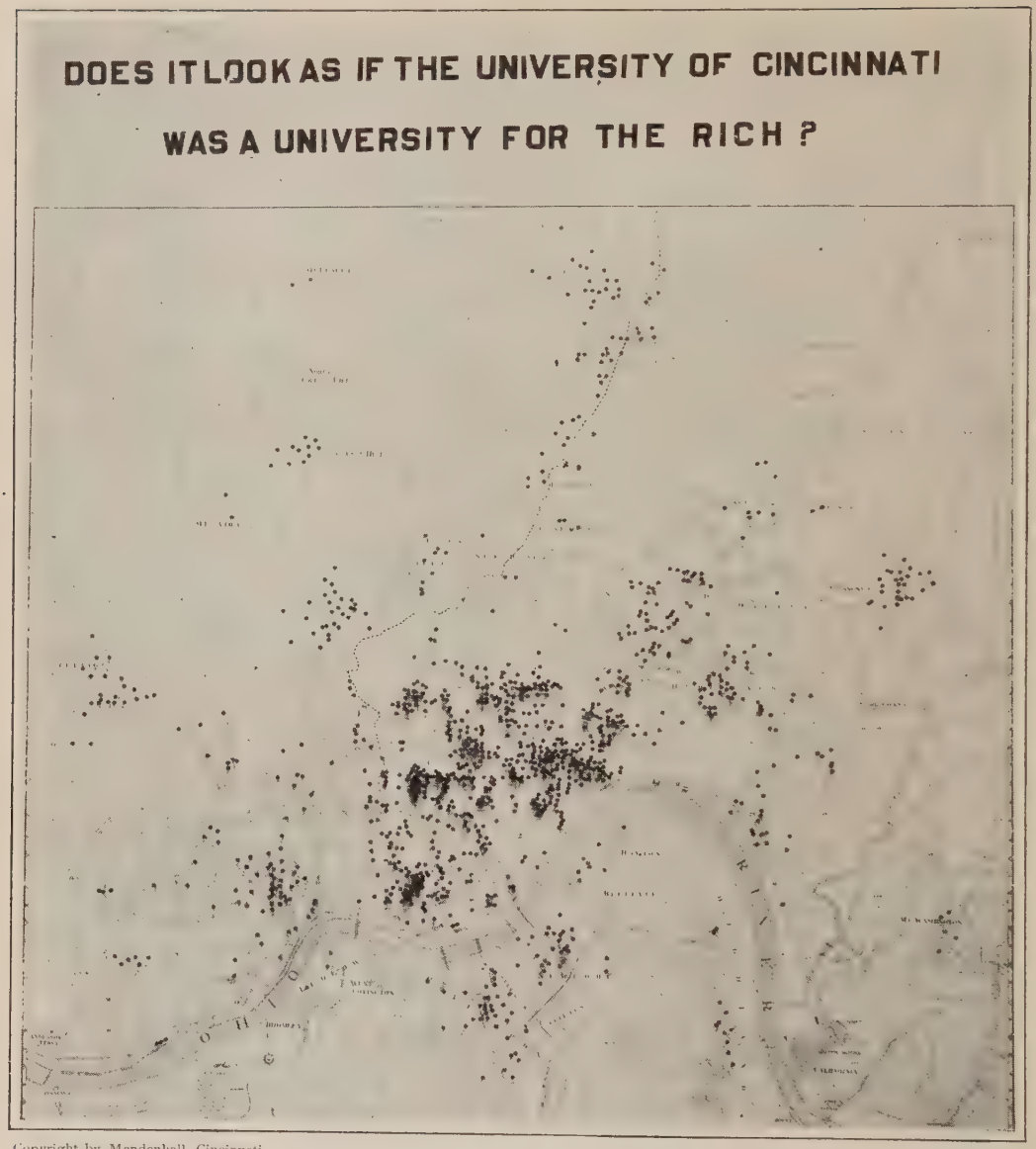
A MUNICIPAL UNIVERSITY'S CLAIMS TO PUBLIC SUPPORT



BY THIS DIAGRAM THE UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI MADE IT CLEAR THAT AS THE NUMBER OF STUDENTS INCREASES THE COST PER STUDENT GROWS LESS

PERHAPS no feature of the Cincinnati Budget exhibit of October last was more impressive than the showing made by the University of Cincinnati. This municipal university, unlike any other institution of learning in the country, is closely related to all of the city's educational, industrial, social, medical, and benevolent interests. One function of the exhibit was to show, by means of charts, how the university serves the city. It includes colleges of arts, of pedagogy, of engineering, of medicine, and of commerce. The College of Medicine, for example, coöperates with the City Hospital, the Board of Health, the Anti-Tuberculosis League, the Maternity Society, the Visiting Nurses' Association, and the Milk Commission. The College for Teachers coöperates with the public schools in training teachers, with the Art Academy in maintaining a normal art course, with the kindergarten school in preparing kindergartners and teachers of household economics.

The College of Engineering showed by a map its remarkable system of coöperation with industrial plants. Seventy-two manufacturing establishments are now affiliated with this college in training students.



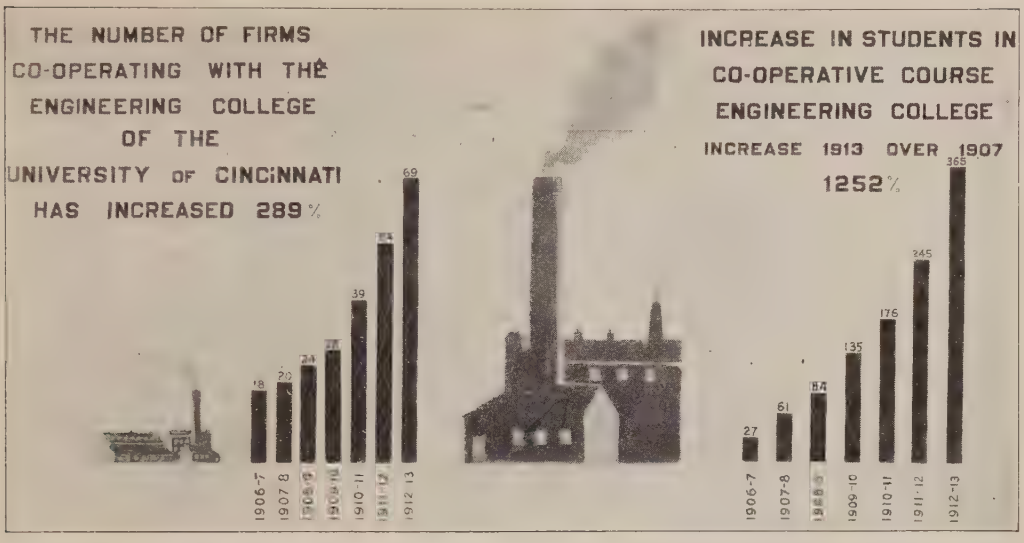
Copyright by Mendenhall, Cincinnati

EVERY PIN-HEAD ON THIS MAP OF CINCINNATI MARKS THE HOME OF A UNIVERSITY STUDENT

(Most of the students come from families of moderate means)

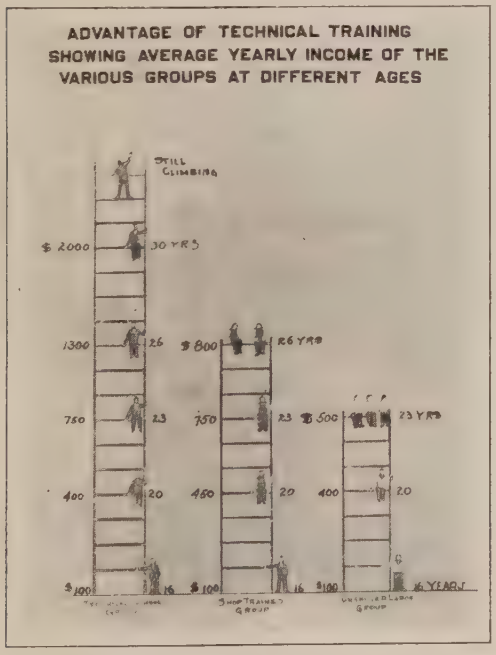
The College of Arts maintains evening classes for the benefit of those students who have to work during the day. It has six hundred of these evening students who are getting the full advantages of the college course.

Charts emphasized the fact that this great municipal university is maintained at a cost of thirty-six cents per capita per year, that the city of Cincinnati sent to other universities (not including professional students) only 245 young men in 1911-12, while in the same year the home university educated in its colleges (not including professional students) 990 young men and women of Cincinnati. It cost the city to train these students at home, after deducting endowments and the tuition of outsiders, only about $130,000, while it was estimated that to send these Cincinnati young men and women away to college would have cost $547,000. Furthermore, the university ascertained that at least 75 per cent. of these students had not the means to pay their way in any other college.



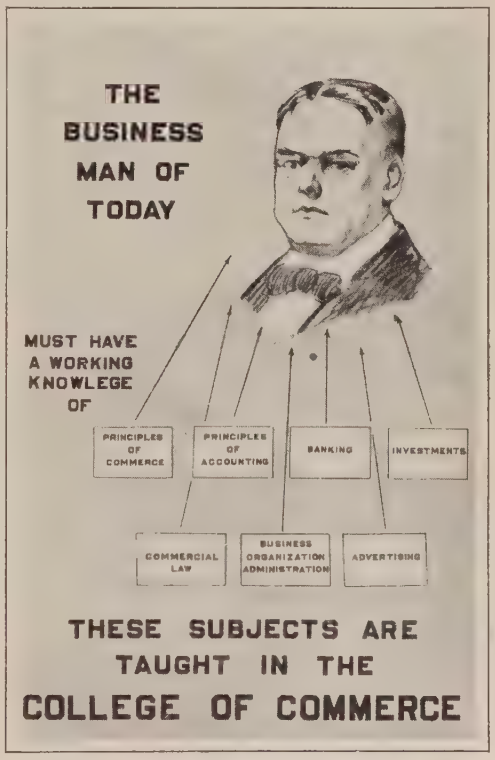
THIS DIAGRAM WAS USED TO ILLUSTRATE THE SYSTEM OF COÖPERATION BETWEEN THE ENGINEERING COLLEGE AND INDUSTRIAL PLANTS IN AND AROUND CINCINNATI

The families of only 5.4 per cent. had incomes of $7500 or more; 18 per cent., incomes between $2500 and $7500; 40 per cent., between $1500 and $2500, while 25 per cent. of the families had incomes of less than $1500. Sixty-seven per cent. of all the male students of the university work during vacation, and 59 per cent. work during the college session. A large map of Cincinnati with pins



A GOOD SHOWING FOR TECHNICAL TRAINING

(Facts regarding ages and earnings were collected for these three large groups of young men,—unskilled, shop-trained, and school or college-trained, and their courses followed for sixteen years. The unskilled fellow reached his top rung at twenty-three, the shop-trained man his at twenty-six years, while at thirty-two years the school-trained man was still climbing)



A PLACARD EMPLOYED TO SET FORTH THE ADVANTAGES OF COMMERCIAL EDUCATION

(The College of Commerce is said to be the only agency maintained by the City of Cincinnati for the helping of young clerks, stenographers, and bookkeepers)

stuck at the homes of resident students showed 900 pins scattered all over the city, with the greatest number in those districts where families of modest means have their homes. This record of student self-support is unusual for a university.

The growth of the university during the past ten years was graphically represented on other charts. It was shown that during the decade the institution had developed from a college of moderate size into a university with nearly 2000 students. The number of separate courses of study had increased from 250 to 377, the number of instructors from 48 to 76, and the income had increased 95 per cent. The cost of instruction per student, now that there are four students per thousand of population, is less than $100, whereas in the early days, when there were fewer students in proportion to the city's population, the cost to the city was nearly twice that sum.

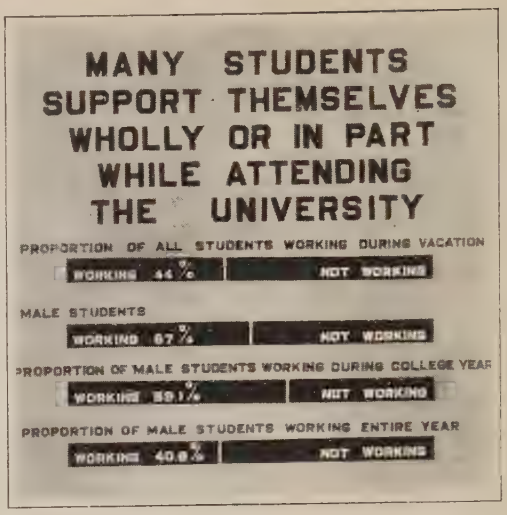

MANY STUDENTS SUPPORT THEMSELVES WHOLLY OR IN PART WHILE ATTENDING THE UNIVERSITY
PROPORTION OF ALL STUDENTS WORKING DURING VACATION
WORKING 44 %
NOT WORKING
MALE STUDENTS
WORKING 67 %
NOT WORKING
PROPORTION OF MALE STUDENTS WORKING DURING COLLEGE YEAR
WORKING 59.1 %
NOT WORKING
PROPORTION OF MALE STUDENTS WORKING ENTIRE YEAR
WORKING 40.8 %
NOT WORKING

CHART SHOWING A REMARKABLE RECORD OF STUDENT SELF-SUPPORT

MANUFACTURING PLANTS AFFILIATED WITH THE COLLEGE OF ENGINEERING
(Each star represents a plant where coöperative engineering students are employed)

CANADA'S PLANS FOR A NAVY

BY P. T. McGRATH

THE Canadian Parliament met on November 21, 1912, for the express purpose of deciding upon a naval policy; and, interesting and important as this problem is to the Canadian people, it is almost of equal interest and importance to the people of the United States, because it introduces a new, and what must inevitably prove a disturbing, factor with reference to the enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine in the future.

During recent years citizens of the British Empire, in the motherland and overseas, have had to consider seriously the question of naval defense, compelled thereto by the growing armaments of European powers and the menace to the world's peace which Germany in the Atlantic and Japan in the Pacific are considered by many to represent. At successive gatherings of the British cabinet and the oversea premiers, the subject was debated and finally a Defense Conference was convened at London in 1909, to formulate plans for protecting the self-governing dominions.

A NAVAL POLICY UPHELD BY ALL PARTIES

When the invitation to Sir Wilfrid Laurier to attend this conference was tabled in the Dominion Parliament, the question of Canada's share in the naval defense of the empire was fully discussed, and this resolution was unanimously adopted, all parties agreeing to it in its amended form after the language of the original draft had been modified by suggestions from various quarters:

(1) The duty of the people of Canada to assume in larger measure the responsibility of national defense is fully recognized;

(2) Under the existing constitutional relations between the mother country and the autonomous dominions, the payment of regular and periodical contributions to the imperial treasury for naval and military purposes will not, so far as Canada is concerned, be the most satisfactory solution of the question of defense;

(3) Cordial approval is pledged to any necessary expenditure designed to promote the speedy organization of a Canadian naval service in coöperation with and close relation to the imperial navy, along the lines suggested by the Admiralty, and in full supremacy with the view that the naval supremacy of Britain is essential to the security of commerce, the safety of the Empire, and the peace of the world, and

(4) The firm conviction is expressed that whenever the need arises the Canadian people will be found ready and willing to make any sacrifice required to give to the imperial authorities the most loyal and hearty coöperation in every movement in the maintenance of the integrity and the honor of the Empire.

POLICIES OF OTHER BRITISH DOMINIONS

Resolutions equally loyal were adopted by Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, and at the Defense Conference the Admiralty experts represented that the really vital issue was the defense of the Pacific Ocean, and that, since the Mother Country had undertaken the protection of Canada's Atlantic seaboard, the Dominions should unitedly create a Pacific fleet of four battleship-cruisers of the *Indomitable* type, twelve smaller cruisers of the *Bristol* type, twenty-four destroyers, and twelve submarines, each Dominion providing a unit—one battleship-cruiser, three smaller cruisers, six destroyers, and three submarines. Australia accepted this proposal and began at once the creation of her fleet unit. New Zealand presented a battleship to the Imperial Navy, while taking time to consider further action, and has lately formulated military and naval defense policies including provision for compulsory service, and the addition of three destroyers to her naval quota. South Africa, being in the throes of creating a union out of the four Provinces—"Capeland," Natal, "Orangea," and Transvaal,—could do nothing, and Canada decided upon a somewhat different scheme from a "fleet unit."

How these undertakings have been partly translated into actualities may next be stated. New Zealand has her battleship and three destroyers in active service with the British fleet. Australia has afloat and in commission three destroyers; under construction in Britain, a battle-cruiser, two *Bristols*, and three submarines; and under construction in her home ports, another *Bristol* and three destroyers. Moreover, in 1910, this Dominion, stimulated to special activity by the fear of Japan, a fear which caused the Australians to give the American battleship fleet, in its voyage round the world, the greatest welcome it got anywhere,

resolved upon much larger naval schemes, embracing eight *Dreadnought* cruisers, ten protected cruisers, eighteen destroyers, and twelve submarines, the whole to cost $115,000,000, spread over twenty-two years; the outlay rising annually from $7,500,000 in 1912 to $25,000,000 in 1932–33, with the annual cost of maintenance increasing proportionately, the basis being that an annual Australian naval vote of $25,000,000 is relatively equal, on the present population basis, to a British naval budget of $225,000,000. The creation of a naval force of 15,000 men, and the fortifying of ports on the east and west coasts are also included.

WHY CANADA LAGGED BEHIND

Canada, though the most populous, wealthy, and vulnerable of the Dominions, did little to fulfil her promises—so little, indeed, that she has been frequently twitted for boasting so much and doing so little. In justice to her though, it should be stated that her apparent failure is not due to any lack of loyalty on the part of her people. Canadians proved their devotion to the British flag on the blood-stained African veldt in the most critical stages of the Boer War. Why she has lagged behind in naval matters is due to other causes, partly to the problem of the French-Canadians. An element in Quebec province is anti-navyite; and it has been said, perhaps truly, that no public man but Laurier could have got a naval service measure on the statute-book with as little trouble as attended its enactment. It provided, not for a naval unit like Australia's, but for two *Bristols* and six destroyers for the Atlantic, and for the Pacific two *Bristols* alone, with the requisite subsidiary essentials—docks, arsenals, barracks, etc.

The ships were to be built in Canada, if possible; and the 2000 officers and men required were to be trained there. A naval college for midshipmen was established at Halifax; and two "disclassed" cruisers of the British Navy were purchased for training ships—the *Niobe* for the Atlantic and the *Rainbow* for the Pacific. But up to the time of the defeat of the Laurier Ministry (September 21, 1911), no contracts had been awarded for the building of Canada's *Bristols* or destroyers, and as, under the proposals submitted to tenderers for the work, they need not all be completed till 1917, the Borden Government, after assuming office and studying the situation, decided to confer again with the Admiralty as to the whole naval project and base its policy on the conclusions reached then. Accordingly, Premier Borden and some of his colleagues visited London last summer, discussed this subject very fully with the imperial authorities, and after his return to Canada in September, the Premier, at a banquet in Montreal, announced that Parliament would be convened in November, to consider proposals in regard to the Navy.

PREMIER BORDEN CONSULTS THE MOTHER COUNTRY

When Premier Borden and his colleagues were in England, it was suggested that Premier Asquith and Naval Secretary Churchill should return to Canada with them, or follow after them on a British battleship, to discuss this issue more fully with the Dominion Cabinet at Ottawa. It was thought in some quarters that this would create a wave of enthusiasm throughout Canada which would greatly assist in the adoption of an adequate naval policy. Mr. Asquith, however, stated at once that it would be impossible for him to make this visit and there is reason to think that though Mr. Churchill may at first have favored the idea, he soon realized such a course was susceptible of the construction that he was unduly interfering in the affairs of the Dominion, for some Liberal newspapers in Canada protested very vigorously against the idea of his being brought across under such circumstances. Probably, also, Mr. Churchill was given to understand that his visit would further complicate the problem so far as Quebec is concerned. In that province, as a result of the Laurier naval project, a Liberal was defeated by an anti-navyite in a by-election in Sir Wilfrid Laurier's home district,—Drummond, Arthabasca,—in November, 1910, and there is no doubt that the "Nationalists," as the Quebec anti-navyites are known, did much to overthrow the Liberal party in that province in the general election of September, 1911, as a result of Mr. Borden's decision in regard to the naval proposals at the present session of the Dominion Parliament, we know that only a few weeks ago Mr. Monk, his Minister of Public Works, resigned, having previously pledged himself to a referendum on this question.

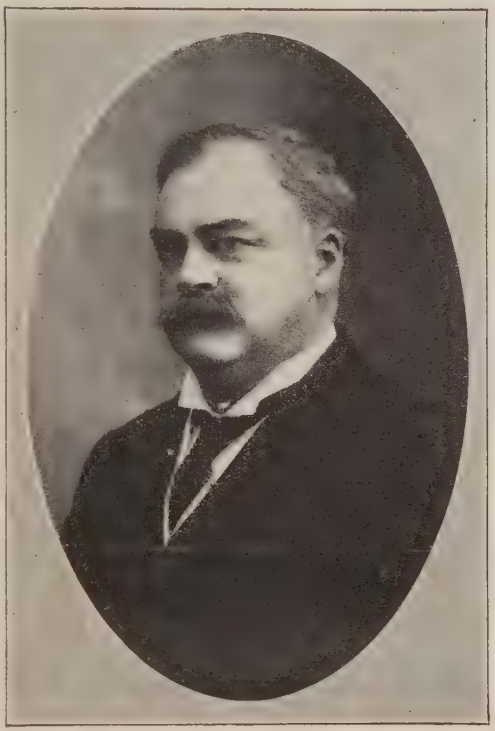
THE DOMINION'S PART IN IMPERIAL DEFENSE

Canada's ground for an immediate contribution of *Dreadnoughts* or other substantial aid to the motherland is that a "grave

naval emergency" exists, and it is important to remember that under the latest dispensations the British fleet is destined for offense and not for defense, since a fleet capable of meeting and crushing a hostile naval force is the best defense that any coast can have. Hence, in the "Memorandum on Sea Power" prepared by the British Admiralty for the Colonial Conference of 1902, it was emphasized that the word "defense" did not appear; it being explained that "it is omitted because the primary object of the British Navy is not to defend anything, but to attack the fleets of the enemy, and by defeating them, to afford protection to British Dominions, shipping, and commerce."

Secretary Churchill, in a speech on naval matters in Parliament on March 18, last, declared that "it is necessary for us to have a sufficient (battleship) margin to be able to meet, at our average moment, the naval force of any attacking power at its selected moment"; and, aided, doubtless, by the experts of the Admiralty, calculated that to arrive at Britain's strength at the average moment, 25 to 30 per cent. should be subtracted from her available fighting force; and as Britain has some fifty-nine battleships and battleship-cruisers, 25 per cent. subtracted from that, or, say fifteen ships, would leave her strength at the average moment at forty-four such ships against Germany's thirty-five; but in order to secure this margin of nine, the Mediterranean had to be robbed of the whole fleet formerly located there, so that if these nine war craft had been left in the Mediterranean, Britain would have only the same number of fighting ships in the North Sea as Germany has.

Accepting, then, the principle embodied in these quotations, it is obvious that an "emergency" does exist which warrants special action by Canada, to increase Britain's naval strength and enlarge her margin of security. Facts proving the gravity of the "menace" that besets Britain, are the imminence of war all the time of the Agadir affair last year, the public warning to Germany by Lloyd-George at a Mansion House luncheon in London then, the pledge, by Bonar Law for the Unionists and Ramsay Macdonald for the Laborites of their unequivocal support in any measures necessary in the Empire's interest; the presentation to the British Parliament of two sets of naval estimates in the past year, the second avowedly to offset the latest German naval program and frankly stated by Winston Churchill to be so; and, finally, the withdrawal of the British battleships from the Mediterranean and the leaving of the policing of the route to the East to France as a friend and ally.



HON. JAMES H. HAZEN, CANADIAN MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES

(Mr. Hazen will have charge of carrying out the naval policy of the Dominion)

THE BORDEN NAVAL POLICY

These facts put it beyond question that Premier Borden's proposals for an emergency contribution will be accepted by the Canadian Parliament, probably without much objection by the Liberals under Sir Wilfrid Laurier, because already resolutions have been adopted in some Canadian cities advocating a Round Table Conference between the parties and for taking the navy issue out of politics. Sir Wilfrid Laurier has recently reaffirmed his attitude and that of his party thus:

> In the meantime, and while we continue to wait and wait, and wait, we stand where we have stood right along. Our policy is a Canadian navy, built in Canada, equipped in Canada, manned in Canada, under the control of the Canadian Parliament, and the Canadian people, and ready, if Britain should ever be in danger—I will not say that—if Britain should ever be on trial—to do its part, a worthy part, as a loyal daughter of the Old Motherland.

The Borden navy policy as summarized from the address of the Canadian Premier,

made to the Ottawa House of Commons, on December 5, is as follows:

Canada is to make a contribution of three *Dreadnoughts* to cost thirty-five million dollars and to be the most powerful warships in the world.

The ships are to be built in the United Kingdom under the supervision of the admiralty and will become part of the battle line of the British navy.

They will bear distinctive Canadian names.

These ships are to be under the control and upkeep of the British admiralty, but may be returned to Canada at some future time if the nucleus of a Canadian navy is decided upon.

The ships are not to be built in Canada for lack of facilities, and in view of an extra cost of probably twelve million dollars.

The admiralty is ready, however, to order for construction in Canada a number of smaller ships, and in this way the Canadian shipbuilding industry will be fostered, the Canadian government giving a measure of assistance.

Mr. Borden announced that the British government was willing to welcome a Canadian minister to the deliberations of the Imperial Defense Committee.

How these propositions are to be reconciled it will be for the Canadian Parliament, and perhaps for the Canadian people, to determine in the near future.

Apart altogether, though, from the larger issue of a naval policy, are subsidiary issues equally contentious as to ships, men, and maintenance. To build a *Dreadnought*, even in England, with workmen and equipment unexcelled, takes two and a quarter years and costs over $11,000,000. To build warships in Canada will require the establishment of dockyards; the installation of machinery; the training of workers, and it is inevitable that the cost in all these respects will be much greater than in the Mother Country. Then as to the location of such dockyards, Montreal, Quebec, Sydney, Halifax, and St. John may be regarded as competitors, though the first two are inaccessible for five months of the year, because of the ice blockades, and Sydney for perhaps three months, while Halifax enjoys the advantage of being fortified and St. John boasts of vast new harbor works now being created there.

THE QUESTION OF SEAMEN

In manning the ships, difficulty will be felt. So far Canada has been able to enlist not more than 350 blue jackets. Her people do not take kindly to disciplinary pursuits. The latest report of the Northwest Mounted Police shows that 85 per cent. of that force are composed of Britishers. The Admiralty fourteen years ago, when organizing naval reserves in the Oversea Dominions, declined to locate one on the Canadian seaboard because of poor "raw material," the high rate of wages that would have to be paid, and the virtual certainty that as men were trained they would drift into the American Navy, though such a force was organized in Newfoundland and is now in operation with a training ship at St. John's through which hundreds of young fishermen have passed. Not the least difficulty affecting this whole question for Canada is that of manning new ships. Even in England to-day it is one of the most serious problems before the Admiralty.

As to maintenance in the Dominion, many criticize the wisdom of trying to operate a naval arm as a part of the Canadian Civil Service. They predict graft and incompetence and cite the case of the *Niobe*, the training ship for the Atlantic, which was ordered to Yarmouth (N. S.) more than a year ago to join in some local celebration, because interested parties had sufficient political influence to do this, despite the protests of the ship's officers and the naval Bureau at Ottawa, with the result that her anchors dragged, she went aground, tore out her bottom and has been the past twelve months in Halifax undergoing repairs which will cost over $200,000. These critics favor Canadian battleships being built in British shipyards under Admiralty direction to secure uniformity and efficiency; and to be stationed, when completed, where the Admiralty judges they are most needed; while Canadian recruits are to have preference on Canadian battleships, which ships are to bear Canadian names and be distinctively Canadian and to be over and above the margin of security required for the British Navy.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF A CANADIAN NAVY TO AMERICANS

Finally, this question of Canada's navy has its interest for the United States, because while heretofore Canada may be said to have relied for her defense by land on the Monroe Doctrine and by sea on the British fleet, in the event of any war between Britain and another power after this naval project is launched, Canada will not be immune from the danger of invasion and therefore the whole question of the efficiency of the Monroe Doctrine will at once arise. Any such power at war with Britain will claim, and with justice, the right to ravage Canada's coasts, and otherwise visit upon her the penalties that attach to such a condition, and what bearing such will have on the Monroe Doctrine is a question that may before many years actively confront the United States.

A BOLIVIAN RAILROAD

THE LIBERATION OF BOLIVIA

How Railroads Are Opening Up the Hermit Nation of the Western Hemisphere

BY HARRIET CHALMERS ADAMS AND FRANKLIN ADAMS

ANTICIPATING the opening of the Panama Canal, Bolivia, America's storehouse of mineral wealth, is busily engaged in spiking rails.

Bolivia was long the hermit republic. Years ago she lost her seaports and, perched on the roof of the Western World, her metropolis, La Paz, was remote and inaccessible.

Highland La Paz has recently been connected with the Pacific seaboard by a third rail route. A fourth will join the Bolivian roads with the giant railway system of Argentina. Two lines will link the Andean uplands with the navigable waterways tributary to the Amazon. Two more will unite the rich eastern agricultural lands and the La Plata river highway. On every side the pent resources of this mighty landlocked republic will find an outlet. The commercial liberation of Bolivia is assured.

All this has not been accomplished without sacrifice. The republic long enjoyed the distinction of being "a country without a debt." It long refused proffered aid to retain this enviable position. At last, however, conscious of the brilliant future promised by the development of its great natural riches, awaiting that vital essential, transportation, the offers became irresistible and external debts were assumed.

A LAND OF VARIED ALTITUDES

This fifth largest country in the New World lies wholly within the tropics, yet altitude, rather than latitude, determines climatic conditions. From the lofty plateau on the west marked by the highest peaks of the Andean range, the republic's vast domain terraces down through smiling temperate valleys to the dense tropic jungle of the Amazonian plain. No greater contrast on earth can be pictured than that of the Titicaca basin and the Eastern frontier. The one, treeless, windswept, encircled by the mightiest mountains of the Americas; the other, a sea of tangled verdure in the heart of the world's greatest wilderness. In a land so varied the products naturally cover a wide range. Precious metals, wrested from the Titanic strongholds of the Andes, rival Nature's most lavish forest gifts.

It was in the bleak mining region, two and a half miles above sea level, that the Spaniards first settled after the conquest and it is here that the greater portion of the population is found to-day. Two-thirds of the country lies in the lowlands, yet 88 per cent. of the people live on the plateau. Man is rooted to his native soil. The life of the Bolivian highlander is as dreary as his en-

ALPACA, A DOMESTICATED COUSIN OF THE LLAMA

(Much of the alpaca wool which comes out of Bolivia is credited to Peru, because it is shipped from the Peruvian port of Mollendo. The Andean Indian sells the alpaca wool to the middleman for next to nothing. It is again resold to the agent of the foreign house which ships it to the markets of the world. The alpaca is of many colors,—white, black, brown, tan, etc.)

vironment, yet he can not often be tempted down into the garden places just over the Andean wall.

LA PAZ, A PICTURESQUE CAPITAL

La Paz, the capital, has a less trying climate than the other upland cities. Although 12,500 feet above sea level, it lies on the floor of a narrow cañon sheltered from the icy blasts which sweep over the bleak *Puna* above. "Kaleidoscopic La Paz" we have called it,—the most picturesque city of the Western Hemisphere,—its low red-roofed buildings huddled between massive frowning walls. Above tower the Andean sentinels dominated by the snow-clad Illimani, "The White Lady," faithful guardian of this City of the Clouds. Below, in the steep lanes of streets, the multi-tinted gowns of the coquettish *Cholas* and the comic-opera costumes of the coppery *Aymarás* give color to scenes of great charm and diversity. The modishly dressed men and women of the Bolivian upper class form the minority and seem strangers in this bizarre picture.

RAIL ROUTES TO THE PACIFIC

The day is here when Progress, that buccaneer of the picturesque, will rob La Paz of her captivating individuality developed during the years when she lay far removed from the world's busy marts. Overland travel by mule trail to the coast then occupied

STREET IN LA PAZ

(The overhanging balconies and projecting tiled roofs are a distinctive feature. The woman on the right wears the manto. Next her is a Chola girl. The men wear the poncho, the blanket characteristic of the costume of every Andean Indian)

THE SHRINE OF COPACABANA

(This famous shrine, sacred to the highland Indian long before the coming of the Spaniards, is situated on the Peninsula of Copacabana on the Bolivian shore of Lake Titicaca. The yearly pilgrimage brings thousands of Indians from far-distant homes to worship at the shrine of "Our Lady of Copacabana")

many tedious weeks. The opening of the Arica-La Paz Railway, in September, 1912, brings the Bolivian metropolis within fourteen hours of a Pacific port.

The early mule paths and cart roads have become the railway routes to the coast. They follow the natural descents from mountain height to sea level,—trails which were used by the Incan peoples centuries before white men set foot in the land. When Bolivia at last expressed a willingness for foreign capital to develop her territory by driving steel transportation spokes into the hub at La Paz, the great engineering nations "got busy." They fully appreciated the opportunity of securing national guaranteed interest on their investments; also the resulting trade advantage in supplying new necessities to freshly world-touched communities. They entered the field with a vim, characteristic of a dash for the South Pole; but their preliminary suveys demonstrated it to be a mountain climbing contest!

A THIRTY-INCH GAUGE

The first line to reach Bolivian soil was from the Chilean port of Antofagasta far to the south of La Paz. This road, with a gauge of but *thirty inches*, was originally constructed for hauling ore cars from the nearby nitrate beds to the coast. Gradually extended, as new nitrate deposits were located, it finally strayed, rather accidentally, into Bolivian territory. Realizing, suddenly, the advantage of a connection with La Paz, too late to change its gauge, this little toy track was strung along to Oruro within striking distance of the capital. The traffic increase was enormous, resulting in an earnest bid for passenger service and the final equipment of the line with modern sleeping and dining cars. This is probably the narrowest *train de luxe* in the world.

La Paz is only 200 miles from the sea as the bird flies, but the Antofagasta line climbs over 574 miles of desert and plateau before

reaching Oruro where it connects with a broad-gauge road, 146 miles in length, to the capital. The through semi-weekly service occupies about forty-eight hours. After leaving the nitrate fields, the scenery is majestically Andean. We are up in Nature's attic. The Collahuasi branch from Ollagüe is the highest railroad on earth, reaching an altitude of 15,809 feet.

A NATIONAL ENTERPRISE

The first national railway built in the country united Guaqui, a port on Lake Titicaca, with La Paz. An English company had constructed a line from the Pacific port of Mollendo up to the Peruvian shore of Titicaca. Bolivian passengers, after a two-days' rail journey through Peru, had another day and night on the steamer before reaching their side of the lake. Landed at last on their own territory, sixty miles of saddle or stage travel still lay between the lake port and La Paz. This long ride over the frozen *Puna* was the last straw!

THE POTATO ON ITS NATIVE HEATH—THE ANDEAN HIGHLANDS

Why not have a comfortable "home-stretch?" Surely the level tableland offered no engineering difficulties! Foreign railroad constructors were invited to submit bids.

"One and a half million dollars!"—the lowest proposition.

"Too high," said Bolivia, "I'll build the road myself!"

It took three years to find the national funds and construct the line, but the cost was only one-third of the foreign bid! Now the republic had a railway of her own, yet the travel-worn passenger was brought only within sight of La Paz,—to the little station on the bluff overlooking the city. Feverish desire for full utilization of modern comfort was now strong in the Bolivian breast. A line connecting the plateau station and cañon floor was a necessity. Engineers declared the service too intermittent to justify electrical operation and suggested steam as the more economical method. But nothing short of electricity would satisfy the progressive spirit. Engines, doomed to low efficiency at this altitude, at last perched proudly on the "Alto," propelled by gas made from enormously expensive Australian coal. American trolleys, operated by current from American generators, trailed up and down the gorge route side by side with the prehistoric carriers, the llamas. Throbbing modernity and remote antiquity met on the highroad in Bolivia.

THE ARICA-LA PAZ RAILWAY

South America is no longer "Manaña Land." The "Time is Money" sign has reached the country. Begrudging the thirty to fifty hours spent in traveling to the Pacific, Bolivia now cast an eye on the safe harbor of Arica, only 260 miles from La Paz. When Chile acquired Bolivia's coast line as a war indemnity, she also held the Peruvian Province of Tacna in which Arica lies. And, in partial compensation for the loss of her seaboard, it was Chilean capital which gave the Arica-La Paz Railway to Bolivia.

This direct Pacific connection which brings La Paz within fourteen hours of the coast necessitates the use of twenty-eight miles of cog system, reaching an altitude of 14,000 feet. The 267 miles of track cost $45,000 a mile. A unique method has been devised by the company for overcoming the effect of quick ascent on weak hearts. Compartments supplied with air containing the sea-level amount of oxygen are provided. It only remains for the clever Yankee to invent an oxygen-smelling-bottle for the man who gets off up in Skyland. While the new line will undoubtedly be popular for passenger service, engineers maintain that the excessively steep grades will make freight trans-

portation more expensive than on the two other West Coast routes, notwithstanding their greater length.

PRESIDENT VILLAZON, OF THE BOLIVIAN REPUBLIC

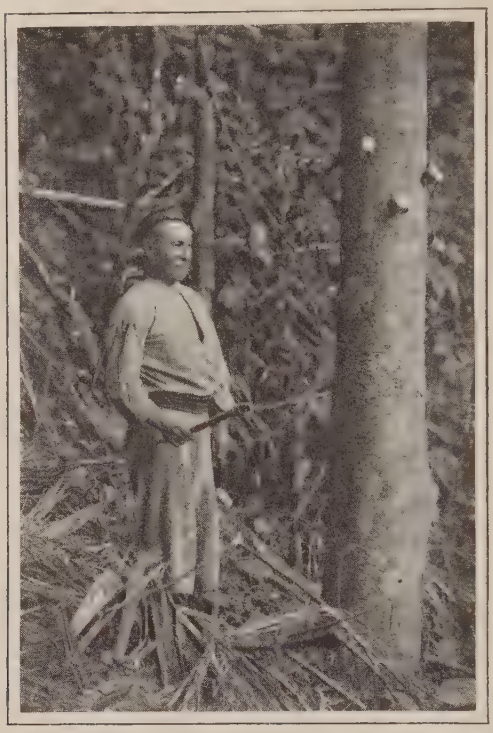
THE TIN MINES OF POTOSI

From Rio Mulato (a station on the Antofagasta-Oruro line) a railroad sixty-seven miles in length has recently been opened to Potosi. Potosi! How little this name means to you of the Twentieth Century! Yet three hundred years ago it was a word to conjure with! "The richest city in the world," it was called—the magic aërial Mecca over-seas. In those romantic days of early Spanish dominion, Bolivia was famed for her silver. Her pedestal still is of silvery hue; but to-day it is made of tin!

Potosi, the silver province, has become the center of the republic's chief export. Tin valued at $16,000,000, was shipped out of the country last year. The Straits Settlements alone outclass Bolivia's production. Of the so-called "common" metals, it is the least widely distributed and one of the most costly. The tin deposits are in the Cordellera provinces, high up in the Royal Range. We know a number of mines at an altitude of over 17,000 feet. The more important are equipped with modern plants. Like gold, tin is taken both from rock vein and alluvial

BOLIVIAN INFANTRY MARCHING IN HILLY LA PAZ

(The soldiers wear the French uniform, with baggy trousers. Many of them are sturdy *Cholas* of mixed Indian and Spanish blood)



RUBBER PICKER, HEADWATERS OF THE AMAZON

(In the early morning, the rubber gatherer makes his way over the forest trail, gashing each rubber tree and placing a little cup under each gash. In the evening, he makes a second round and collects the milk from each cup, returning with it to the camp where it is smoked over a fire of palmetto nuts in a most primitive way. Most of the rubber which comes out of South America is made in this prehistoric fashion,—prehistoric, because the Indian used rubber balls for play long before the coming of the Europeans)

deposit; but, unlike gold, it occurs in a compound, the richest grade ore containing 70 per cent. of pure tin.

SILVER AND COPPER

While this gleaming metal forms the backbone of Bolivia's export, supplying, at its present high price, almost two-thirds of the entire output, there is strong indication that silver may again be King. The Spanish crown coined over $1,000,000,000 worth of silver extracted from the famous "Cerro" of Potosi, but after 1873, when depreciation began, the production rapidly declined. A fall in transportation rates will hasten the revival and this year's discovery of four exceptionally rich silver mines near Oruro will add to the momentum.

The highlands are also rich in bismuth and copper. One of the greatest copper areas in the world, not excepting our Lake Superior section, is tapped by the new Arica-La Paz line. Last year this Coro-Coro District sent $800,000 worth of copper ingots down to the sea by mule-cart and the new era should show startling figures. It has long been known that the earth's richest sulphur deposit is at Tacora, also liberated by the Arica route. The Italian product, which has held the trade, now has a serious rival.

LINKED WITH ARGENTINA BY RAIL

Work is under way on the 150-mile gap between Uyani, a station on the Antofagasta-Oruro line, and Tupiza, a town fifty-five miles from the Argentine frontier. Eventually this

ANCIENT MONUMENT IN TIAHUANACO, THE OLDEST CITY IN THE NEW WORLD

(The Indian, standing in the shadow of the totem erected by his ancestors in the shadowy past, is an Aymara. His forefathers were subjugated by the Incas of Peru. The Aymaras are familiar with many legends regarding these ruins, but they are very reticent with strangers)

"FOREIGN" GERMAN AND AMERICAN MINERS IN THE FOREST COUNTRY OF BOLIVIA

(Each year the foreigners are coming in greater numbers to prospect in the forest. Many mines, worked long ago under the Spanish régime, will again be re-opened)

A "GRINGO" OR FOREIGN MINING ENGINEER IN THE FOREST COUNTRY OF BOLIVIA

(The mining machinery shown in the picture has been brought into the virgin wilderness over a most difficult trail. The way led across the bleak highlands through the Andean Pass, 17,000 feet above the sea; then by a cliff trail clinging above the precipice and a newly beaten path through the primeval forest)

road will continue on to La Quiaca, the northern railhead of the Argentine system, thus completing an important section of the Pan-American Railway. Bolivia's minerals will then have a La Plata outlet, while Argentina's foodstuffs will gain access to a non-agricultural region.

THE RIVER HIGHWAYS OF THE EASTERN SLOPE

The three Pacific Coast railways are, as we have seen, the natural highways westward from the plateau, and the Uyani-Tupiza line will serve the southern provinces. But what of the vast forest lands on the eastern slope of the Andes? Here every stream rushes down to the Amazon and on these perilous flowing trails, rather than through the impenetrable thicket, goods are transported out from Bolivia and in from Brazil.

Chief among these rivers are the Mamoré and the Beni which unite to form the Madeira. Two projected railways,—the Cochabamba-Chimoré and the La Paz-Puerto Pando,—are to connect the plateau and temperate eastern valleys with these great river highways. The Chimoré River once reached, there is easy sailing for 600 miles to Villa Church on the Mamoré, terminus of the now famous railway which parallels nineteen dangerous falls obstructing navigation. With this valuable "lift," passenger and cargo are again free to float 1800 miles to Para and out on the broad Atlantic.

RAILROAD-BUILDING IN THE JUNGLE

The building of the Madeira-Mamoré Railway is one of the greatest of modern achievements, second, perhaps, to the opening of the Panama Canal. Though only 217 miles in length, its situation in the very heart of the world's greatest jungle offered difficulties which, for forty years, proved insurmountable. Back in 1871 an attempt was made to construct the line, but in less than two years the forest, with its army of tropical diseases, proved the victor. A second attempt, six years later, succeeded only in the completion of the survey and the building of four miles of road, with terrific loss of life. In 1907 an American firm of contractors, fortified by the experience of applied hygiene obtained at Panama, undertook the task. Modern science and engineering skill now overcame all obstacles and this month sees the official opening of the famous "jungle route." Will the road be worth the price paid in lives and gold? Just listen!

Before the railway era, the 200-mile fall

BALSA ON LAKE TITICACA

(Such a boat as this was used in prehistoric days. The balsa is built of the reeds which line the shore of the lake. Bundles of the reeds are tied together, the life of the boat being six months, when it becomes water-soaked and must be abandoned. Although there are severe storms on the lake, the Indians sail in this rickety little craft from one end of the great lake to the other, and one seldom hears of an accident)

THE HIGHROAD THROUGH THE PRIMEVAL WILDERNESS CARVED FOR THE ONCOMING OF THE RAILROAD

(Nature resents man's intrusion into this, her domain, and the creeping vines must constantly be cut away)

barrier necessitated a long portage for laden canoes. In high water the boatmen attempted to shoot the rapids without unloading, and this meant a loss of fully 25 per cent. in lives and cargo. A branch railway is under way from Villa Church on the Mamoré to Riberalta on the Beni, from which point there is free navigation to Puerto Pando, terminus of the projected La Paz-Puerto Pando line. The up-river trip around the falls to Riberalta formerly required from thirty to sixty days, according to the season. By rail it will be made in twelve hours.

The core of South America is tapped. The way is opened for the settlement of millions of productive acres, suitable for the cultivation of cacao, coffee, sugar, cotton, and tobacco. The chief product now released is

THE NITRATE INDUSTRY—NITRATE VATS IN ANTOFAGASTA (THE PORT OF BOLIVIA)

LLAMA DRIVERS AND TRAIN

(Children often drive the llamas on the trail. The llama leader wears ear-ribbons and a bag on the neck filled with coca leaves)

CHOLAS (OF INDIAN AND SPANISH BLOOD) OF BOLIVIA

(These women are the lesser merchants of La Paz and other Andean towns. Their costume is most picturesque, the distinctive feature being the multi-colored petticoat. As many as thirty of these petticoats have been worn at a time, each of a different hue, new garments over old. The Chola usually wears French shoes with very high heels, but does not wear stockings)

rubber. Even last year, with the difficulties of transportation, this export amounted to over $10,000,000, ranking second only to tin. Rubber and tin have made Bolivia's multi-millionaires. The Suarez brothers were known as "The Rubber Kings," and Simon Patino, in seven years, has amassed $60,000,000 from tin.

THE GOLD OF THE INCAS

The Amazon route opens up the gold fields. The present paucity of the country's gold output has been a matter of comment. Investigations have repeatedly demonstrated that the eastern slope of the Andes forms a gold field of vast area. Many have made the effort to secure the precious metal from Andean torrents, but none have succeeded since the Incas. Nature here calls her mightiest forces to guard the treasure chest. The gold fields are enveloped in dense forests; deluged with rain; reached only after an arduous climb and abrupt descent with every sort of obstacle in the course. The fame of the Tipuani gravel beds lured American miners, and one hundred of them made the difficult pilgrimage this year to meet unique problems—gold buried under shifting sands; bedrock nowhere in sight. Still the problem is not unsolvable. The one practical method of working the ground is by dredging and via the new Atlantic route will come the giant machines with their endless buckets to win the elusive metal.

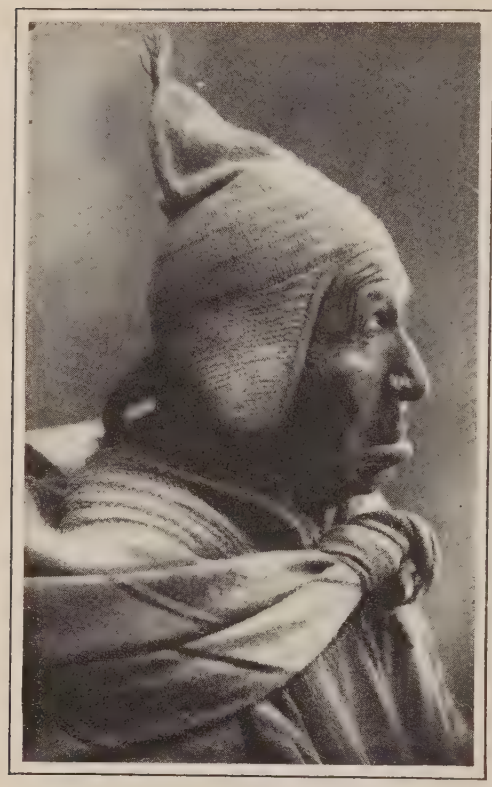
TYPE OF BOLIVIAN BEAUTY

(The women of Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador and Chile still wear the picturesque manto to church and for shopping, although they have donned the Parisian hat for other occasions. The manto, unlike the mantilla of other Spanish countries, is a shawl-like drape which covers the head and shoulders and falls to the knees. It is usually of black silk crêpe, but of coarser texture for the women of the peasantry. The Bolivian women of the upper class are noted for their beauty and grace, their complexion and eyes being especially fine)

AN AYMARA OF BOLIVIA

THE EASTERN FRONTIER

Far to the south of the Mamoré and the Beni, on the vast plains of eastern Bolivia, is the old town of Santa Cruz, the center of a rich agricultural district. Here lies the great cattle range of the future. Cochabamba, the



AN AYMARA PONGO, OR HOUSE SERVANT
(The cap and poncho worn by this Indian are woven from llama wool)

nearest city of importance, is 350 miles to the west and the natural outlet is not in that direction, but southward to Argentina or eastward to the River Paraguay. Two projected railways,—the Santa Cruz-Yacuiba and the Santa Cruz-Puerto Suarez,—promise development to this little-known section.

Not long ago we visited this remote eastern frontier. By way of the La Plata, Parana, and Paraguay Rivers we reached Puerto Suarez, terminus of the Santa Cruz trail. Already acquainted with the western and southern plateau and the northern forest lands, we now have a comprehensive view of the republic's vast and varied domain and can prophesy her brilliant future.

SOUTH AMERICA'S CENTRAL HIGHWAY

Bolivia has purchased her freedom. The $30,000,000 she is now spending on railway expansion amounts to $12 for every man, woman, and child within her territory,—white, mestizo, and Indian. The "Song of the Rails" has become the national anthem and every rail spiked means life. We look forward to the day when the equable eastern lands will be populated. Here, in Nature's vast plantation, never failing crops, rich beyond the reckoning, await the harvest and toward this garden spot of tropical America the tide of emigration must some day shape its course.

The opening of the Panama Canal sounds the bugle call of West Coast development. The first transandine railway will soon have rivals.

The hermit republic of old is destined to become South America's great central highway when her rails link the roads of Peru and Chile with those of Argentina and Brazil.

A SCENE ON LAKE TITICACA
(The ship in the picture is of the line plying between Puno, the Peruvian port of Lake Titicaca, and Guaqui, the Bolivian port)

STATE INSURANCE IN WISCONSIN

BY BENJ. S. BEECHER

(Assistant Actuary of the Wisconsin Department of Insurance)

PEOPLE in Wisconsin may now buy life insurance from the State. This was brought about through the enactment by the legislature of 1911 of a law establishing a "Life fund to be administered by the State without liability on the part of the State beyond the amount of the fund, for the purpose of granting life insurance and annuities to persons who at the time of the granting of such insurance and annuities are within the State or residents thereof."

The Commissioner of Insurance was given two years in which to prepare forms, tables, and other data necessary to carry out the act. Such data have been prepared, and the first application was formally received on October 24, 1012.

Insurance may be granted to persons between the ages of twenty and fifty in amounts of $500 or multiples thereof. Until 1000 policies have been issued, no more than $1000 shall be granted on any one life and not more than $3000 at any time. At present five plans of insurance are offered:

(1) Ordinary Life; (2) Twenty-Payment Life; (3) Endowment at Age Sixty-five; (4) Ten-Year Endowment; (5) Term to Age Sixty-five. Other plans, including annuities, will be issued later.

On the Ordinary Life plan a level annual premium is charged until death and at death $1000 is paid; on the Twenty-Payment Life Plan a level annual premium is charged for twenty years or until prior death, and at death $1000 is paid; on the Ten-Year Endowment a level premium is charged for ten years or until prior death, and at death or at the end of ten years $1000 is paid; on the Endowment at Age Sixty-five a level annual premium is charged until age sixty-five is reached or until prior death, and at death or at age sixty-five $1000 is paid; and on the Term to Age Sixty-five a level annual premium is charged until age sixty-five or until prior death and $1000 is paid if death occurs before age sixty-five.

These policies represent standard forms issued by legal reserve companies. In fact the State life insurance is nothing more than the taking over of the best insurance practice of the day reduced to its simplest terms and offering it to the people at cost, with a large part of the cost eliminated through the fact that no agents are employed and that there is no "overhead" charge to maintain offices and highly salaried officials.

HON. HERMAN L. EKERN

(Wisconsin's Commissioner of Insurance, who has inaugurated a system by which the State insures lives)

The establishing of a fund does not mean that the State is appropriating money to conduct an insurance scheme or that premiums of the policyholders are paid by the State, nor is the insurance compulsory on anyone or any class. The fund is composed entirely of the contributions of the policyholders. Life insurance in its simplest form contemplates guaranteed payments of specific amounts to beneficiaries, or, in the case of endowments or surrendered policies, to the insured himself, made possible by premium savings contributed by all the insured within the class.

The State under the present plan merely offers the services of institutions already in existence as a means of receiving and saving these premium payments and paying out the claims as they mature in accordance with the terms of the contracts.

EXISTING OFFICES ARE MADE USE OF

The Commissioner of Insurance, with his force of actuarial and clerical assistants, is made the administrator of the plan and the business is conducted through his office. Investments are made by the State Treasurer, who is ex-officio custodian of all funds received. The State Board of Health acts as a Medical Board to appoint local medical examiners in the various communities and to receive and pass upon the reports as to the insurability of the applicant. All State Factory Inspectors, State banks, county, town, village and city clerks and treasurers, are furnished with "literature" and application blanks and are authorized to receive applications and premium payments. Thus only the employment of the necessary additional clerical help falls as an expense upon the policyholder. As for office room, there is ample space in the new Capitol building.

THE PLAN INVOLVES THE BEST INSURANCE PRACTICE

There are only two forms of sound life insurance—current-cost insurance and level-premium or legal-reserve insurance. In current-cost insurance the insured pays each year the cost of the deaths for that year proportioned according to the probability of dying at his age. Thus as he grows older he will pay a higher and higher rate. In fact, the rate at the ages beyond fifty or sixty becomes prohibitive. To do away with this, companies have adopted the practice of charging a level premium each year. In the early years the insured pays more than enough to pay for the cost of the insurance for that year. But this overpayment or reserve is kept by the company and credited with interest to the individual. This accumulation of overpayments is used in part to pay the death loss when a man dies and is drawn upon to pay the cost of insurance for those later years in which the cost on his policy exceeds the payment made. It belongs to the policyholder and in the case of the Life Fund it is actually entered on the books each year as a credit to him. It is in the nature of a savings account and may be borrowed, or upon surrender of the policy, received as a cash payment.

On the endowment forms the reserve is of the same character, only larger, so that upon withdrawal after a stated period the insured gets more than he would in case of withdrawal of the reserve on an ordinary life policy. This form of insurance, with the most liberal features as to withdrawal of the reserve, is embodied in the State plan. In the computation of premium rates the State assumes that deaths will occur according to the American Experience Table of Mortality, which is the standard in use by most of the best companies, and that interest will be earned on investments at the rate of 3 per cent.

The addition for expenses is small, especially in the endowments, which makes this simple means of saving advantageous to the insured. The difference in rates shown by the following comparison between the Life Fund and some of the large mutual companies is due to the difference in the addition for expenses:[1]

Age	Wisconsin Life Fund	Mutual Benefit	New England Mutual	New York Life	Northwestern Mutual
			ORDINARY LIFE		
21	$18.16	$18.40	$18.90	$19.62	$18.76
30	21.96	22.85	23.50	24.38	23.31
40	28.92	30.94	31.70	33.01	31.56
50	41.57	45.45	46.60	48.48	46.36
			TWENTY-PAYMENT LIFE		
21	27.28	28.25	28.50	29.84	28.73
30	31.07	32.87	33.20	34.76	33.44
40	37.24	40.38	41.00	42.79	41.10
50	47.76	52.87	53.80	56.17	53.86
			TEN-YEAR ENDOWMENT		
21	91.27	101.53	100.20	101.78	101.78
30	91.68	102.37	101.20	104.14	103.71
40	92.73	104.18	103.30	108.07	105.62
50	96.08	108.87	108.60	115.28	110.48
			ENDOWMENT AT AGE SIXTY-FIVE		
25	22.82	.....	24.60	.....	24.60
30	26.30	28.29	28.80	.....	28.80
40	37.94	42.02	42.60	44.35	42.76
50	65.79	74.43	74.90	79.00	75.66

This table shows that lower addition for expenses applies to a greater extent to the higher ages and to the endowment forms.

STATE PLAN ON THE COÖPERATIVE PRINCIPLE

It must be borne in mind, however, that the essential fact in determining the cost of insurance to the individual under a mutual form is not merely the rates that are charged. The contrast that should be drawn in comparing the cost under the Life Fund and

[1] Taken from the *Eastern Underwriter* of October 24, 1912, except for Endowment at Age 65.

under a mutual company is in the amount that each spends, since the plan is coöperative in character and any overcharges are returned to the policyholder in the form of dividends.

That the actual cost to the policyholder is reduced, due to the elimination of expenses of agents and the overhead costs of management, has already been pointed out, and that this reduction is considerable is emphasized by the following figures taken from the reports of companies doing business in Wisconsin during 1910: Out of total disbursements for the year of $234,803,000, $69,525,000 went for expenses of management, including agents' expenses, or 43.1 per cent. of what was paid to policyholders for that year. In the case of fraternal societies the percentage on the same basis was 16.1 per cent.

A generation ago Elizur Wright of Massachusetts was impressed with the necessity of eliminating so far as possible the high expense charge falling upon the man who by means of insurance wished to provide for his dependents or for his own old age, and agitated the use of savings banks for this purpose. In 1907 Massachusetts passed an act which provided for the establishment of insurance departments in the savings banks of the State through which mutual insurance may be purchased without agency or overhead charge to the insured. On October 5, 1912, this Savings Bank Life Insurance reported $2,533,165 of insurance in force with $27,428 in annuities.

The fundamental justification for State insurance is the same. It represents an attempt on the part of the people to secure for themselves the best insurance at reduced cost by making use of State offices already in existence. This feeling of need for cheaper insurance was of course intensified by the disclosures of the Armstrong Investigating Committee of New York in 1905.

Following the report of this committee two resolutions were passed in the Wisconsin Legislature; one providing for a joint investigation to be carried on similar to what had been done in New York, and one appointing a Senate committee to investigate the matter of State insurance with a view of making recommendations to the next legislature. The resolution appointing the committee to investigate state insurance read as follows:

Whereas, Under the present methods of life insurance astounding business conditions have been disclosed in the management of certain non-resident companies, whereby surplus earnings are used in exploiting through trust companies, stock jobbing ventures: and

Whereas, The reports of three of said companies disclose the following facts:

First: That their combined assets amount to over one billion dollars; second, that within a comparatively short period of years, they have practically doubled the ratio of their expenses to receipts; third, that during a prosperous period they have reduced dividends to less than one-third the percentage formerly disbursed; fourth, that they have accumulated approximately two hundred million dollars in surplus profits; fifth, that the Wisconsin policy-holders of these three companies, pay annually over $2,500,000 into the treasury of said companies over which they exercise no control; and

Whereas, Governmental life insurance has been found to be absolutely safe, cheap, free from oppressive conditions and coöperative in character.

Resolved, That a committee of three members of the senate be appointed to investigate into the practicability of the successful operation of governmental and state life insurance, and that the result of their investigations in brief form, together with such legislation as they may recommend, be printed for the use of the next legislature.

The words of the resolution suggest the influence of the then recent disclosures upon the movement toward State insurance. The majority of the Senate committee recommended that State insurance be not taken up at that time. Following the report of the joint investigating committee, however, laws were passed regulating the conduct of life-insurance companies doing business in Wisconsin which, though they caused a large number of companies to withdraw from the State, may be said to have resulted entirely to the advantage of the policyholders. Much legislation was passed in New York and other States and in general, following the upheaval of 1905, the abuses disclosed at that time have largely been done away with.

If the only justification for State insurance were the persistence of the evils disclosed in 1905, it is probable the State insurance act would never have passed. However, the feeling of need for insurance of the best sort at low cost which dates back to the time of Elizur Wright compelled the reconsideration of the earlier report of the Senate committee and the passing of the act in 1911.

UNLIKE EUROPEAN PLANS

There is no precedent for State insurance in the United States. In 1905 the Florida House of Representatives passed a measure of this kind, but did not come to a vote in the Senate. It was later urged for adoption in a message of Governor Broward but was never acted upon.

European schemes are in general of four main types:

(1) Involving compulsion and contributions of part of the premium by the State.

(2) Involving a government monopoly.

(3) Involving active competition by the State with the companies.

(4) Resembling the Wisconsin plan.

The first plan is typified by the English Lloyd-George scheme, where, however, the essential parts of the scheme, are the insurance against sickness, invalidity, and unemployment rather than the ordinary life insurance; and in the German Workmen's Compensation Act.

Italy represents the attempt to secure government monopoly of insurance, and New Zealand, which is the stock example of a state life insurance scheme, enters into active competition to get business. The plans most nearly resembling the Wisconsin scheme are perhaps represented by Canada and Great Britain. In Canada there was established in 1908 a Department of Government Annuities for issuing contracts of this form; and in Great Britain, insurance or annuities may be purchased through the savings banks or post offices, the distinguishing feature of the Wisconsin plan being the absence of compulsion or contribution of money by the State and the refraining from active competition by the use of agents or from attempting to establish a State monopoly.

THE STATE PLAN HAS ADVANTAGES

In 1905 Robert M. LaFollette, then Governor, in a message submitted to the legislature said concerning life insurance:

> With the exception of the corporations which control the transportation facilities of the commonwealth, there is no class of corporations more in need of careful and economical administration than those which make a business of life insurance. It is the business which gathers the savings of youth and mature manhood, to safe guard old age against poverty; to provide sustenance and shelter and the comforts of home for the widow and orphan.

In view of this intimate dependence of social welfare on the channels for saving as represented by insurance institutions, we may summarize the advantages of the State plan:

(1) It is absolutely sound and is conducted on the same basis as all sound "old-line" life insurance.

(2) It is cheap. The element of profit is done away with entirely. The addition for expenses is small, and the cost of operation which, with the rate of interest earned and the rate of mortality actually experienced, determines the rate of dividends to the policyholder, is the lowest possible. This is brought about through the elimination of agents' commissions and overhead charges for officials and management.

(3) The policy provisions are liberal. Premiums are payable annually, semi-annually, quarterly, monthly, or weekly, at the option of the insured. In fact, the insured may pay as much and as often as he pleases. In cases where the payments are deferred, the amount is charged as a loan, against the reserve until paid. If payment of premiums ceases entirely, the amount due is periodically charged as a loan as long as the amount so charged with interest to the next policy anniversary does not exceed the reserve at that date. When such loan does exceed the reserve, the policy is cancelled and any portion of the individual's reserve remaining to his credit is returned to him.

In case advance payment of premiums is made the insured is allowed credit at the rate of interest actually earned for any deposit more than one year in advance.

There is absolutely no forfeiture, and if it is desired to surrender the policy the full amount of the reserve is paid.

There is no restriction as to change in occupation or travel.

The insured may borrow to the full extent of his reserve.

(4) The insured is furnished with tables and information completely explaining the disposition of all money paid by him. He is furnished in advance with tables showing the amount charged for expenses, the amount charged as cost of insurance, the interest accumulation, and the individual reserve for every year during the possible history of the contract. Thus everything is done in the open and the insured knows beforehand all the facts concerning his policy, all of which helps to make general the understanding of insurance principles.

(5) It will increase confidence in life insurance and encourage the extension of its protection to every resident of the State and increase the business of sound companies and societies.

(6) The present forms may lead to provision for annuities to protect old age and perhaps to other forms of insurance in some of the fields where more of the foreign governments have entered. The ability of the State to meet a need through the present plan of ordinary life insurance and annuities may determine its extension to the great and ever more pressing fields of sickness, accident, and invalidity insurance and workmen's compensation.

WILL THE DEMOCRATS REVERSE OUR FOREIGN POLICIES?

BY A VETERAN OBSERVER

[The following article attempts to outline the foreign policy of the United States as interpreted by high Democratic authority. This expression is not, of course, to be taken as an editorial utterance of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS.—THE EDITOR.]

INEVITABLY there must be a great change in the foreign policy of the United States as a result of the election which made Woodrow Wilson President and gave the Democracy control of the Senate as well as the House of Representatives. It may be going too far to say that the change will be radical, but it can be little less than that if the new President carries out the ideas which have prevailed in his party and to which he is committed by party platforms and Congressional declarations.

Carried out logically, the accession of the Democratic party to power means that the Philippines should be set free and that we should no longer assume the attitude of the Big Policeman of the American Continent. Expansion and territorial aggrandizement should be halted and the steps taken in that direction during the past fourteen years retraced. The United States should no longer stand behind any government or faction in South and Central America, but allow the people of those Republics to settle their own disputes in their own way. The United States should no longer stretch the Monroe Doctrine to the extent that our government can take charge of the revenues and settle the claims made by Europeans upon the republics to the south. Our right to intervene in Cuban affairs should be modified and all thought of acquiring Cuba abandoned.

Governor Wilson has not announced his foreign policy, but his public utterances, the declarations of his party, and the position of that party in Congress indicate a policy in foreign affairs which means a return to that status which was so strongly recommended by George Washington and which was followed by his successors for more than one hundred years.

The War of 1898 Revolutionized Our Foreign Policy

The Spanish war changed our entire foreign policy. It enlarged the scope of our Monroe Doctrine. It occasioned the annexation of Hawaii. It caused the acquisition of the Philippines and Porto Rico, a protectorate over Cuba, and the construction of the Panama Canal. It made the United States a "world power," meaning that this country became enmeshed in world politics, especially as affecting the Far East and the Pacific Ocean. The destruction of the few worthless Spanish ships in Manila Bay, unnecessary as it now appears, changed the whole course of the United States in a most important respect. It made us expansionists and possessors of almost unknown lands beyond the seas. Hawaii was annexed because the Philippines made an outpost in the Pacific necessary, according to the eminent strategists who were at that time shaping the destinies of our country.

Nearer home, but not quite so vital nor expensive as the operations in the Pacific, the Spanish war gave us Porto Rico, a protectorate over Cuba (which bids fair to ripen into a possession), and the Panama Canal. The unnecessary trip of the battleship *Oregon* around South America, in order to join a fleet in Atlantic waters already larger than was needed, stimulated such an interest in the canal, and was such a convincing argument in favor of a waterway across the isthmus, as to compel its construction. And in order to obtain a right of way across the isthmus our government pursued a course which caused ugly charges to be made, and left a serious diplomatic dispute which must confront the new administration.

The Democratic Party in Opposition

Looking back over the years let us see what has been the position of the Democratic party in regard to most of the questions involved. In nearly every instance where a record has been made it is found that the party was practically unanimous against what was done, save only in respect to the isthmian canal, and in that case it condemned the manner in which the canal strip and con-

cession were obtained. As a party the Democrats opposed the treaty which annexed the Philippines, and though a few Democratic votes were obtained to secure ratification, these votes caused scandals, denunciations, and even fist-fights in the Senate. The first national declaration by the Democrats on the subject made opposition to imperialism and expansion the paramount issue of a Presidential campaign, a position which met with a most hearty response from the representatives of the party. In Congress the Democrats voted for every resolution which opposed expansion. They opposed legislation which further bound the Philippines to this country, and a large majority opposed the Platt Amendment, which virtually gave us a protectorate over Cuba.

But most important of all is the last declaration of the party in its national convention in the platform upon which Mr. Wilson was elected, which says:

> We reaffirm the position thrice announced by the Democracy in national convention assembled against a policy of imperialism and colonial exploitation in the Philippines, or elsewhere. We condemn the experiment in imperialism as an inexcusable blunder which has involved us in enormous expense, brought us weakness instead of strength, and laid our nation open to the charge of abandonment of the fundamental doctrine of self-government. We favor an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose to recognize the independence of the Philippine Islands as soon as a stable government can be established, such independence to be guaranteed by us until the neutralization of the islands can be secured by treaty with other powers. In recognizing the independence of the Philippines our government should retain such land as may be necessary for coaling stations and naval bases.

Freedom to the Philippines

No other interpretation can be placed upon that positive assertion than that immediate steps shall be taken to insure the freedom of the Philippines. And legislation is now pending in the Democratic House of Representatives with that end in view. It is a fact that every move under Republican rule has been in the direction of permanent retention of the Philippines. Forts have been built; a large system of fortifications and naval stations begun; harbors have been improved; bonds have been issued and guaranteed; the Filipinos have been taught the English language; free trade in the staple products of the islands has been granted; in fact, everything possible has been done to make the acquisition perpetual. But in the face of all this has been the opposition of the Democratic party and its constant reiteration that the people of the islands should have freedom and self-government. And that affirmative action in this direction will be taken by the party which is soon to assume the reins of government there can be no doubt.

The Democratic party has not feared the sentimental cry about "hauling down the American flag." The flag was taken down in Mexico and twice it has been hauled down in Cuba. President Cleveland boldly hauled down the flag in Hawaii and reinstated the dethroned monarch. So there will be no hesitation on account of sentimental considerations about hauling down the flag and establishing a free government in the Philippines by the party which has so long opposed the policy of expansion.

Our Other Interests in the Far East

Coincident with a change of policy regarding the Philippines will be a change in regard to China. Our interests in China will dwindle when we part with our Oriental possessions. There no longer will be a necessity for backing a "Chinese loan," nor for securing railroad concessions in the Flowery Kingdom, much less the excuse that our interests in the Far East demand that we keep abreast with other powers exploiting China. In fact it may be taken for granted that that brand of our diplomatic maneuvering will cease even if we retain possession of the Philippines.

Our Relations to Cuba and Central America

On our own hemisphere the new foreign policy should be most important. It should insure the independence of Cuba, even if revolution makes doubtful the inauguration of President-elect Menocal. Cuba is now a seething volcano. It contains a population which has been bred to revolution; great numbers of whom are utterly without care for future consequences and whose patriotism reaches no higher than a rifle in hand and a full stomach.

The curse of Spanish misrule has been upon the peoples of South and Central America from the time Columbus sighted the Western Continent. Cuba has had her share of misgovernment and oppression, but long suffering under Spain did not create enough patriotism among the people to accept the gift of freedom made by the United States in a spirit to insure permanent self-government with the ever-generous assistance of our people. On the contrary, this country

is hated because it prevents revolution; stands between the people and a burdensome debt; keeps the island in a sanitary condition, and otherwise extends its protecting hand. And now with a new President duly chosen Cuba faces another revolution. Threats are made that Mr. Menocal shall not take his place as President. The faction that opposed him can easily organize a revolution and that it may come at any time is expected by those conversant with conditions in Cuba. Our government has been prepared to intervene on short notice and is always ready to send warships and troops to quell an insurrection. If the new revolution is not in progress when Mr. Wilson becomes President his administration will inherit a condition which must soon force it to act decisively.

It is almost certain that the Monroe Doctrine will no longer be construed to mean that the United States will guarantee the stability of certain governments in Central America and the Caribbean Sea, and assume the protection of foreigners in those countries. The Democrats as a party opposed the agreement by which we assumed control of the finances of Santo Domingo and provided for the payment of that country's debts. That was the beginning of a system of protectorates over weaker and warring republics on this continent.

Colombia's Claim

One of the most important contentions to be settled by the new administration is the claim of Colombia for the province of Panama. There is plenty of Democratic assertion that Panama was torn from Colombia by connivance on the part of the United States; a conspiracy in which our warships took part; a revolution planned and fomented in this country; and made successful by reason of the action of this government in denying Colombia the right to repossess her revolutionary state. That Panama cannot be restored to Colombia now without endangering our rights on the isthmus is conceded, but that reparation of some kind must be made to Colombia is the opinion of fair-minded people who have given the subject consideration. Colombia has asked to have her claim for compensation submitted to the Hague Tribunal, but so far no arrangement has been made. It will fall to the new administration to settle this claim.

In connection with affairs on the isthmus there is a wide difference of opinion as to whether our government has not exceeded its rights in dictating to those people what they should do, supervising their elections, and otherwise exerting protectorate privileges over them.

Our Doings in Nicaragua

The course pursued by the United States in Nicaragua in landing and fighting United States troops without authority of Congress has been publicly condemned by Senator Bacon of Georgia in the Senate. He is the prospective chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations and it is expected he will have great influence in shaping foreign affairs after the 4th of March. Senator Bacon introduced in the last session a resolution bearing on this subject and forbidding the use of the army in lands not subject to the jurisdiction of the United States. He contended at the time that the introduction of an armed force in Nicaragua was an act of war and the Constitution expressly forbade war unless authorized by Congress. No action was taken on the resolution, but it voiced the sentiment of many Democrats and it may be taken as an expression of the views of a majority of that party. The troops were used in Nicaragua to prevent a revolutionary movement from overthrowing the established government. Ostensibly they were used to protect American citizens and the legation of the United States.

The extension of the Monroe Doctrine in recent years included in its scope the treaties made with Nicaragua and Honduras for the control of the finances of those countries and the settlement of their debts. They were similar to the arrangement made with Santo Domingo, but the scheme was to be financed by big money interests in New York, which was a cause of some of the opposition. The Democrats were opposed to the ratification of the treaties and they were never reported from the Committee on Foreign Relations. It is certain that the new administration will not attempt to further extend the Monroe Doctrine along the same lines, but rather there will be an inclination to withdraw from the advanced position taken.

Intervention in Mexico

The policy of the present administration with respect to Mexico is one that is not likely to be followed by the new administration. Interest almost amounting to intervention has been the course pursued. Favor has been shown the Madero government to

an extent never dreamed of in days when "hands off" was our declared policy. Neutrality has been enforced as far as possible against the opponents of Madero, but this government has openly abandoned neutrality in granting aid and encouragement to Madero. It has encouraged the shipment of arms and supplies to him and has allowed him to take his troops across our territory in order that they might more effectively attack the revolutionists.

Our excuse for interfering in the affairs of Mexico is based on our right to protect American lives and American property. We have also been importuned by foreign governments to protect their citizens. One troublesome feature of the Monroe Doctrine is that foreigners are determined to make us responsible for the lives and property of their people if we maintain the position that foreign forces shall not be landed on the shores of the American continent for the purpose of collecting debts or disciplining small republics who do not seem able to protect the lives and properties of foreign residents. Mexico bids fair to continue a troublesome problem. The clamor of Americans who are interested in Mexican properties and the demand of American residents in that country for protection is something that must be heeded. And yet the only possible protection is through a strong government, similar to that of President Diaz, and such a government had been condemned by the critics as an oligarchy and despotism. Even if the new administration does not support Madero it may find itself obliged to support some other leader who is just as inefficient and who will be beset by revolutionists on every hand.

South American Irritations

An attempt was made to do in Venezuela practically what was afterward accomplished in Santo Domingo, but the haughty Spanish people of that country refused to become subject to our so-called "good offices." They rejected our overtures to help them settle their obligations to foreigners even if those foreigners insisted upon possessing their custom ports in order to collect the money. Since that time our government has not assumed very much in the way of exercising control of South American countries below the isthmus. It is true that this government did join what might be termed a "concert of powers" to prevent war between Bolivia and Ecuador. Acting with Chili, Argentina and Brazil, the United States told those small nations that they should not fight with each other although their armies were then confronting each other on the frontier. While the result accomplished may be commended the question of authority may well be doubted, and whether a new administration will follow the same course if similar conditions should arise depends upon the manner in which the new administration shall interpret the Monroe Doctrine.

That the extension of the Monroe Doctrine in recent years has been irritating to the peoples of Latin America there can be no doubt. No country can be entirely satisfied when a stronger country tells it who shall govern it, denies it the right to overturn a sitting government, and by force of arms puts down a revolution. That has been done in Nicaragua and, in continuance of the same policy, may be done in almost any other country. The right of revolution of a country is a part of its sovereignty. Revolution in many of the Latin-American countries is not only a right—it is a profession. Control of the custom houses and the finances is the aim of every revolutionary leader. Without the prospect of such control there would be no incentive to revolution. By protecting the custom houses and the finances the United States has made revolution unprofitable, but has not increased the affection of the people on that account. Naturally, under these conditions the great majority are denied the opportunity for handling the revenues of the government and they are dissatisfied. To continue the policy will increase the dissatisfaction. Revolts will be put down by American forces. Gunboats with marines in readiness to land must patrol the seacoasts. Altogether it will mean constant vigilance and activity on the part of this government, for few of the governments in those countries where we have been operating can long stand alone and unaided.

Responsibility for Latin-American Finances

The extension of the Monroe Doctrine has been forced by the attitude of European governments which insist that the Latin-American Republics shall pay the debts due their citizens, and further that the United States must insure the safety of the lives and property of Europeans. It must either police the American continent or it must not object to the occupation of ports by foreign forces to collect debts and insure the safety of foreigners in disturbed regions. Our government in attempting to handle the

finances of several different southern countries has endeavored to obviate the occupation of any territory on this continent by European force. Long ago Corinto in Nicaragua was seized by a British force and the custom receipts taken to satisfy a British claim. It was to avoid a like occurrence in Santo Domingo that the United States took control of the finances of that republic.

Another object, philanthropic in its way, is to protect the governments of Latin America from looting by the avaricious foreigners with their claims. Not only have foreigners, but our own American citizens, obtained concessions and acquired claims of doubtful regularity. Those countries have been exploited by freebooters and buccaneers for many years. Preposterous claims, outrageous interest charges, and many other features of half-civilized administration and corruption, have been the curse of many of the countries. The altruistic spirit which has actuated the present administration to try and relieve the conditions existing has been commended in some quarters, while in others the course has been condemned as being in the interest of Wall Street. In this day it is only necessary to hang a Wall Street tag on any proposition to make most politicians wary of it, and it may be generally assumed that diplomacy of the altruistic kind in relation to Latin America will be divorced.

Interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine

The new administration will be face to face with a Monroe Doctrine problem. Carefully have our statesmen avoided giving a definite declaration of what the Monroe Doctrine really means. It is used when needed to suit any situation arising on the American continent. The Lodge resolution adopted in the Senate in the last session of Congress, declared that the Monroe Doctrine meant that our government would not permit a coaling station to be located by a foreign power on the American continent. That was not the language, but that is the interpretation. The Lodge resolution has no force save as it expressed the opinion of a majority of the Senate as it then existed. Such a resolution might not receive the sanction of the Senate that will come into power on the 4th of March.

The Monroe Doctrine, promulgated originally to keep Spain from seeking to reassert sovereignty over her revolted colonies on the American continent, has been extended and expanded until it may now mean protectorates over, and regulation of, such Latin-American states as seem unable to control their own affairs. The new administration must either accept this new construction and application or abandon it. Action will be required one way or another. In Santo Domingo, it is true, the condition can be continued on the ground of carrying out an existing agreement, but if no steps are taken to cancel that agreement, to withdraw United States officials, and, what is more important, to withdraw United States warships that have been hovering in the vicinity, it will virtually mean a continuance of the existing policy and Santo Domingo will continue to be a protectorate.

A Change of Policy Expected

What seems bound to precipitate a complication of foreign troubles upon the new administration is the fact that the peoples with whom we have had so much to do for the past fourteen years have little conception of our own people or our government. They do not fully understand that the change from one party to another is of no great concern to ourselves. But the fact that the party in power has taken an active interest in their affairs so long, and that prominent men of the opposition, and now of the successful party, have opposed that activity, naturally leads them to expect a change of policy. Notably is this true in the Philippines where the Democratic success has already been hailed as meaning independence without delay. And so far as those people are concerned the platform declarations and the pending legislation in the House of Representatives gives them ample assurance that their hopes are justified.

As to our Central American republics it must be admitted that those who can understand something of what takes place here have reason to believe that there will be a change of policy. When Senator Bacon becomes chairman of the Foreign Relations committee it may naturally be inferred that his views regarding the illegality of the use of troops to bolster up governments in those southern republics have been indorsed.

Clearly the activity which has been the policy of later years in regard to these countries must have aroused intense interest among those who believe their rights have been invaded. Beyond question they will look to the new administration to reverse that policy. It means immediate action soon after the new administration takes control.

And it must be either the continuation of a policy which has evoked a great deal of criticism by the Democrats when in the minority, or a decisive movement toward a policy of non-interference with the affairs of governments on the American continent.

Pending Questions

No administration can turn the government over to another party with a clean diplomatic slate. Our foreign relations cannot be cleared up in a day, a week, or even in the four months which elapse between the time a President is elected and when he takes office. Diplomacy cannot be hurried. If it was the earnest desire of the Secretary of State to have every pending question settled by the 4th of March he could not bring it about. There is nothing quite so slow as diplomatic negotiations. Curiously enough, both sides seem to feel that they gain by postponement. At least they know they have lost nothing. For several centuries Turkey has maintained a position in Europe because her diplomats have been adepts in the postponement of all negotiations.

And so it happens that the Wilson administration will come into power with a number of very important questions pending which may lead to other complications. "Our relations with foreign countries have been peaceful and highly satisfactory," the President announces to Congress, but that does not mean that many important matters are not subjects of contention. There are many that require consideration and negotiation, and most of them will be inherited by the Wilson administration.

The Problem of Canal Tolls

From the beginning of our history we have had difficult diplomatic relations with Great Britain and there will be a fresh crop of disputes on hand when the older ones are settled. One new question for which Congress is responsible is that granting free tolls through the Panama Canal for American coastwise shipping. While Great Britain makes the protest and is the country which will carry on the negotiations, every country in the world is interested and every country is opposed to the position which we have taken. Of course our people have argued themselves into the idea that we can do what we please with our own canal. There ought to be no question about that if we had not taken Great Britain into a sort of partnership about sixty years ago when the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was negotiated. That treaty was superseded by the Hay-Pauncefote treaty by which equality in canal tolls was guaranteed to *all* nations. Absolutely and beyond question there can be no way of juggling the words so as to make them mean less than what they say and in excepting our coastwise shipping from the payment of tolls we are breaking the treaty. Naturally Great Britain protests and some day our people will pay for the blunder. It is a legacy of the Republican administration to the Democratic administration. It may be passed along for a number of years, for Great Britain bides her time.

As an illustration of her patience, and also her aptitude for selecting the psychological time, the Dawson claim may be cited. Dawson was a British subject and more than a score of years ago he was crossing the Kansas plains. He and his family were killed by Indians or persons disguised as Indians. At all events, his relatives presented a claim and Great Britain set up the contention that the United States did not furnish the adequate protection guaranteed by the treaty on that subject. For about ten years the negotiations dragged and appeared to have been forgotten. And then came the Spanish war. It seemed to Great Britain that an auspicious time for settlement had arrived and just when we were welcoming the moral support of any one nation in Europe the Dawson claim was revived and it was settled.

Those who know a little of the mysterious diplomacy of Albion expect that, no matter how the negotiations over the canal tolls may lag, a time will come when Great Britain can force us to take the question to The Hague. No one doubts for a moment that the decision of that tribunal will be against the United States. And it will mean the return of every dollar that may have been collected in canal tolls from foreign vessels.

Relations with Canada

As long as Canada is a part of the British empire relations with that country will continue to be one of the vexations of diplomats. It might seem that the boundary and fisheries disputes have all been settled, but violations of treaties and discovery of some particular point which has been overlooked are constantly becoming the source of new disputes and more negotiations. Even now a boundary commission is trying to adjust disputes over water courses which, by the

original treaty, determine the line between the United States and Canada.

Canadian reciprocity is also a subject to be passed on to the party triumphant in the November elections. In a large measure that is something for Congress to consider, but it will come before the executive department also. Canadian reciprocity was made possible by the Democratic majority in the House of Representatives of the Sixty-second Congress aided by the Democratic minority in the Senate. There is a supposition that reciprocity was killed by the defeat of the Laurier government in Canada, but there is a belief that when Canada recovers from the scare of annexation, which really caused the defeat of reciprocity in that country, the Canadians will realize the advantages to them in the agreement and ratify it, unless, in the meantime, action has been taken by the United States to repeal the law. Such repeal was undertaken when the tariff bills were under consideration during the Sixty-second Congress and the repeal was voted into one or two of them. At all events, Canadian reciprocity is one of the legacies of the party soon to take charge of the government.

Our Trade with Russia

Whatever may become of the negotiations to establish a modus vivendi with Russia in order to continue uninterrupted trade relations upon the expiration of the treaty which was abrogated by instructions of Congress, there still remains an adjustment of the passport question which was the real cause of the rupture. With great acclaim and scarcely any opposition, Congress passed the resolution at the behest of the Jewish people in the United States. That action went a long way toward making William Sulzer governor of New York, but it left a diplomatic tangle which is yet unsolved.

It was subsequently discovered that the United States has a commerce in Russia amounting to about $80,000,000 annually, and without any agreement to the contrary the maximum rates of duty can be imposed by Russia, which might have the effect of shutting out the exports from this country. As a retaliatory measure the United States could apply its maximum duties which would bring about a condition very harmful to large business interests. Neither country desires that; hence the negotiations having for their object the continuation of the commercial relations between the countries.

But even such an arrangement is unstable and may be broken at any time. More than that, nothing has been gained in the way of guaranteeing to the Jews of American citizenship the rights they demand when traveling in Russia. Although there was a passport provision in the treaty which has been abrogated, it had no place in a commercial treaty. If a new commercial treaty is negotiated the passport subject should be eliminated and covered in a separate treaty. And how can such a treaty be made in the face of the attitude of the Russian Government? It is known that this very question figured in the recent Presidential campaign to a large extent, and it is naturally expected that the new administration will try to seek an adjustment. It will require the shrewdest kind of diplomacy to secure a treaty with Russia that will meet the requirements of the situation.

Pressing Problems in "Dollar Diplomacy"

"Dollar Diplomacy" has been condemned in rather severe terms, more particularly as applied to the Latin-American republics. But a large part of the so-called "Dollar Diplomacy" has been the effort to extend American trade through the Department of State, which heretofore has been devoted almost wholly to diplomatic affairs. Under the new system there has been created in the Department of State a commercial bureau with four divisions, called, respectively, "Western Europe" the "Near East," meaning Mediterranean Asia and Africa, the "Far East," meaning the Oriental countries and Australasia, and "Latin America," including also those countries bordering on the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea. That Democratic opposition has developed to this form of proposed trade expansion was shown in the last session of Congress when the House of Representatives cut off the appropriations for the bureau in the supply bill for the executive departments. The assertion was made that practically the same results were assured through other departments and bureaus. "Dollar Diplomacy," so far as it relates to the trade bureau in the Department of State, was saved by the Republican Senate and the Republican executive. It will be interesting to see whether the same course will be pursued when the power in all legislative branches is lodged in the Democratic party. It may be taken for granted that similar action will not be taken by the next Democratic House of Representatives unless it is known that it will meet the approval of the executive department. The disposition of this particular

phase of "Dollar Diplomacy" adds one more perplexity in foreign affairs to the many that confront the new administration.

Tariff Differences with Germany and France

Trade troubles with both Germany and France are perennial. There has not been a time for many years when negotiations of some kind were not in progress with those nations to settle contentions over the admission of our products to their markets or the admission of their products to ours. The questions which fall to the next administration may not be entirely new, nor will they involve anything upon which there have been party differences in our own country. With a reduction of tariff duties by the Democratic party there should be established a basis of adjustment less difficult than under Republican rates of duty. Yet much of the commerce from those countries, especially that of wines, is considered to be under the head of luxuries, always the subject of high rates, and both Germany and France have always insisted that our high duties on such articles were not reasonable.

Germany as an Oil Monopolist

Germany, also, has a method of her own in dealing with commerce, looking out for the German producer all the time. In order to stimulate any industry Germany will make a prohibitive tariff and will also make trade agreements with other countries which will have the effect of keeping a commercial rival out of her markets. At present there is under contemplation an arrangement by which the petroleum of Southern Russia, Roumania, and Austria, though of inferior quality, may be imported into Germany by a method which will exclude the superior oil of the Standard Oil Company. This proposal goes so far as to secure from independent concerns in America a better grade of oil than produced in Europe for the purpose of mixing with the inferior oils. By making a monopoly of the oil trade Germany can effectively shut out the greatest oil-producing concern in the world. Of course the United States will not consent without protest to have discrimination practised upon any commercial organization of this country, even if it be an unpopular combination which has been prosecuted under our own laws. The new administration as well as the present will contend for equal treatment of all commerce with foreign nations.

Our Policy towards Japan and China

In the Orient there will ever be questions which are troublesome and which have no relation to party divisions in the United States. The treatment to be accorded the Japanese people in this country has given rise to serious difficulties, and it is well known that on the Pacific coast the Japanese question is a live one and may at any time call for important action. Japan has evidently been anxious to acquire a coaling station on the American continent. The Lodge resolution on this subject was directed at Japan and meant to stop supposed negotiations of that government for a station in Mexico on the shores of the Gulf of California. The large Japanese population in the Hawaiian islands has been considered a menace and has caused the hurried efforts in pushing to completion the military stronghold which the United States is making in Hawaii as well as securing the safety of Pearl Harbor as a naval station. While the statesmen of both countries have been emphatic in refuting every rumor that tended toward even threatened hostilities, the constant Japanese war scare has called for careful diplomatic consideration and will continue to do so in the future.

In time the new Republic of China must be recognized. Some of our people thought we should be foremost in such recognition. Much weight was given to the action of Mr. Sulzer, of New York, in framing and introducing a resolution in the House of Representatives congratulating the new republic upon its birth. He was chairman of the House committee on Foreign Affairs which gave the resolution particular prominence. There was in contemplation the introduction of a resolution by Mr. Sulzer calling upon this government to recognize the new republic of China, but upon consultation with the Department of State the proposal was abandoned as it was shown that the several powers, acting in concert, can best handle the Chinese situation. Save for the possible withdrawal of effort to secure business advantages in China, it is quite likely that the policy of the new administration with respect to that country will not differ from that which has been pursued heretofore, unless new complications may change conditions.

Change of Party Means Change of Policy

Heretofore a change of party has not involved any change in the conduct of our foreign relations or foreign policy in material

matters and with the more important nations of the world. It is true that President Cleveland reversed the Harrison program in Hawaii and President McKinley in turn reversed the Cleveland policy. But Hawaii was an incident, although later it became a long step in our expansion policy. It has been sixteen years, however, since the Democratic party has had any voice in shaping foreign policies. In that time we have become a "world power," and, for the most part, with the opposition of the party about to take control of the government. In the progress of events steps have been taken which brought forth vigorous criticism of men recently promoted to positions of power and control who voiced the sentiment of their party. Promise has been made that some of those steps taken will be retraced and that a modification of policies pursued may be expected. It is on this account that the course of the new administration and the party in power in Congress after the 4th of March will be watched with keen interest.

OUR NATIONAL POLICIES AS PRESIDENT TAFT SEES THEM

THE most authoritative and comprehensive declaration of Republican policy in our foreign relations is to be found in President Taft's first message to the present session of Congress, sent on the morning of December 3. This message of a Republican President, showing the continuity of Republican polities in regard to the relations of the United States with the rest of the world, furnishes certain illuminating and significant contrasts to the tenets of Democratic foreign policy as formulated in the foregoing article from general Democratic doctrine. We are therefore quoting for our readers significant portions of the President's message on our most important foreign problems.

The position of the United States in the moral, intellectual, and material relations of the family of nations, says President Taft, should be a matter of vital interest to every patriotic citizen.

> Whether we have a farseeing and wise diplomacy and are not recklessly plunged into unnecessary wars, and whether our foreign policies are based upon an intelligent grasp of present-day world conditions and a clear view of the potentialities of the future, or are governed by a temporary and timid expediency or by narrow views befitting an infant nation, are questions in the alternative consideration of which must convince any thoughtful citizen that no department of national polity offers greater opportunity for promoting the interests of the whole people on the one hand, or greater chance on the other of permanent national injury, than that which deals with the foreign relations of the United States.

The fundamental foreign policies of the United States, Mr. Taft continues: "should be raised high above the conflict of partisanship and wholly dissociated from differences as to domestic policy." In reviewing the year in our foreign relations, the President states that his main endeavor was to "define clearly certain concrete policies which are the logical, modern corollaries of the undisputed and traditional fundamentals of the foreign policy of the United States."

Coming to the much discussed, somewhat criticized policy, which has come to be known as dollar diplomacy, President Taft says:

> This policy is one that appeals alike to idealistic humanitarian sentiments, to the dictates of sound policy and strategy, and to legitimate commercial aims. It is an effort frankly directed to the increase of American trade upon the axiomatic principle that the Government of the United States shall extend all proper support to every legitimate and beneficial American enterprise abroad. How great have been the results of this diplomacy, coupled with the maximum and minimum provision of the tariff law, will be seen by some consideration of the wonderful increase in the export trade of the United States. Because modern diplomacy is commercial, there has been a disposition in some quarters to attribute to it none but materialistic aims. How strikingly erroneous is such an impression may be seen from a study of the results by which the diplomacy of the United States can be judged.

Referring to the successful efforts of arbitration and mediation made by the United States in conjunction with European powers during the recent conflict in China, the policy of "encouraging financial investment in China to enable that country to help itself," the President says:

> The consistent purpose of the present administration has been to encourage the use of American capital in the development of China by the pro-

motion of those essential reforms to which China is pledged by treaties with the United States and other powers. . . . The policy of promoting international accord among the powers having similar treaty rights as ourselves in the matters of reform, which could not be put into practical effect without the common consent of all, was likewise adopted in the case of the loan desired by China for the reform of its currency.

In Central America, "the aim has been to help such countries as Nicaragua and Honduras to help themselves." But "the national benefit to the United States is two-fold."

First, it is obvious that the Monroe doctrine is more vital in the neighborhood of the Panama Canal and the zone of the Caribbean than anywhere else. There, too, the maintenance of that doctrine falls most heavily upon the United States. It is therefore essential that the countries within that sphere shall be removed from the jeopardy involved by heavy foreign debt and chaotic national finances and from the ever-present danger of international complications due to disorder at home. Hence the United States has been glad to encourage and support American bankers who were willing to lend a helping hand to the financial rehabilitation of such countries because this financial rehabilitation and the protection of their customhouses from being the prey of would-be dictators would remove at one stroke the menace of foreign creditors and the menace of revolutionary disorder. The second advantage to the United States is one affecting chiefly all the southern and Gulf ports and the business and industry of the South. The Republics of Central America and the Caribbean possess great natural wealth. They need only a measure of stability and the means of financial regeneration to enter upon an era of peace and prosperity, bringing profit and happiness to themselves and at the same time creating conditions sure to lead to a flourishing interchange of trade with this country.

With regard to Mexico and the enforcement of neutrality laws, the President says:

Throughout the trying period ["years of revolution and of counter-revolution"], the policy of the United States has been one of patient non-intervention, steadfast recognition of constituted authority in the neighboring nation, and the exertion of every effort to care for American interests. . . . the responsibility of endeavoring to safeguard those interests and the dangers inseparable from propinquity to so turbulent a situation have been great, but I am happy to have been able to adhere to the policy above outlined.

The President then takes up financial claims settled in Latin America, to "good offices" brought to bear in securing "order and tranquillity" in the Dominican Republic, in Haiti, and in Cuba, in supervising the elections in Panama, and in helping the natives of Guatemala and Nicaragua, as well as the foreign bondholders of those countries.

After commenting on the increase in our foreign trade, Mr. Taft speaks of the advantage of our having a maximum and minimum provision to our tariff, and asks Congress for supplementary legislation in this matter.

In the matter of arbitration with Great Britain, he calls attention to the Alaska Fur Seal Convention of July, 1911, and the final settlement of the North Atlantic fisheries dispute in July last, and speaks hopefully of the settlement of the differences with Mexico in the Imperial Valley and Chamizal regions. He regrets "the unfortunate failure of our government to enact recommended legislation with regard to the international regulation of opium."

Coming now to the Italian-Turkish and Balkan wars, the President speaks of our "absolute neutrality and complete disinterestedness," but felicitates the American people on the work done by the Red Cross. He justifies the despatch of American warships to Turkish waters, "in order that we may take part, in such measure as may be necessary for the interested nations to adopt for the safeguarding of foreign lives and property in the Ottoman Empire in the event that a dangerous situation should develop."

In conclusion, the President asserts that as a nation we are now at the threshold of our middle age.

The nation is now too mature to continue in its foreign relations those temporary expedients natural to a people to whom domestic affairs are the sole concern. In the past our diplomacy has often consisted, in normal times, in a mere assertion of the right to international existence. We are now in a larger relation with broader rights of our own and obligations to others than ourselves. A number of great guiding principles were laid down early in the history of this Government. The recent task of our diplomacy has been to adjust those principles to the conditions of to-day, to develop their corollaries, to find practical applications of the old principles expanded to meet new situations. Thus are being evolved bases upon which can rest the superstructure of policies which must grow with the destined progress of this nation.

As to the Philippines, President Taft, in a second message, sent to Congress on December 6, referred to the bill pending in Congress to grant limited independence to the islands and enunciated Republican policy in these words:

We are seeking to arouse a national spirit and not, as under the older colonial theory, to suppress such a spirit . . . but our work is far from done, our duty to the Filipinos is far from discharged. . . . A present declaration even of future independence would retard progress by the dissension and disorder it would arouse. . . . It would make the helpless Filipino the football of Oriental politics under the protection of a guarantee of their independence which it would be useless to enforce.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

CURRENT COMMENT IN THE BRITISH PERIODICALS

THE most thorough and comprehensive treatment of current world topics in all branches of human activity or speculation is undoubtedly to be found in the English reviews. Such reviews as the *Quarterly*, the *Contemporary*, the *Nineteenth Century*, the *Westminster*, the *National*, and the *English Review*, despite the sober and somewhat mechanical appearance of their pages, cannot be matched in the world for exhaustive and authoritative treatment of events and ideas that are of concern to any large reading public. The English *Review of Reviews*, which covers the topics of the modern world in much the same way as that with which the readers of this American REVIEW are familiar, with its larger page and copious illustrations, is more sprightly in appearance than its contemporaries in England. Then, of course, there are the host of other magazines of special or class interest.

During the past few months the serious English magazines have been devoting their attention to the various phases of the reform program of the Liberal ministry, to what Carlyle called the "condition of the people" question, the minute ramifications of the Empire's foreign relations, and other subjects of a more exclusively British interest. The *Contemporary*, in its last three numbers, has a dozen articles on world politics, not including the regular monthly department of twenty pages—always the same number—which Dr. E. J. Dillon contributes on foreign affairs in general, besides studies of the Lloyd-George insurance act, Ireland and Home Rule, and other social reform topics in England, each one showing that outlook upon national life which we in this country have come to call progressive. An article of this kind, "Two Model States in What Concerns Children," was condensed and printed in December in this magazine. Sir Edwin Pears considers that, as a consequence of the Balkan war, Turkey is in danger of a return to absolutism. Sir Arthur Evans, F. R. S., scores the Berlin treaty as "the Balkan mischiefmaker," and R. W. Seton-Watson considers Austria as a Balkan power. Sir Max Waechter carefully outlines the reasons, which, in his opinion, make a federation of Europe not only necessary but inevitable. J. Howard Whitehouse, M. P., makes an appeal for the enactment into law of the White Slave Traffic bill, recently passed by Parliament. Dr. Richard C. Maclaurin incisively reviews the "Presidential Campaign and the Trust Problem in America." He represents the opinions of President Taft, Dr. Wilson, and Colonel Roosevelt in the main accurately, without making any comment himself. Prof. Alfred Dennis contributes a sketch of President-elect Wilson. Mrs. Sturge Gretton reviews the letters of George Meredith sympathetically and appreciatively, and Miss Constance Spender has an article on the Grimm Fairy Tales, apropos of the fact that the brothers Grimm began to write a hundred years ago. Finally there are two articles on proportional representation.

The *Quarterly* has a judicial article on the Irish Home Rule question, amounting to a ponderous, formidable criticism of the Ulster position. Mr. Percy Lubbock considers Browning's poetry, referring to the poet as "a spiritual adventurer born out of due time." Other purely historical articles on Roman and mediaeval topics complete the number. The *Nineteenth Century* has an extraordinary article by the Duke of Westminster, often referred to as "the most plutocratic peer in England." Now, however, he glories in the militancy of modern British democracy. British Imperialism, he claims, is not aristocratic and jingoistic, but "(look at Britain's most democratic possessions, our imperialistic colonies)—contrary to the widely held opinion, democratic, peaceful and utilitarian in the best sense of the word." Sir R. I. Palgrave inveighs against the proposed Liberal land tax which he calls unjust; "Trafalgar" says the British navy has degenerated chiefly because discipline has been relaxed; and Maurice Low has a long article on the crops of the United States.

The *Westminster* is fond of publishing articles on economic and educational topics. We give this month the substance of a paper appearing in two consecutive numbers on the educational institutions of Scotland. The

National is coming to be looked upon as the organ of the jingoistic Unionist party. Its editor, Mr. L. J. Maxse, is mortally afraid of Germany, incessantly calling upon Britain, in his monthly editorial round-up, to prepare for the inevitable conflict with the Kaiser's navy. The November number, however, is distinguished by the fact that Mr. Maxse has arrived at the conclusion that the German Emperor really wants peace. A writer signing himself "Imperialist" reads a lecture to Premier Borden, of Canada, and insists that the Dominion must help the British navy unconditionally. We have more to say on this subject in a feature article this month, and in another article from the *Round Table,* which we reproduce in this department. The *Round Table* is a new quarterly conducted on somewhat novel lines. Its aim is "to publish once a quarter a complete review of Imperial politics, entirely free from the bias of local party issues"; and its affairs in each portion of the Empire are "in the sole charge of local residents who are responsible for all articles on the politics of their own country." In the last number, besides the article on the Canadian navy, there are noteworthy studies of Australian, New Zealand, South African, and Indian topics.

The *English Review* is edited with a virility that despises all British traditions. In the November number, Mr. Lisle March Phillipps writes on "Mr. Lloyd-George and his Country." He believes that the Liberal party is at present becoming "enslaved to mechanism," but is certain that the Chancellor will yet save his party. Mr. S. M. Murray contrasts higher education in Scotland with that in England, to the discredit of the latter, in an article which makes excellent supplementary reading to the study in the *Westminster,* which we condense on another page. P. P. Howe, in a humorous article on "Malthus and the Publishing Trade," makes a plea for the restriction of the production of unnecessary books.

Mr. Frederic Harrison is said to have once remarked that of the newer English magazines the two most important, in his opinion, were the *Hibbert Journal* and the *Englishwoman.* The *Hibbert* is a quarterly devoted largely to the discussion of religion, theology and philosophy. A striking paper in the October number is the plea made by the native Fiji Islanders for Christian polytheism. H. V. Arkell maintains that the Catholic church in France has been completely regenerated as a result of disestablishment. Professor Lobstein endeavors to estimate the worth of the famous Father Tyrrell and the "Modernist" movement to the Protestant consciousness. Frank I. Paradise (of Boston, Mass.), under the title "A Nation at School," sums up the significance of the Progressive party movement to American life, as "the initiation of a new era of industrial and social justice achieved through the genuine rule of the people." Finally, the editor, L. P. Jacks, demonstrates that "under democracy, the area of authority is being steadily extended." He asks whether the people are being trained for the "corresponding habit of obedience." The *Englishwoman* is "intended to reach the cultured public and bring before it in a convincing and moderate form the case for the enfranchisment of woman."

Besides its usual varied and ably conducted departments, the English *Review of Reviews* always prints a number of feature articles of special timely value. In the current issue (January) the noteworthy signed articles are: "The Aims and Policy of Servia," by Nicholas Pashitch, the well known Servian statesman; "Party Politics and National Efficiency," by Lord Rosebery; "Personal Experiences of Votes for Women," by Dr. Tekla Hultin, member of the Finnish Diet; and "The Truth about this Country's Food," —meaning, of course, England—by R. Spencer Thomas. Dr. Pashitch sets forth the Servian point of view as against the Austrian contention, temperately and clearly. Servia aims at economic independence, he tells us, and feels that to have complete economic independence she must have "an outlet to the sea, which shall be under no control save our own after the sacrifices we have made, and which we may still be called upon to make." Lord Rosebery reads a lecture to British party government. Japan, he insists, is an object lesson of efficiency in this respect. He draws comparisons between the Japanese idea and that of England:

> There has no doubt been plenty of party in Japan. But party in Japan has not spelled inefficiency; it tends, perhaps, in the other direction. It appears to be a rivalry of faction for the goal and prize of efficiency. Japanese parties apparently represent a nation determined on efficiency. That is where we differ. We are not a nation bent on efficiency; we have thriven so well on another diet that we are careless in the matter. We regard our parties as interesting groups of gladiators. Our firmest faith appears to be that one will do worse than the other; so we maintain the other, whichever that may be. The possibility of a directing and vitalizing government that shall do and inspire great things we seem to exclude from possibility with a sort of despair. We know too well that our ministers, however great the ardor and freshness with which they set to work,

will soon be lost in the labyrinthine mazes of parliamentary discussion, and that whatever energy they can preserve when they emerge must be devoted to struggling for existence on provincial platforms.

And yet there is work to do—pressing, vital work, which does not admit of delay; work which would fill strenuous years even if Parliament were suspended and not a speech were delivered.

But Parliament must sit and speeches must be discharged. We must then, at least, learn from Japan how to obtain efficiency in spite of the party systems.

According to the experience of Finland, Dr. Hutlin tells us, woman suffrage has not proved the foolish, useless and dangerous thing it is sometimes thought to be. She believes that suffrage would be as effective in England as in Finland "and even better, because of the absence here in England of the political complications with which England is faced." Mr. Thomas considers Britain's food supply from the tenant farmer's point of view. This class in Britain, he tells us, has failed because "of insecurity of tenure and inadequacy of compensation on leaving their holdings." They hope much from the program of the present Liberal Government.

CANADA AND THE NAVAL DEFENSE OF THE EMPIRE

AS we record elsewhere, Premier Borden announced some weeks ago in the House of Commons at Ottawa that, following Canada's offer to apply $35,000,000 for three Dreadnoughts for defense of the British Empire, "the British Government had agreed that a Canadian Minister in London should attend all meetings of the Committee of Imperial Defense, and that without consultation with Canada's representative, no important step in foreign policy will be taken." It is clear that such agreement marks the beginning of a new form of imperial federation. Some such plan of coöperation between the Dominion and the mother country has long been anticipated; and a writer in the *Round Table* (London) suggests the very plan referred to in the Canadian Premier's announcement. The subject "Canada and the Navy" is treated from three standpoints: "As it appears from London"; "Party Opinion in Canada"; and "The View of the Plains."

(1) The growth of the Dominions has brought with it certain problems which must be solved. Of these perhaps the most pressing is that of defense and foreign policy. To quote from the *Round Table* writer:

> Before 1909 the problem of Imperial Defense had not been recognized as acute. Satisfied that the United Kingdom was well able to secure by her own efforts the safety of the empire, the Dominions had been content either to do nothing at all or to contribute a relatively small sum to the British navy. But in that year the serious nature of the German competition became apparent. The Dominions hastened to offer their help, and an Imperial Defense Conference was held in London. At this conference a far-reaching change was made in the defensive system of the empire. It was decided that Australia and Canada should create local navies of their own instead of contributing to a single navy under the authority of the British Government. . . . The time then, is ripe for both Canada and Australia to demand some share in directing the policy of the empire. Yet both countries must be patient. Any change which can now be made must be small, must be tentative. The idea has been mooted that as a first step, such Dominions as wish should send a representative, who should be one of their Cabinet Ministers, to sit as a member of the Committee of Imperial Defense. . . . We may look, therefore, to the Committee taking the form of a Council of Ministers from the united nations of the Empire, advised by their experts in defense and foreign affairs.

(2) In Canada the two great parties in politics are the Liberals and the Conservatives, the traditions of the former leaning

THE BORDEN NAVAL POLICY UNVEILED
From the *Daily Star* (Montreal)

toward emphasizing the autonomy of Canada, while those of the Conservatives tend to emphasize the connection with the mother country. There is also the faction of the Nationalists, which is important only in the Province of Quebec. In March, 1909, the leaders of the Government and the Opposition in consultation drafted a bill on the subject of a Dominion navy which was passed unanimously in the following terms:

> The House will cordially approve of any necessary expenditure designed to promote the speedy organization of a Canadian naval service in cooperation with and in close relation to the Imperial Navy.

Agreement between the parties did not last long; and after many discussions of the matter it is now evident that the popular sentiment in Canada demands that "the permanent Canadian contribution to naval defense shall take the form of a Canadian naval contingent."

To sum up the situation as between the two parties, it may be said that

> both are practically agreed that Canada must do something immediate, substantial, and effective in the way of making provision for Naval Defense, and that in doing it Canada's position as a self-governing Dominion must not be impaired.

(3) While the attitude of the Atlantic and Pacific provinces to the Empire is tolerably well known, what, asks the *Round Table*, about the plains?

> Every wide-awake Westerner will tell you that the prosperity of the West depends upon three things—men, money, and markets—an ever increasing tide of immigration, an ever expanding stream of capital to care for the settler and a reliable and rising market to take his products. An ever increasing stream of men and money and ever expanding markets, these sum up the Westerner's hopes. . . . The Westerner's greatest enemy is war. To-day he may not believe this; to-morrow he will. The supply of men to fill his towns, to till his lands, to build his railways, will dry up if a great European war breaks out, and more particularly a war in which Britain is involved. . . . The price of wheat soars when a war cuts off a portion of the world's supply. Thus, if war were to seal up the Russian, the Egyptian, the Indian, or the French ports, the price of wheat would rise. A British war, which would interfere with the supply from these countries, would interfere as much, if not more, with the supply from Canada, for Britain's enemy would assail her wheat ships with exceptional vigor. What would be the effect on Canada? The price of wheat in the Liverpool market would rise; but would not the risks due to war and the increased cost of transportation absorb the difference in price? . . . To-day the Westerner clamors for box cars and rapid transportation, because he wants his grain to reach the consumer with the utmost rapidity and in the best condition. If that wheat is in danger on the high seas, the Westerner will call as loudly for a fleet as he ever shouted for box cars and elevators. . . . The Westerner is not an Imperialist by sentiment. Business, not sentiment, governs him. When the Westerner begins to call for protection on the high seas he wants protection, not its semblance. . . . He is not enamoured of a large navy; the pomp and circumstance of war do not appeal to him. . . . If war is necessary, he does not want to play with it. . . . If peace can be assured only by Canada's active participation in the burden of the naval defense of the Empire, the Westerner wll not be satisfied with make-believe policies and trifling measures.

Assuming that this is a correct interpretation of the Westerner's attitude, it will be found that "as soon as he begins to realize the need of guarding the highway of the seas, he will demand a vigorous policy of national defense."

SCOTLAND'S SUCCESS IN THE EDUCATIONAL FIELD

SCOTLAND'S educational history is a record of obstacles surmounted and difficulties overcome. Geographical difficulties, the mountainous nature of the country, retarded the spread of schools over extensive areas down to the end of the eighteenth century. Another barrier to the development of educational facilities was the poverty of the land.

> It was only by the wisest provision and the most careful effort that the little that was available was able to be productive of so wonderful results compared with what her richer southern neighbor could show at the same period, especially among the lower classes of the people. Hardy independence and indomitable thrift would not permit chill penury to freeze the genial current of their soul. Their very poverty became a source of strength.

Then there was to be combated the long internal turbulence that held sway within the country.

> Among the manifold misfortunes that fell upon the land during this weary struggle none was more hurtful to its welfare than that so large a proportion of its intellectual wealth was driven to service in foreign lands. At the beginning of the 17th century, in the six universities and fifteen Protestant colleges of France, "the numbers of Scotchmen who taught in these seminaries was great. They were to be found in all the universities and col-

leges; in several of them they held the honorary situation of principal; and in others they amounted to a third part of the professors."

The foregoing passages are taken from a notable series of articles on the educational institutions of Scotland, in the *Westminster Review*, from the pen of Charles Menmuir, M. A. It has been said: "The education of a people is at once the consequence of all that it believes, and the source of all that it is destined to be." Of no country, writes Mr. Menmuir, can this be more truly affirmed than of Scotland.

Her system of education was logically the outcome of her people as a whole, and the democratic character of both her schools and her universities proves that they reflected the genius of the people more clearly than any other phase of her life, with the exception of her church alone. If, as Froude says, "The Commons of Scotland were the sons of their religion," then their other parent in no less degree was to be found in their schools and universities.

St. Andrew's possessed schools of repute centuries before her venerable University came into being. As early as 1120 the disciples of the schools in connection with the Church of St. Andrew are mentioned as welcoming the friend and biographer of Anselm to the chair of the bishop of the Scots. Scotland's early advance in education was maintained because "her people, her Church, and on occasion her ruling powers were more actively concerned with these matters than were other countries."

Most early educational systems were but little calculated to leaven the masses of the people. This was not the case with Scotland. Says Mr. Menmuir:

Amongst the advantages derived from our Scottish system of education none was more widely felt than its comparative ease of attainment. . . . From the 16th century onward . . . every endeavor was made so that the schools might not become select or exclusive, but would remain really national, and adapted, so far as possible, to the varied circumstances of the different grades into which the people were socially divided. Modern America has justly made a boast that the son of her President may be found side by side with the son of a workman in her schools; but she was not the pioneer in this laudable consummation, for before the Pilgrim Fathers crossed the Atlantic, the heir of the Scottish laird and the son of his ploughman might have been seated on the same school bench, or at times sprawling on the floor of a school so poor that seats were considered a luxury.

The dominie, as badly paid as his school was ill-furnished, was more often than not a graduate himself, so that it was possible for the "lad o' pairts" to get from him a complete preparation for entrance to the university; and "in this way the sons of peasants and laborers found their way to the various seats of learning, and from thence could rise as far as their native abilities would carry them." Lord Playfair remarked: "Englishmen are sometimes astonished how Scotchmen get on in the world, but the whole secret of it is that every Scot knows it to be his own fault if he is not educated."

The very possibility of this chance of a successful career in scholarship aroused the energy and fanned the ambition of every family in the land, and the poorest Scottish matron ever kept deep down in her heart the hope that she would live to see her son "wag his head in the pulpit."

In Scotland there has always been, in place of religious controversy, hearty coöperation between Church and State in the guidance of educational affairs. "The leaders of the Reformed Church regarded their share in this as a peculiar and a pious duty." But while ever regarding the school as the handmaid of the Church, the clergy admitted the wider sphere of worldly necessities, and the secular tendency was also fostered. Nor was the practical side of education overlooked. Melville's "Diary" records: "By our master we were teached to handle the bow for archery, the club for golf, the batons for fencing; also to run, to leap, to swim, and to wrestle." French was generally taught from an early period; and "from about the end of the 17th century onward the subject of navigation was assiduously taught in all the schools of the chief seaport towns."

What may be termed the continuity of the educational ladder has been a characteristic of the educational policy of Scotland, though regarded as quite a modern development in many countries. To quote Mr. Menmuir again:

Graded education, for example, did not exist in England half a century ago; but in Scotland there had been for centuries an intimate union between the parochial and grammar schools and the national universities, and this had been rendered the firmer because, as John Stuart Mill stated in his inaugural address at St. Andrew's, "The common schools of Scotland, like her universities, have never been the mere shams that the English universities were during the eighteenth century, and the greater part of the English classical schools still are."

The Scottish universities belong emphatically to the people and not to a class. Like the parish schools they were always democratic in aims and in tone; and their chief contribution, perhaps, to the welfare of their country was their strong patriotic sentiment. Freedom has always been a word dear to the heart of a Scot, and for his political freedom

he is in no small measure indebted to the fact that "the men in the universities represented the freedom and the individualism which undoubtedly characterized the Presbyterianism of the time."

The high public opinion regarding the value of education, which has been so marked a feature of Scottish life, has reacted with the greatest benefits upon the results. Scotland has done more than achieve success: she has deserved it. And in acknowledging her debt of gratitude to her educational system she "has this supreme satisfaction, that she never made a better investment than she did in these centuries of patient work and unceasing effort."

WHAT THE FRENCH PERIODICALS ARE SAYING

IT would seem that timeliness, as readers of American periodicals understand the term, is a question of latitude. At least, it apparently takes on that character in Europe. On the other hand, literary form in the writing for periodicals seems to diffuse itself without any regard whatsoever for the east and west parallels. It may be that it is, after all, a question of free speech and the fullness of democracy. The western European countries have a more vital press, one more largely devoted to a discussion of current topics than the press of those countries to the eastward, as constitutional government in Europe seems to thin out from the vigorous republicanism of France, through the half constitutionalism of Germany, to the despotism of Russia. The weeklies and monthlies of France are more like the more mature press of England and America than those of any other continental European country.

The staid old *Revue des Deux Mondes*, dean of the French reviews, founded fifty years ago by François Buloz, goes along its deliberate way, publishing solid, scholarly articles on historical subjects, only once in a while opening its dignified pages to a timely article. The *Deux Mondes* is a fortnightly. The two numbers for November and the first one for December consider, in elaborate articles, the American Civil War, the Austro-Prussian War of '66, the Congress of Berlin, and the last Prince of Condé. There are literary articles on Brunetière, a criticism of Bossuet, and a study of the poetry of Mauriac. A man of affairs, M. Biard d'Aunet, devotes thirty pages to setting forth how France may be benefited in time of war by the aeroplanes on her war ships. The *Revue de Paris*, while it cannot quite free itself from the French habit of leading off with an article of purely historical value,—which it does in its first December number by considering the Letters of Marie Antoinette,—gets more quickly into the questions of the present. This *Revue*, in its last three numbers, considers military aviation, has an original article on Napoleon and the Balkan roads, and, of course, a good deal of speculation, written in the closely woven, thorough French way, on the Near Eastern situation. August Gauvain believes that the future of Turkey will be a purely Oriental matter. He ascribes the present woes of the Porte to the political ineptitude of the Young Turks.

The liveliest, most vital, and wide-awake of the French reviews is undoubtedly *La Revue*, published under the editorship of Jean Finot. This review is issued twice a month, and almost all its articles are characterized by fresh timeliness. Political, social, and artistic personalities and movements are the subjects. In one of the recent numbers Paul Louis has an exhaustive article on the present stage of socialism in Germany. The strength of German socialism, he insists, is the greatest hope for European peace. Besides the Balkan war and the question of European politics generally, *La Revue* is also interested in artistic, religious, and educational matters. An article on the question of the teaching of religion in government schools is given on the following page. The *Correspondant*, also a semi-monthly, is a high class review with a pro-clerical leaning. It always publishes at least one article on politics by André Chéradame, the celebrated political economist. It pays particular attention to political, social, and economic movements among people of the French tongue, particularly with reference to religious matters. Such an article, on the late Spanish premier, Canalejas, and the role he played in Spanish politics is reviewed on another page. Léon Delacroix has a particularly keen analysis, in the first number for November, on Belgian politics as personified in the career of the late Minister Auguste Beernaert. A strong article on Beernaert, from the pen of J. Van den Heuvel, a Belgian publicist of note, appears in the *Revue Générale*, the leading review of Brussels, published in French.

CONCERNING MORAL EDUCATION

IN September, 1908, there assembled in London the first International Congress for Moral Education. It expressed the universal disquietude in face of the academic problem, and, more particularly, the increased attention that the civilized nations are devoting to the testing of the aims, methods, traditions, and, chiefly, the results of moral education. The second Congress met at The Hague in August of last year, and, writing of it in *La Revue* (Paris), M. Alfred Moulet says: "One does not know precisely what rôle the Associations for Ethical Culture of Europe and the United States played in the preparation and organization of the first Congress; and there is strong evidence of their action in the history of the second. The informed historian recognizes the apostle of the moral movement in America, Dr. Felix Adler, by whom our own Paul Desjardins was inspired to found the Union for Moral Action, now known as the Union for the Truth." Another American, who has been an active propagandist in England, is Dr. Stanton Coit. . . . The proceedings of the Hague Congress have been recorded in five volumes of Memoirs; and M. Moulet in a semi-humorous vein declares that they are the best part of the gathering. Of some of the results of the second Congress M. Moulet writes as follows:

> In its work and its Memoirs the second Congress has affirmed the universality of a sound design. Men separated by climate, race, traditions and customs, beliefs, and even education, agree to give to their acts and their thought a supreme aim, toward which they raise the child. . . . Seekers after truths they interpose, in the name of God or of reason, in their life: they desire to regulate it and to guide it to the clarity of a distant star brilliant in the depth of the infinite. Some of the most noble aspirations of humanity express themselves in this manifestation, superior to the misunderstandings of a day and to fraternal strifes; and some certitudes of human destiny are written (in four languages) in the touching pages of this Congress.

A portion of M. Moulet's paper is devoted to a consideration of the two doctrines—optimistic and pessimistic—concerning moral education. We read:

> Adherents of one doctrine—and they are more particularly partisans of the religious idea—have a conception of man somewhat pessimistic. To them God is necessary—and His grace, and the confessional sanctions, and the beyond which rewards and punishes—to restrain vile instincts and to permit generous aspirations to triumph in a soul purified by faith but originally feeble. Followers of the other—and they are mainly partisans of the lay idea—have a conception of man rather optimistic. They give credit to human nature, to reason, to life; and to them education appears to be a natural solicitation of happy instincts. Such are the two poles of human thought in the matter of moral education. Such they appeared to the Congress at The Hague. To define them or to recall them is not to simplify the problem; but this definition imposes itself at the threshold of all pedagogical research. According as the educator is optimist or pessimist—a little more, a little less—his method is different.

CANALEJAS AND HIS RÔLE IN SPANISH POLITICS

"I SINCERELY believe that his political action has been exceedingly harmful to my country. I believe especially that, during the past three years, at the head of the government, he carried to extremes that anarchical tendency of power which M. Colson, in his recent book, shows to be one of the principal causes of the fatal disorder which ruins contemporary society." Thus writes Señor Salvador Canals, in the *Correspondent* (Paris), of the late Spanish premier, Don José Canalejas, who was assassinated by a professional anarchist on November 12, 1912.

Señor Canals was under-secretary of state in the Maura cabinet. He is a prominent member of the Spanish Conservative party and the editor of the *Nuestro Tiempo*. He gives the following biographical data of the late premier:

> Don José Canalejas was but fifty-eight years old. At a very early age he evinced a precocious and vibrant intelligence; at fifteen he translated and published some French romances and edited certain journals. This was a period of troublous disquietude: romanticism reigned in literature, rationalism in philosophy, and democracy in politics. Canalejas entered the conflict as a Republican, but with the group nearest the monarchy of Alphonso XIII. Elected deputy to the Cortes for the first time in 1881, he became under-secretary of state to the president of the council, in an ephemeral cabinet, with no other object than that of incorporating in the monarchy the group in question. Some time later this group associated itself with the Liberal party, of which Canalejas was one of the ministers from 1888 to 1890 and from 1894 to 1895. At this time and until 1899 he had no

special characteristic policy among the Liberals. He was one of their great orators, an extraordinary orator; one of their most cultivated intelligences; one of their busiest men; but, after all, only one among several at the side of Sagasta, with whom, as others, he had his hours of intimacy and his periods of disgrace. When, to overthrow the latter, he hoisted a personal flag, he had recourse simply to the opinion contradictory to that which for the moment had the preferences of the chief. In face of a financial plan directed toward budget economies, Canalejas preached the urgent necessity of a great army and a powerful navy. In face of a policy of autonomous reforms for the colonies, he took in hand the cause of the Cuban reactionaries who confided to the arms of the mother-country the fidelity of her distant territories.

At this period of the life of Canalejas, Señor Canals says he is able to detect neither socialism, radicalism, nor prepossession against any clerical danger whatsoever. On the contrary, when he [Canalejas] desired to form a separate band, he inclined rather to the Right than to the Left. These incidents show that "the Spanish clerical danger was not a reality but an artificial improvisation."

It was at the advent to power of the Liberals in 1901 that Canalejas entered upon the scene.

The Liberals were in power, the "clerical danger" was dissipated, and Sagasta knew the Spanish reality too well to carry the comedy further. Canalejas alone undertook to maintain the sacred fire. Through his journal, one of the most widely read in Spain, and by his flamboyant speeches he attacked the imaginary enemies and the real friends who accommodated themselves to the reaction. But he did not stop there; he added to the campaign called "anticlerical" a socialistic campaign, or, to put it more correctly, a campaign to excite the proletariat to an active participation in politics. This was fatal. Canalejas had always inclined towards imitation rather than towards creation. . . . His model was now M. Waldeck-Rousseau. And since there had been set up in France a clerical danger for the Republic and in face of it a law of exception and of war against the congregation at the same time as a direct participation of the Republican government in socialism, it became necessary to set up in Spain a clerical danger against liberty and in face of this an anti-congregationalist law and a direct participation in socialism on the part of the monarchy. This was quite simple, but our Waldeck-Rousseau not having a Millerand for his associate, it became necessary for Canalejas to combine in his own person his two models. . . . Sagasta, desiring to end the situation, took Canalejas into the Cabinet, thinking thus to do a good turn to anticlerical opinion. Canalejas became minister of commerce.

Later Canalejas quarreled with his colleagues in the cabinet and left the ministry of commerce. In a campaign in one of the most excitable regions of Spain he now declared himself a "scientific Republican." In the election of 1903, thirty-six Republicans were successful. At the death of Sagasta the different groups of his party threw themselves, in imitation of Canalejas, deliberately into anticlericalism, although having different and even contradictory programs.

One group, led by Montero Rios, wished to subject the congregations to the common law, without breaking with Rome. Another, under Canalejas, proposed a law of exception against the congregations, either with or without Rome. A third, directed by Moret, inclined to leave the affair of the congregations alone and to seek safety in the laicization of the cemeteries and schools. The program of Canalejas was the most popular with the masses, since it was the most simple, the most practical, and the most dramatic. To break with Rome, to transport the monks to the frontier and despoil them of their goods—this vulgar interpretation of the program was more agreeable than laicization. . . . But when, in June, 1905, the Liberals were called to power neither of the three groups triumphed for the reason that they spent all their time fighting amongst themselves. At their fall the Republicans disdained them, but no sooner were the Conservatives installed in power than they became reconciled and the wing of the Lefts was formed with—always in the advanced guard—Canalejas.

When the Barcelona revolution occurred, the Maura cabinet was in power, but in the following February it was supplanted by that of Canalejas. The repression of the Barcelona outbreak had brought to every one in Spain a consoling, extraordinary surprise, but to the revolutionaries a profound terror.

To guard against similar surprises in the future the latter demanded of the Liberals—forty Republicans had been returned in the elections of 1910—all impunity still possible for the crimes of 1909, impunity for misdemeanors and ulterior crimes, suppression of capital punishment, and above all, the isolation and incapacitation from return to power of those who in 1909 had dared to respect and execute the repressive and defensive laws of society. And these demands were fully satisfied.

Señor Canals complains bitterly of subsequent happenings in this connection. Ferrer could not be resuscitated, but his anarchist library was restored to those who continued his work. One man condemned to death in 1909 lived quietly for three years in Barcelona and was elected to the municipal council, while another actually addressed a recent meeting in Madrid at which he denounced the Spanish monarchy as "a frightful tyranny." Señor Canals charges that whereas Canalejas had promised suppression of capital punishment, he meanwhile practically did so by pardoning all the condemned.

THE MONTHLY AND WEEKLY PRESS OF GERMANY

THE German periodical whose name is probably best known in this country is the *Deutsche Rundschau*, a solid monthly review which is now nearing the close of two score years of publication. But it is seldom that the *Rundschau* offers matter of interest to the general reader outside of Germany. The historical strain is prominent in the latest number at hand. We have articles on "Pius II, a Pope of the Renaissance," on "The Secret Police at the Congress of Vienna," and on "Schleiermacher as Patriot and Politician." Science, art and philosophy also find place, and one piece of fiction is given as an appetizer. The *Preussische Jahrbücher* is more distinctly a scholarly publication, maintaining, in its 150th volume, the high standard for which it is noted. That two out of the six leading articles in its current issue deal with aspects of the woman question is a striking sign of the times. The others are on "Christianity and the Historical World Outlook," on "The Nepotism of Paul IV.," etc., on "The Status of the Middle German Small Farmers," and on "The Fundamental Evil of the Heresy Law"—sufficient indication that the magazine is not intended for babes or sucklings.

Of greatest interest outside of Germany is the monthly *Deutsche Revue*, most of which is devoted to the discussion of current affairs and of living questions. It frequently has authoritative articles from the pens of foreign statesmen or leaders, and has long made it a specialty to be the medium of promoting good relations between Germany and England by the publication of articles of a pacific tendency, written for the *Revue* by leading Englishmen. There are, of course, a number of lesser German periodicals, some of them expressly devoted to Socialism or to some other special object, notably the *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, and the *Neue Zeit*, and the *Gleichheit*, the last named devoted to the interests of working women. A unique place in German journalism is occupied by *Die Zukunft*, the weekly edited by Maximilian Harden, and the medium through which he makes his startling and often brilliant criticisms of persons and things.

South Germany and Austria are most prominently represented by the *Süddeutsche Monatshefte*, published at Munich, and partaking both in its external appearance and in its contents, of a certain estheticism which belongs to the Bavarian capital, and the *Oesterreichische Rundschau*, published at Vienna, and thoroughly identified with Austrian interests and the patriotic Austrian standpoint. This Austrian *Rundschau*, which appears twice a month, is naturally filled, as to its recent numbers, with the Balkan war. This subject is also represented in the already-mentioned *Deutsche Revue*, the leading article of this periodical, as well as that of its contemporary, being devoted to the relation of Austria to the Balkan situation. The substance of these two articles, which agree in general viewpoint, is given in the following abstract.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY AND THE BALKAN WAR

THE identity of the German and Austrian view points on the problems presented by the Balkan war is shown very clearly by two noteworthy articles on the war and Austria-Hungary's relations thereto, which appear in recent issues of the *Deutsche Revue*, of Berlin, and the *Oesterreichische Rundschau*, of Vienna. The writer of the article in the German review, who signs himself an "Austrian Statesman," points out that Turkey remained "deaf to all warnings and entreaties to conclude peace with Italy so that she might bend her undivided efforts to strengthen herself for graver emergencies."

This writer then reviews the various Turkish promises for reform in Macedonia, all of which failed of accomplishment. He points out that the ostensible object of the war on the part of the Balkan powers was to secure these reforms by making Macedonia, Novi Bazar, Albania, and Epirus autonomous. Since the fighting has been concluded, however, "it may well be doubted that the welfare of their kinsfolk is the only object for which the Balkan states are striving." It is frankly admitted by all of the allies that territory is their main object. Of course, the little Balkan nations would not be able to get their way in this matter were they not backed up by some great power—in this case Russia.

The Austrian writer, who has the endorse-

THE FUTURE GREATER SERVIA: AUSTRIA'S DREAD

(Map showing the enormous and solid mass of Servians stretching from Uskub to Trieste; also the nationalities in Macedonia and ethnological divisions)

ment of the German review, sets forth the Balkan policy of the Dual Monarchy in these words:

Nothing is further from the aims of Austria-Hungary than a policy of conquest. This has been repeatedly and most emphatically declared by Count Berchtold. Austro-Hungarian policy is naturally conservative and one of peace, but not a peace at any price. The Hapsburg monarchy has vital interests in the Balkans, which she must, under all circumstances, guard and preserve.

She will not be induced to engage in the present conflict as long as her *cordé sensible* is not touched; what that is was stated by Count Audrássy: "The *rapprochement* of Servia and Montenegro would place the means of communication in that region with the rest of the Orient in a condition prejudicial to the commercial interests of the Monarchy." It was for that reason that the right to garrison Novi Bazar was accorded to Austria by the terms of the Berlin Treaty.

History and geography indicate the aims of the Hapsburg Empire: an open road to Turkey

the maintenance of existing conditions on the shores of the Adriatic, the securing of its frontiers against turbulent neighbors. Come what may, it must be that Austria-Hungary, relying on its own strength and the support of its loyal allies, will know how to guard its interests, just as other powers have done in like junctures.

Austria versus Russia: That is the Problem

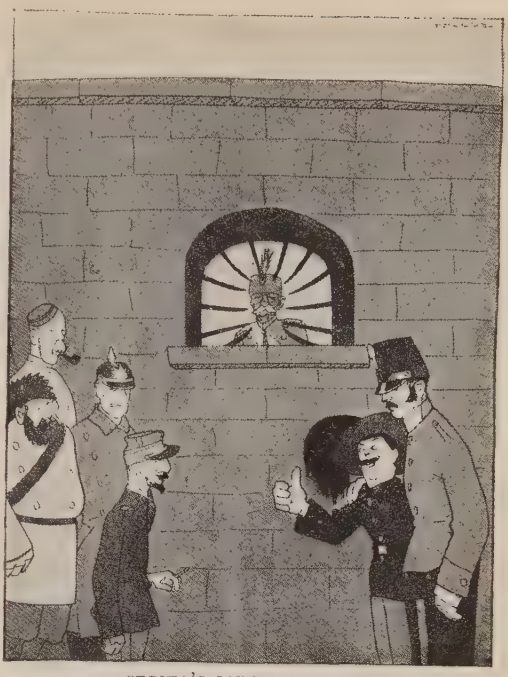
In an elaborate survey of Austro-Balkan and Austro-Russian relations, Baron von Chlumecky, editor of the *Oesterreichische Rundschau*, says:

The world knows that the Czar's empire is not, at present, prepared for the great European passage at arms which may be impending. Austria's supposed plans of expansion in the Balkans tend to bring about a mistrust of her by Russia which is not justified by facts.

This Austrian writer admits that "the Southern Slavic question has long been crying for a final solution." He continues:

Mighty national forces are struggling for a reconstruction, and these struggles have created a situation which has become intolerable to Europe in general and the neighboring country, Austria, in particular. A decisive victory over the Turks threatens to tear up the paper wall that guards the *status quo*, and should that occur Austria will, *nolens volens*, be forced to announce her claims, which, trusting to her own powers and the faithful support of her German ally, she will have to defend, despite any European sensibilities. The farsighted program which was to give the army and navy the added strength generally recognized as essential, has, unfortunately, been, for the present, greatly curtailed, in order not to alarm the money-market and the tax payer.

The Dual Monarchy, the writer concludes, will not halt midway, for all know that an insufficient armament is worthless.



SERVIA'S LITTLE WINDOW

Italy (to the great powers, pointing to landlocked Servia): "See here, my good friend, this is the way this window should be constructed. Both of us must be able to get in, but he—Servia—unable to get out.

(This cartoon, from *Ulk*, Berlin, sets forth the Austro-Italian point of view as to the future of the Adriatic Sea. Servia must not have a port—lest she get out. Austria and Italy, however, must be free to act as they see fit)

A would-be equipment can not serve the purpose of a comprehensive economic policy, without which, again, the burdens of armament could not be borne. Adequate military provision, therefore, is calculated to give the necessary support to a practical economic and political policy. Austria must no longer pursue a policy of neglected opportunities.

CURRENT PERIODICALS OF SPAIN

MOST of the Spanish reviews devote the major part of their contents to a discussion of topics of purely historical, scientific, or literary interest. The dignified *España Moderna* of Madrid, generally devotes a large proportion of its pages to translations, with scholarly annotations, of some piece of literature by a famous non-Spanish author. For some months this review has been giving its readers selected portions of Mark Twain's "Tom Sawyer." It also prints scientific articles, papers reminiscent of characters in Spanish history, besides what the French call a *chronique*, or review of politics, letters, and art. In the first November number of *España Moderna* there is an article on the "True Value of Scientific Discoveries," a condensation of which we print on the following page. A modern writer, Señor Perez de Guzman, gives an extract from the book on "Trafalgar," which he is writing for the Royal Academy of History. This extract seems to be a painstaking account of the organization of the British navy at the time of the famous battle. In another number of this magazine the same author gives a comparison of educational methods of Latin and British civilizations. He criticizes the former and compliments the latter.

Nuestro Tiempo, edited by Salvador Canals, another serious review, but more varied in its contents than *España Moderna*, also

devotes its attention largely to Spanish historical subjects. Recent numbers have contained scholarly articles on the "Renaissance of Art in Spain" and "The Theatre in Spain." Both of these, however, deal with developments which ended at least one generation ago. A more modern article is one on Spanish laws relating to disposal of family property, and calling for more uniformity therein. *La Lectura* has an elaborate discussion of the place that Cervantes occupies in Spanish literature. This magazine also contains a lively account of a journey made by a modern Spaniard through Bolivia, and an appreciation of the work of the late Emperor of Japan.

The liveliest and most popularly edited of the Spanish magazines is undoubtedly the *Hójas Selectas* (Selected Leaves), brought out by the famous publishing house of Salvat, in Barcelona. *Hójas Selectas* is finely illustrated. The December number contains an article entitled "The Nest of the Eagle," which is a description of Ajaccio, the Corsican town in which the great Napoleon was born. It also has a brief picture article on the manufacture of ozone, based on the work of some factory in St. Petersburg. One of the permanent, distinctive features of *Hójas Selectas* is a full page cartoon by the famous comic artist Opisso. We reproduce herewith the graphic comment of this comic artist on the Balkan situation.

WHAT IS THE USE OF A SCIENTIFIC DISCOVERY?

THE sort of general learned articles so characteristic of the contents of the more serious Spanish reviews is shown by a study in the November issue of *España Moderna*. Prof. Joaquin Olmedilla y Puig of the University of Madrid, writes on "The Value of Scientific Discoveries." The learned author has laid the stores of classical and oriental literature under contribution to illustrate the history of scientific progress and discovery.

THE GREAT POWERS TRYING TO EXTINGUISH THE FLAME IN THE BALKANS
(From the cartoon by Opisso in *Hójas Selectas*, Barcelona)

It is his opinion that only to observe the present status of science is to lack a complete understanding of its essence and value, thorough appreciation of which is only possible when we have traced the advance of science step by step, when we realize the obstacles that have been overcome in the path and the painful efforts and the many sacrifices of those who have built up the temple of science. Treating of this he says:

> Many scientific discoveries have their roots in remote times, their origin having been sometimes merely casual, while at other times it has been due to the instinct, or to the superior talents of an individual, whose eagle eye has scanned the immensities of space; again, it may spring from a single happy moment of inspiration. . . . As a truly wonderful example we have the instance of Galileo, at the early age of nineteen, discovering the laws of the pendulum, by observing the oscillations of a lamp in the Cathedral of Pisa. But how many thousands before him had noted this simple and apparently insignificant fact without drawing any deductions from it! In order to find in it great and important data, the necessary thing was that such a brain should grasp this small fact. We may also note that many discoveries were half-apprehended at a much earlier period than is commonly supposed, and the question of priority of discovery is often hotly disputed, or it is matter of doubt whether indeed the glory of discovery can justly be awarded to any determined individual.

The learned Spanish writer here adduces the discovery by the Chinese of printing, gunpowder, the fixation of certain coloring materials, etc., before Europeans had advanced so far, although this ought not to lessen the

credit due to the later, but, nevertheless, original discoverers of the same or similar arts, materials or processes in Europe. Turning then to medical science, Señor Olmedilla asserts that primitive man rather sought the means of preventing disease than of curing it. The impossibility, through lack of knowledge, of explaining the true causes of illness led men to regard it as produced by some supernatural or mysterious agency, or as the punishment inflicted upon man for his sins by some divinity. Therefore, in process of time the priests came to be regarded as the sole depositaries of such scant medical knowledge as had been acquired, and asylums for the reception of those suffering from disease were to be found alongside of the temples.

The writer then gives many interesting historic facts touching different discoveries, citing as an instance of quasi-inspirational foresight certain lines attributed to the poet Lope de Vega, which may be translated: "Swift as lightning has the news arrived; who knows but that in time it will come with the lightning itself?" He also notes that although Friar Bawn is the popularly reputed inventor of gunpowder (in Europe at least), this explosive was employed in siege operations in Spain before his time. The discovery of phosphorus, that of opium, that of chloroform, etc., and the gradual development of chemical science are themes passed in review. In conclusion, the writer defines the true value and significance of scientific discoveries in the following terms:

> Many discoveries regarded as of prime significance at the time they were made, have little by little lost much of their importance, while others, of real and permanent worth, such as the discovery of the medicinal virtues of quinine, have gained in repute with the passage of time. Whoever devotes himself to the pursuit of scientific discovery must be ever on the alert to receive new impressions, and also sometimes to lay aside older theories, or to rectify them so as to bring them into accord with the latest knowledge. The real value of scientific discoveries lies essentially in their practical utility, and the test of this is their maintenance through succeeding generations, during which their worth has been tried in the crucible of practice, and this fact alone gives us the right to assert that any given discovery is really valuable and enables us to accord to any given discoverer the tribute of consideration justly his due.

WHAT THEY READ IN LATIN AMERICA

LATIN America is not rich in periodical publications. There is a tendency, which as yet shows little disposition to change, to depend upon Europe for the more highly developed forms of entertainment and information. Then, too, the great Latin American newspapers, particularly those of South America, and very particularly *La Prensa* and *La Nación* of Buenos Aires and the *Jornal do Comercio* of Rio de Janeiro, greatly encroach upon the field which in the United States is left for the weekly and monthly publications.

It must be remembered also, in this connection, that the South American countries are in the fever of a mighty commercial development, naturally overshadowing the purely intellectual pursuits. Hence the constantly increasing number of publications known as "class journals." Buenos Aires is the greatest publishing center of Latin America. The number of publications of all kinds produced in that city is astounding; but they are almost invariably local and even parochial in their interests. The proportion of well-educated persons to the entire population of South America being small, the "popular" periodicals turn to pictorial display. In response to this demand have arisen such publications as *Caras y Caretas* and "*P. B. T.*" of Buenos Aires, and *O Malho*, *Tico-Tico* and *Fon-Fon!* of Rio de Janeiro. Lavish in illustration, these weeklies, nevertheless, confine themselves almost wholly to home activities; and an unpleasant reminder of the follies of American diplomacy toward the Southern republics can be found in the intransigently unfavorable attitude of these publications toward the Northern republic. For example, *Fon-Fon!* takes keen delight in rehearsing the recent police scandal of New York City incident to the Rosenthal murder and the Becker sentence. It coolly concludes that "the protection of public tranquillity [in the United States] is in the hands of thieves, bandits and assassins." *Successos*, of Valparaiso, Chile, and *Variedades*, of Lima, Peru, are of the same order. The University publications, emanating from Santiago de Chile, Córdoba, La Plata, Bogotá, etc., are well edited and contain much valuable and interesting matter, the result of competent research work and scientific experimentation; but these, of course, are narrowly restricted in their circulation. It cannot be said that the Latin countries, from Mexico to Chile, are at this time making great progress in the development of a responsive and significant periodical literature.

ROOSEVELT IN BRAZILIAN EYES

IN Brazilian metaphor the United States is the Colossus of the North; she—Brazil—is the Giant of the South. Some day Latin America is going to appreciate the informing spirit of life in the United States. And in that day misapprehensions will be over with once for all.

Now, nobody has done more than a certain brilliant Brazilian essayist, Euclydes da Cunha, to ridicule the bogie of "Yankeeism" and interpret the real intentions of this terrible Colossus of the North.

In a recent conversation with a REVIEW OF REVIEWS reader in Brazil, a Rio Janeiro journalist said: "We used to think the Monroe Doctrine was the Americas for the United States, but Euclydes da Cunha has shown us clearly that it is the Americas for all the Americans."

Euclydes da Cunha has admitted in an essay upon Roosevelt's "Ideal American" that the ground for fear may be different from that which usually obtains. He says:

> The fact is, that Roosevelt in analyzing the dangers which threaten the great Republic has illuminated conditions by a vivid picture of South American anarchy. So, while we recoil in terror from the bogie of the "Yankee peril," this strenuous apostle of effectiveness holds up before Yankee eyes the peril of South Americanism. We are afraid of their strength, but they run in dread from our weakness. Unhappily for us this paradoxical cowardice of the Colossus of the North is much more justifiable than our own infantile terrors.

Of Roosevelt's "Ideal American," Euclydes da Cunha says again:

> It is not so much primarily a book for the United States; it is a book for Brazil. Our public men ought to do much more than go over it day and night; they ought to get its most incisive lines by heart, just as architects set themselves to memorize the necessary formulas for stress and strain. The book is an incomparable expression of social virility and political honor, and for us above all it is imperative to take his words to heart. Without stopping to think, almost as a reflex action, in fact we copied the Constitutions of the North Americans, disregarding the most elementary notions of our historic growth, our traditions and our character. Therefore while we may recognize the advantages of such a governmental form, we should compel ourselves to see its evils too, applying as they do with such particular force to our present conditions and national qualities.

Now the essayist passes on to an aspect even more sinister: the peril of *caudalismo*. Local oligarchs in Brazil have made a farce of suffrage and a mock of federal unity alike. The old Emperor Dom Pedro II did what he could to bridge the chasm—and that was little enough—but under a succession of presidents with little inclination to resort to arms, local independence has sprung into a local insolence infinitely difficult to handle without appeal to the Charybdis of dictatorship. Realizing the danger, Euclydes da Cunha returns again to Roosevelt for his text.

> This intrepid moralist forces yet another lesson upon us—the necessity for a broad patriotism, a vigorous national sentiment as against a disintegrating provincialism. Comprehending the real function of a federal government as we Brazilians, alas, do not, he attacks the malignant spirit of sectionalism and once again appears to aim a thrust at the abject chroniclers of South America. Roosevelt treats of an evil in full retreat in the United States, although still containing elements of menace, but here among us it grows daily, spreading itself in every direction, actually threatening warfare over state boundaries and making our internecine strife a matter of world-wide ridicule while we sit idly by.

For Euclydes da Cunha himself, however, there is another vice greater even than *caudalismo*. He insists on dragging again and again before unwilling eyes the crime of what he calls a "Borrowed Civilization,"—a fatuous and illusive civilization because it does not fit the inherent needs of the people; a civilization built up on borrowed ideas and financed on borrowed gold. We quote again:

> Worse even than a sectional partizanship in Roosevelt's eyes is that so-called cosmopolitanism which makes a man a virtual immigrant in his native country, living fatuously out of touch with life in the fiction of a borrowed civilization. Yet there seems little enough to account for Roosevelt's insistence upon this matter. The North American is an absorber and dominator of civilizations. He supplants them at will and moulds them to his own robust individualism—in other words he Americanizes them. It is for us South Americans that these pages seem to have been written, crowded as they are with bitter irony, for to us it must be repeated even to monotony that it is worth more to be original than to be a copy, however good the copy, and that to be a Brazilian at first hand, simply a Brazilian, is worth fifty times as much as being a servile copy of a Frenchman or an Englishman.

Euclydes da Cunha cannot fail to admire. Every predisposition of a musical language and an ornate style is forgotten in the presence of a man who having something to say—does not hesitate to say.

> Roosevelt is but a mediocre stylist. Everywhere he sacrifices form to clearness, not so much writing as instructing. All his greatness is in reflecting the philosophy of to-day, not in producing it *de novo*. His whole concern, in fact, is with the practical value of what he says. At first he seems

to be only demonstrating truisms, but little by little he comes to grip and dominate us. There is some irresistible enchantment in this crusader, Rough-Rider and Quaker combined, fighting the battles of energy, honesty and sound sense, so that although concerned primarily with the destiny of his own country, he puts before us in the end the indispensable conditions of life and health in all countries.

Here is a clarity, an honesty and a fearless self-analysis that must yet be reckoned with in the evolution of Brazil. Just such openness makes possible the attitude of a writer—Jose Custodio Alves Lima—in a recent article in the *Jornal de Comercio*, Brazil's greatest newspaper, and, all things considered, one of the best in the Western Hemisphere. Senhor Lima says:

The rumored visit of ex-President Roosevelt to our country is a fact of so much importance to us in this formative period that we cannot deny ourselves the opportunity of saying something about this American of world-wide reputation. This is the man of whom it came to be publicly said in the United States, 'Elle nao tem papas na lingua,' (Freely translated: He speaks without fear or favor; literally: He has no milk-sops on his tongue.) Others cried: 'He is almost mad; he lacks the composure of a public official—all the same, the country moves. We'd better put up with him. He is of a restless and active temper, always spoiling for a fight, in American phraseology; but such is his love of openness that this Teddy Roosevelt, as the people call him, brought in a new department in his administration. In place of Machiavelianism, frankness; in place of hypocrisy, sincerity. There were no secrets between him and the public. Benjamin Franklin made the maxim: "Honesty is the best policy," but Roosevelt substituted "frankness" in its stead. This has all the while been the touchstone of his success as as a man, whether private or public.

WHAT ITALIANS ARE READING IN THEIR MAGAZINES

THERE is evident an increasing tendency in Italian reviews to print articles on subjects of current political and economic interest. The topics evidently most in favor with the more serious Italian reviews during the past few months have apparently been the Tripolitanian war, the Balkan war, the effect of emigration, agricultural problems, Dante, Crispi, Garibaldi, and financial reform. *Nuova Antologia*, a semi-monthly of Rome, edited for a decade by Senator Maggiorino Ferraris, is the acknowledged chief of the more dignified monthlies. The *Antologia* has been publishing a series of biographical articles on Crispi, and some literary studies of Dante. A tribute to Italian dramatic art is found in Giuseppe Deabate's article, in the second November number, on the bi-centenary celebration of the Turin theater. An absolutely free university is discussed by Signor Filippo Vassalli, Professor of the Royal University of Perugia. He thinks that the free university will be the future form of higher instruction. A number of writers congratulate the Italian army and navy upon the conclusion of the war with Turkey. Professor Luigi Villari compliments the British administration in India, and suggests that in planning the future government for Tripoli Italy could learn much from British colonial experience.

Rassegna Nazionale, published every two weeks in Florence, devotes a great deal of space to religious and philosophical topics. In the last three numbers it publishes an article on the Eucharistic Congress, and three on Christian apologetics. A brief article on the Putumayo rubber scandal in Peru gives special attention to the new Catholic missions installed in that region. The second November number also has a reply to a recent article in *Coenobium*, the "intellectual organ of the intellectual controversialists against orthodox Christianity" (Lugano), on denominationalism. The current number of *Coenobium* opens with the "Confessions of faith," by the well-known Protestant pastor Wilfred Monod, who insists that the religious revival in Europe is dependent: First, upon the ruin of dogmatism, and second, upon the triumph of Socialism. The *Civilta Cattolica*, the organ of the Vatican, among other studious articles, has an analysis of the late William James's religious psychology. Admitting his "scientific honesty", it combats most of his views. The *Vita Internazionale*, the fortnightly of Rome, edited by the well-known educator, Professor Moneta, tries to exonerate his country in the Tripolitanian war matter. Other serious Italian reviews, like the *Rivista Internazionale*, the *Rivista d'Italia*, and the *Riforma Sociale*, the first two published in Rome, the last in Turin, contain articles of a general nature on economic and politicial topics. Among the more popular monthlies are: *Italia* (Turin), *La Lettura* (Rome),

which are illustrated. The second has long illustrated articles on "The Death Struggle of an Empire" (Turkey), "How an Army is Victualed in War Time," the suicide of General Nogi, the daily life of d'Annunzio, a study of the long period of peace in Europe between the Treaty of Vienna and the Crimean War; an illustrated descriptive article of the island of Elba since Napoleon's exile there; a picture of how tobacco "takes hold" of its consumers; and an illustrated analysis of Italy's contributions to the science of aviation. *Italia* gives place for the discussion of Roman antiquities, and the description of "greater Italy," and both print a good deal of fiction.

HOW TRIPOLI LIES ACROSS THE TRADE ROUTES

NOW that Italy's occupation of Tripoli has been rendered permanent and final, the attention of her statesmen is naturally turned to the utilization of this new possession. Its boundaries are not as yet clearly defined, and estimates of its extent vary widely, from a little over 300,000 square miles to nearly twice as much. The region may be roughly divided into two main zones, one embracing Tripoli and Cyrenaica properly so-called, and the other the wide stretches of country beyond these, the "hinterland." The benefits likely to accrue from the occupation of the former of these zones are already obvious and Italian industry and enterprise will readily be enlisted in the work of development, but the value of the hinterland is less generally acknowledged. This is the subject of a brief but suggestive article by Signor E. Oberti in the second November number of the *Rassegna Nazionale*. Treating primarily of the commercial importance of the region, he says:

> The good intentions of civilized nations are often subject to the inevitable contingencies springing from geographic and historic fatality, and these all favor Tripoli and Cyrenaica. This was already realized not many years ago by the German explorer Rholfs, who, zealous for the future and greatness of his native land, traversed, explored and appraised our Lybian hinterland, and more recently the same judgment has been passed by the competent French commissioner to the Central Sudan, M. Gentil, who wrote: "The commerce of the Sudan is entirely in the hands of the Tripolitanians, and it would entail great danger to our possessions in Tunis to seek to supplant them."

Over against the greater proximity of the Sudan to the Gulf of Guinea and to the middle Nile Valley, must be set the intrinsic value of the Mediterranean, that fatal center of attraction for nationalities, civilizations and commerce. If now we consider communication between the countries of Central Europe and the Sudan, we shall find that the shortest route is by way of the Sahara and the Mediterranean. An article of commerce which has reached any of the Mediterranean ports such as Tripoli, Bengasi, Tunis or Gabes, can soon get to Genoa or Marseilles and enter Central Europe by way of the Simplon or the Rhone. It will be said that the great difficulty is precisely in reaching Tripoli, Bengasi, Tunis or Gabes, for as a fact the caravans require from three to five months, according to the route, to traverse the Sahara; but this time can be greatly shortened by constructing railroad branches, and by a better organization and a more effective protection of the caravans themselves:

> The traffic of northeastern Africa is all in the hands of Mohammedans, who for centuries have considered the Mediterranean and the Red Sea as the natural outlets of Sudanese commerce, and who are strongly attached to the traditional means of transport afforded by the caravans, because it best accords with their needs and interests. Hence should any power seek to draw Sudanese commerce along the route of the Gulf of Guinea, it would never be able to supplant the caravan traffic, and could only succeed in creating a competition injurious to all and a dangerous antagonism of interests with the dwellers in the hinterland of the Mediterranean, who depend upon the caravan traffic for their livelihood. It would therefor be much better that the powers having colonies in northern Africa should pursue, sustain and foster this ancient caravan traffic toward the Mediterranean.

The delimitation of the new Italian colony will probably give rise to considerable diplomatic negotiation with France and England, as while the best and easiest of the caravan routes are those traversing the hinterland of this colony, to maintain the bulk of this traffic under Italian control so that it may be directed to their ports, necessitates the possession of the more important of the oases along the route. However, certain of these oases lay within territory the ownership of which by Turkey has been a matter of dispute either with France, or with England as representing Egyptian interests. Italy will soon discuss their future with these powers.

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THE ITALIAN CONQUERORS OF TRIPOLI MARCHING ALONG THE OLD TRADE ROUTES

(The advance guard of the Italian army in Tripoli marching southward over one of the old caravan routes)

THE MONTHLIES AND WEEKLIES OF SCANDINAVIA

TIMELINESS seems to count for very little in the make-up of our Scandinavian contemporaries. While the American editors look a little myopically toward their own time and country, their colleagues in the north of Europe seem to turn with preference to whatever lies at a distance either in time or space. There has been a tendency to change in this respect of late, however, and probably under the influence of spiritual currents originating in this country. Without abandoning their genuinely valuable researches in the fields of thought and science, art and letters, the Scandinavian periodicals have grown more and more prone to offer their readers far-reaching studies of vital political and social problems. A sample of the new method of writing is given among our leading articles of this month, a Swedish summary of the new, socialistic and democratic, conservatism now developing in that country. Among other articles of note in recent issues of Scandinavian periodicals may be mentioned one on "Political Freedom and the Franchise," by Dr. Arthur Christensen in *Gads Danske Magasin* (Copenhagen); a study of the English movement for the scientific housing of workmen in England, by E. H. Thörnberg in *Det Nya Sverige* (Stockholm); another study of the results of proportional representation in the new Swedish Riksdag, by Ernst Höijer in the same publication; a comprehensive and well-informed article on "Modern Painting at Home and Abroad," by Carl V. Petersen in *Tilskueren* (Copenhagen), and a survey of the just completed American campaign, presidential, by Professor Belvdan Koht in *Samtiden* the review of Christiania.

Other well known Scandinavian reviews are *Ord och Bild*, an illustrated monthly of Stockholm, *Nordisk Tidskrift*, also of the Swedish capital, and *Kringsjaa*, the eclectic review of Christiania. The daily journal, *Politiken*, of Copenhagen, is well known all over Europe for the excellent literary character of its articles and for the authority of its editorials.

THE NEW CONSERVATISM

THE new "Tory Democracy" of England has its counterparts in almost every country, our own not excepted, where to-day there are many who undoubtedly deserve such a classification. But no country seems to offer a more palpable parallel to this striking movement in modern English politics than does Sweden. Echoing distinctions that go as far back as the French revolution, the Swedish conservative party has always been known as the "Right," and now this almost paradoxical outgrowth of a tendency supposed to be wholly reactionary takes the name of the "Young Right," under which name it is interestingly described in *Det Nya Sverige* (Stockholm) by the editor of that periodical, Adrian Molin.

Of course, "tory democracy" and "imperialism" are not identical, but the distinction between them is very fine. Or, perhaps it would be better to say that those two terms represent the same movement dealing with different questions, but in such manner that "imperialism" proper stands more for "toryism" than for "democracy." Now what in England or here appears as "imperialism" becomes in a smaller country like Sweden a sort of exaggerated nationalism, an ambition to build up an empire not out of conquered acres but out of new abilities and internal achievements.

To the gibe often uttered against them, that, as a party, they are "invisible," the "Young Rightists" of Sweden reply that they do not stand for a party but for a "collective designation of certain contemporary tendencies." And principal among these tendencies is undoubtedly a recognition of the inevitable future development along some kind of socialistic lines. Like the older form, this new conservatism stands, above all, for a strong national defense and a raising of patriotism above all other feelings. But unlike the older conservatism, the new one proposes to solve rather than to resist those modern movements which have come to form our foremost "social problems," namely, the labor movement and the extension of democratic control to wider and wider fields of social activity. And what it seems to imply, at bottom, is an acceptance of the socialistic demand for "public ownership of the means of production," with a proviso placing the "public" end of it, the government, in the hands of "the nation's ablest men." In other words, it means an aristocratically guided state socialism—something that has long been shaping itself on the horizons of modern social thinkers, either as a hope or as a menace.

The motto of the old conservatism used to be: Defense and social preservation. The cry of the new conservatism, according to Mr. Molin, is: defense and social reform. And as the originator and first leader of the movement in Sweden, he designates the well-known historian Harald Hjärne, while as its philosopher he mentions a young "savant" and critic, Vitalis Nordström. In his attacks on the radical parties in Sweden, Mr. Norström has first of all maintained the insufficiency of their main rallying cry, that of "freedom." This cry is to him, as to many other of the younger thinkers in Europe, wholly empty and leads to nothing but a purely negative social dissatisfaction.

The third leader of the movement, and its foremost champion in the field of practical propaganda, is Rudolf Kjellén, one of those characteristically Swedish temperaments, like that of Strindberg, which aims at nothing less than the embracing of the whole field of possible human consciousness. Among the subjects he has dealt with besides political ones, are lyrical and musical criticism, geography and geology, history, sociology and statistics. He is described as a man with a burning imagination and a passion for truly constructive work.

"This 'young' conservatism is fearfully academical," says Mr. Molin, and it sounds as if he might be talking about American rather than Swedish politics. "And it is very easy to make fun of this fact. But may it not mean that the thoughts which are to lead mankind and our time onward must grow in the brains of scientists and thinkers?"

Turning to what is most essential in the programme of the "young" conservatives, Mr. Molin points at once to the growing dissatisfaction everywhere with the old-fashioned, purely English system of parliamentary representation. What is to take its place is not yet clear, but there is an increasing tendency to seek the desired solution in occupational, as opposed to geographical representation. In this connection it is of the utmost interest to notice how, on one side, these new-fangled conservatives touch hands with the syndicalistic movement further down in the social hierarchy, while, on the other, in their negative attitude toward abstract freedom, they consciously side with the most intelligent part of the socialistic move-

ment. In other words, it looks as if elements long held to be wholly incompatible might approach a fusion within this incipient party of the new brain aristocracy.

This antipathy toward parliamentarism in the old sense,

> will probably go on increasing with every passing year, the more ignorance and lack of culture find a chance to assert themselves, the more modest the achieved results become, and the more plainly it is seen that the nation's really vital questions, especially the economical ones, are not settled in legislative halls, but in the offices of banks, large corporations and labor organizations, with more or less active coöperation on the part of the government chosen by the people. At the same time the importance of the executive branch of the government will undoubtedly increase, for the simple reason that, as the social problems grow more and more complicated, the men in charge of the routine will more and more come to stand for expert knowledge, as juxtaposed to legislative ignorance.

The time to prophesy about impending developments has not yet come, in the opinion of Mr. Molin, but he feels certain that all immediately impending developments will make for a concentration of power in the executive branch of the government, while the next task of its legislative branch will be not so much to govern as—to use his own words—"to react." With this term he has in mind the production of a political friction which will lead to the sloughing off of the present form of representation, and to a substitution of new forms along the lines already suggested.

THE BRAVE, BUT CENSORED RUSSIAN PRESS

AS a partial compensation for the interdiction by the censor of articles of timely and vital interest to modern Russia, the periodicals of the Czar's empire present to their readers many articles of fine literary and philosophic value. The *Russkoye Bogatstvo* (Russian Wealth), one of the best known reviews of the empire, is published at St. Petersburg, under the editorship of Vladimir Korolenko, the well-known novelist. This is an ultra-radical monthly which devotes as much space as the censor will permit to articles on economic and social conditions of different classes of European society, with occasional ventures into Russian affairs. By nature Korolenko is a social revolutionist and occasionally makes bold to assure the nominally free press in Russia that it really is not free. As a matter of fact, it is more gagged and bound than formerly, and the papers are full of accounts of journals suppressed and editors sent to jail.

In the recent issues of the *Russkoye Bogatstvo* there are articles on a number of "historically distant and safe subjects" including "The Crisis of the French Democracy," "The Peasant Revolt in the Reign of Nicholas I," "Poland before the Revolt of 1830," "Jean Jacques Rousseau and the Democratic Ideal of Life," and "The Crisis of Belgian Liberalism." An article entitled "Behind the Bars" ventures some mild observations on life in Russian political prisons and a gently progressive attitude is adopted in an article on "Socialism and National Assimilation." The *Russkaya Mysl* (Russian Thought) another monthly of St. Petersburg, is edited by Peter Struve, the famous Liberal. This magazine is the organ of the Constitutional Democrats—the "Cadets." It also considers such safe topics as "The Spirit of the French Army at the Time of the Revolution" and "The Origin of Languages." It publishes, however, at the same time, solid and informational articles on "How Does Russian Industry Develop?" and "Small Rural Credit and Its Needs."

The *Vyestnik Yevropy* (The European Messenger), the Liberal organ of St. Petersburg, is one of the most literary of the serious Russian magazines. It is among the oldest also, and is generally free from any partisan bias. In the recent numbers it considers "A Page from Russian Agrarian History," "The Land Question in the Baltic Provinces," "Women in Russian Universities," "The National Question in Russia," and "What is Byzantine Art?" The *Sovremenny Mir* (Modern World), another St. Petersburg monthly, is the organ of the Social Democrats. It is fond of articles on economic and industrial topics. A current number, has articles on "The High Cost of Living," "The Inner Tragedy of Tolstoy as the Basis of His Teachings," and "The Suicide Problem," which, it appears, is as pressing in Russia as it is in Germany. There are a host of weeklies in Russia, the most distinguished of them at present being the fighting, aggressive organ of the Constitutional Democrats, the *Zaprosy Zhizni.* (Demands of the Age) Current numbers consider "The Minimum Wage," "The Rôle of Art in Contemporary Life," and "The Strike Movement in Russia."

Current Russian thought is found very largely in the daily newspapers of Moscow and St. Petersburg. We have quoted from time to time from the best known of these, among which we should not forget to mention the nationalists and generally realistic organ the *Novoye Vremya*, publish at the capital. The following article on Russia's unpreparedness for a firm stand in the Balkans is condensed from a long paper in this journal. The *Ryetch* is also a well known daily.

RUSSIA'S UNPREPAREDNESS FOR A FIRM STAND IN THE BALKANS

READERS more or less familiar with the Balkan problem must have been wondering at the peaceful attitude Russia has so far maintained in the present crisis in the Near East. Is it an indication of Russia's desire for peace? This does not seem to be the case. Russia's reasons for peace can be gathered from an article by the famous journalist, Menshikov in the *Novoye Vremya* (St. Petersburg). Menshikov is one of the best Russian journalists and his knowledge of Russian conditions is unsurpassed. He says:

How painful it is for us Russians to realize that with all the immensity of our natural resources we, the only Slav Empire, are again unprepared; again we cannot stir, and the great historical question of liberating the Slav race from the Turkish yoke is being solved without our participation. What is more, we may yet be forced to act against Slav interests. The great powers to which the Slavs are no dearer than negroes already declare that they will not permit any territorial changes in the Balkan Peninsula. Consequently, Slav Macedonia, which suffers in Turkish slavery, will have to suffer till doomsday, even if the Slav kingdoms should succeed in defeating the oppressors and drive them out of Europe. In this case the great Christian powers, evidently, would march their armies against the Slavs and would more than restore the Ottoman government at Constantinople. . . . The shameful policy of the European diplomacy with regard to Crete is evidently going to be repeated in the case of Macedonia. . . . Is it possible that Russia will be compelled to join in this policy which is as unnatural as it is dishonorable? Is it possible that Russia will subscribe to the threat to preserve the status quo by force? It seems to me if our Greek-Catholic empire cannot assume the rôle of guardian-angel of the Balkan brethren, we must not, at any rate, join their executioners. The Montenegrin, Bulgarian and partly Greek armies . . . have always been regarded as the natural vanguards of Russia in case of war with Turkey, and may be not only with Turkey. If so, then Russia also has always been looked upon as the main Slav force that is obliged to protect its vanguards.

Continuing, this Russian writer argues in this vein:

Oh, if Russia were only in a state of full preparedness! At this time of crisis it is appalling to see to what extent our unpreparedness has impaired the world power of Russia. Yet 150 years ago, in the reign of Catherine, our voice was heard in Turkey above the European concert, for it was more than once accompanied by the thunder of cannon. Yet sixty years ago we dictated our will to Turkey, who was then in possession of all her European and African territories. But for the last decades we have been rapidly losing ground and have been reduced to a second and even a third place: small, as compared with us, Austria and still smaller Italy are not afraid to annex whole states of the Ottoman empire, and we do not dare even stop the Turkish pressure upon Urmiah, for instance. . . . It seems our government, our nationalist-thinking public and our parliament ought to inquire thoroughly into the causes that brought about such a state of affairs. Why are we so miserably reduced in our sovereign rôle? Why is it that eight years after the war we cannot even furnish ourselves with proper military equipment, a mere trifle when we have a budget of three milliards of rubles? . . .

The main cause of Russia's decline the writer sees in that

Russia—not excepting our splendid diplomats who can wear a monocle as well as Aehrenthal or Berchtold—suffers from provincialism peculiar to backward countries, the provincialism of narrow understanding, which, maybe, does not exclude a clear understanding of details. In universal life in general, besides the daily and monthly processes there are undoubtedly going on the processes of ages and these very processes are least of all understood by us, although all their formulas, all their individual facts and manifestations cannot have any satisfactory explanation

The starting point of Russia's life policy, if it were correctly understood by us, is the lack of a South and an open sea. We are too satiated with the North and wearied with the East. . . . Peter the Great was right: delay is like unto death. For a century we had occupied ourselves with European politics and had neglected our national, and we lagged, miserably lagged in all paths of culture and our worldly significance has been decreasing. Not having taken possession of the desert lands in Asia and the warm shores, we have lived to a day when those lands and shores are in the "sphere of influence" of more enterprising races. . . . And not only is the fundamental need of our race—a warmer climate and access to the ocean—not satisfied; not only is the fate of the Slav race in general not settled; but even our present position in both continents is beginning to be disputed by the ever growing insolence of the neighbors. . . . .

Mr. Menshikov concludes with the advice not to depend upon the words of the diplomats. "Prepare a more convincing form of speech than the speech of cannon."

WHAT ARE THEY READING IN THE BALKANS?

SINCE the revolution of 1908 the Turkish periodical press has become an important factor in political, social and scientific movements. There has been a radical change from the most despotic censorship, which even forbade the publication of anything about a presidential election in the United States, to the present situation, when hundreds of well informed journals and more than a score of serious and well written illustrated monthlies and weeklies are constantly coming from the press, to say nothing of all kinds of literature in more permanent form—fiction, poetry, philosophy, history, sociology, political economy and science.

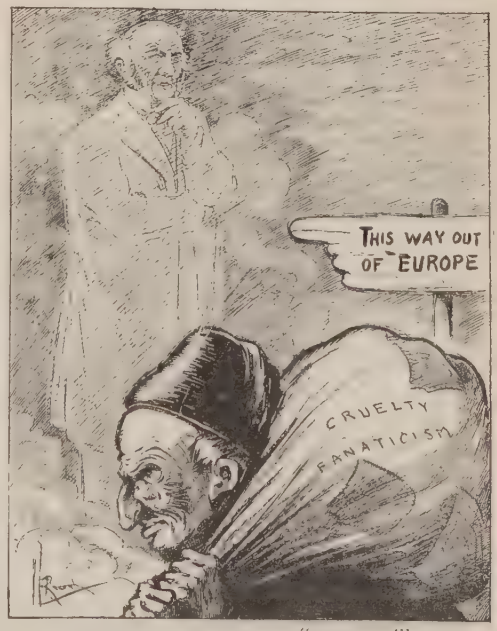
Perhaps the most important illustrated weekly of Constantinople is the *Serveti Finoum* (Arts and Sciences). Among the articles in the last few numbers of this periodical there may be mentioned the following titles: "Trades Unions in Turkey," "Bacteriology and Hygiene" and "The Presidential Election in the United States." There is also a careful illustrated study of "The American University" with special reference to Columbia, by Emin Bey, a Turkish student at that institution. The *Mulkie* is a monthly devoted to political science, with university men and government officials among its chief contributors and readers. Articles in recent numbers have considered "The Spirit of Science," "Our Municipalities" and "Democracy in Social Education." The *Ressimli Kitab* (Illustrated Book) is a radical, modern, up to date periodical. The last number available contains a radical article: "The Emancipation of Our Women and the Question of the Veil," which is a vigorous defense of the Turkish woman. The writer stoutly maintains that "her morals can be protected without the veil." This article has aroused a good deal of adverse comment from the conservative clergy. The *Shehval*, a semi-monthly, deals with social progress, literature, and criticism. The *Turk Yourdou* (Turkish Home) is a literary, historical, and financial magazine which in recent numbers, discusses quite frankly "The Troubles of the Fatherland" and "The Turk Looking for a National Soul." All of these are published in Constantinople. Besides there is a well edited, vigorous, daily press, some of the opinions of which—on the consequences of the present war—we quote later.

In Greece there has recently been a revival of periodical literature which is chiefly nationalistic and pan-Hellenic. Among the most influential of the Greek monthlies (all of Athens) are *Pan-Athena*, a critical review of European and Greek literature. The *Parnassos* and the *Hellas* are illustrated weeklies of a general scope. The Greek daily press is very nationalistic.

It may be said that Bulgarian periodical literature has progressed in the same proportion as has the military and educational science in that country. The daily journals, however, are more influential than the magazines. The *Mir*, of Sofia, is the best known daily, well edited, with a good grasp of general European politics, but particularly well informed on European politics. The *Mir*, apparently, has a soft spot for the Turk, recognizing his good, as well as his bad qualities. The *Vestcherna Posta* is an evening daily of the Bulgarian capital widely read.

The Servian daily press is best represented by the *Samou Prava* and the *Politika*. The first is the recognized organ of the Servian jingoes.

In Rumania the *Dimineatza* and the *Correspondance Roumaine*, both of Bucharest, are the leading journals, always evincing that characteristic Roumanian self-consciousness and usually progressive in politics, literature and science.



SHADE OF GLADSTONE: "AT LAST!"
Whatever they are reading in the Balkans, this is what they are thinking
From *Daily Star* (Montreal)

SOME TURKISH OPINION ON BALKAN PEACE

THE daily press of the Ottoman capital is very bitter in its comments on European charges against Turkey and the Turkish military forces of cruelty and barbarism. In a vigorous leader entitled "Calumnies! Calumnies!!" the *Jeune Turc* says:

They [the allies] apparently believe that, since Europe is Christian and Turkey Moslem, the present is an excellent occasion for making the masses of the continent believe that the Turks are constantly massacring Christians. . . . They inform their readers that Christians are being slaughtered in the streets of Constantinople. This is falsehood to the limit. We invite the ambassadors of the great powers to investigate sparingly, and then say if a hair of a Bulgar head has been harmed.

In another article which has been headed "The Right to Live" the same journal says the allies oppress:

The allies oppress and exterminate in their own countries all other nationalities, and pretend to be the liberators of their countrymen under the Ottoman flag. If the principle of "the Balkans for the Balkan peoples" is to be observed, will Europe permit the Turks, Albanians, and Kutzo-Valachs who, combined, are in a majority in Macedonia, to be oppressed by the so-called civilizing allies? European officials and newspaper correspondents attest that the Servians are "civilizing" the country which they have overrun by murder, incendiarism, and attacks on women. . . . The "civilizing" work of the Bulgars has been so much appreciated by the peasants of Thrace that they have, one and all, fled to escape from their "liberators." Is it necessary to remind the world of the atrocities committed by the Hellenic army against the Turks and Valachs in Epirus and the Jews in Salonica?

The *Jeune Turc* discusses at length the questions of an armistice and a final treaty of peace. It reminds the allies that the Turk is not at the end of his resources, and that to inflict a humiliating peace upon him would be unwise as well as unchristian. Advising the allies, and particularly Bulgaria, to be reasonable, and referring to the identity of interests between Turkey and the Balkan States, the *Jeune Turc* advocates the entry of Turkey into the Balkan federation. It says:

A serious entente between all the European, Oriental nations is possible. It will then be an Oriental power, as opposed to the Occident. . . . The only condition is an honorable peace. . . . Let our adversaries think this well over. Such a union will become very strong if Turkey participates in it. . . . This is our desire, we want sincerely a peace forever, because we want to start seriously and without interruption to work toward our ultimate happiness and prosperity. . . . The Bulgars are reputed to be sane and practical and not to believe in utopias. . . . Let them show that they are really so. . . . If we were forced to fight to the end, we will do so because our resources are endless and our military situation is improving, while our enemy's is weakening, as proven at Tchatalja; but our interest and our position in the Balkans must be somewhat maintained—otherwise we shall not enter the Balkan Confederation—which we consider as a barrier against European encroachment in the Levant. Bulgaria knows where her interests are; she is reasonable and we can agree with her.

Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, New York

KURDISH REINFORCEMENTS TO THE TURKISH ARMY READY TO CROSS THE BOSPHORUS TO EUROPE

WHAT EUROPE THINKS OF PRESIDENT-ELECT WILSON

THE significance of the presidential election in November is the subject of a good deal of more or less well balanced comment in the press of Europe. All the opinion, however, almost without exception, is closed with a eulogy of president-elect Woodrow Wilson as a new sort of man for the American chief magistrate. The comment is taken to mean that Wilson is a new type in American politics, the type set forth by the *Westminster Gazette*, of London, in an article which it entitles "The College President." This British journal speaks editorially of "this experiment of the philosopher king made in the most unlikely quarter of the world."

Europe is familiar with public men taken from the universities. Oxford has long been the cherished mother of British statesmen, but Europeans are more vividly aware than many Americans seem to be how great a novelty it is in the United States, when, as the *Westminster Gazette* puts it further, "the learned historian, professor, and ex-college president walks into the White House." Of course, Dr. Wilson did not step directly from Princeton to Washington. He did good service to the State of New Jersey in the meantime. But the college president in politics is an idea that will not yield to the European mind.

British comment is well represented by the sentences we have already quoted from the *Westminster Gazette*, and the following, from that serious weekly, the *Spectator:*

> Though he bears the label of the Democratic Party and would probably be horrified by our describing him as a Conservative, he is none the less a Conservative by nature and invention—of course, meaning thereby a statesman of moderation and sound sense. He is also a man whose mind has been trained in dealing with wide issues in a wide way. No one can accuse him of having allowed his intelligence to be sapped by the endless iteration or party claptrap, or by fixing his attention solely on party issues. He is an historian and a political philosopher in the best sense, and he will, we may be sure, never be ensnared by the pitfalls which engulf so many machine-made politicians—men who believe that their nostrums are really new, and that no one before them has been faced with political difficulties so tremendous and so subtle. Experience of the past may sometimes paralyze a man for action, but it unquestionably steadies him, and what America wants just now is steadying.

A sympathetic appreciation by Professor Alfred L. P. Dennis, appears in the current *Contemporary Review*, of London, the substance of which is contained in the paragraph which we quote below.

> I doubt if he knows how dominant he is. In serener years, at Princeton as University President, and as the Governor who led New Jersey once more to be a respectable political community, he has shown a force, an obstinacy, an uncompromising quality which deserve consideration. We are still to learn how well the next President can be a part of a national, an imperial government. It is encouraging that the American people have begun to believe in Mr. Wilson; it is essential that he shall be able to hold in allegiance the chief lieutenants in his party. These will be sorely puzzled at times to understand, especially if they do not always approve, some of his plans; and in entering the White House Mr. Wilson is also entering a school of patience. A more or less willing coöperation is fundamental to the practical success of his political philosophy; and his critics, many of his friends, are alive to this matter. His study windows have been open; and he has hitherto done his work as the hum from the street has reached his ears. Will he, can he now, distinguish the various sounds which will swell into a roar as, for the next four years, he marches along with the nation?

German comment is represented by the point of view of the *Frankfürter Zeitung*, which refers to Dr. Wilson as "an independent statesman with a rich mental equipment and wide views who will strike out in new paths. . . . He will not only be the head of the government, but a leader in American political thought."

It will be interesting to note that some of the most sincere appreciation of Dr. Wilson's equipment for his great task comes from the censored journals of Russia, with the government of which the president-elect will have more than one difficult diplomatic problem to solve. It pleases the Russian press a good deal that Governor Wilson is not a professional politician. Commenting upon the election, the *Ryetch*, of St. Petersburg, the moderate organ of the Constitutional Democrats, says:

> The main significance of Woodrow Wilson lies . . . in the uncommon personal qualities of the future President. He will enter the White House not only as Democrat of the party type, but also as a sincere, honest and independent progressist, an enlightened and cultured man, and—what may be the most important—more an eminent man of learning and writer than a professional politician. If the sinister party forces will not paralyze the will and the initiative of the future president, he, may be, will inaugurate a new era in the United States, an era of real political honesty.

TOPICS IN THE AMERICAN MONTHLIES

IN the treatment of big world problems through the medium of the review article the American magazinist must yield the palm to his British brother. As is stated on another page, it is to the great English reviews that we turn for the ablest and most comprehensive discussion of the topics of the day. The American monthly magazine has little in common with the English review, and although its popular circulation and prestige are far greater, even in England, it does not yet speak with the authoritative tone in which the *Quarterly* and the *Contemporary* address the British public.

The magazine, edited not for a literary class, but for every man or woman who cares to read stories or look at pictures, provides primarily for the entertainment of its readers, but it does not stop there. It seeks to impart instruction and sometimes it even exhorts; but its prevailing method is the presentation of facts rather than arguments. Our magazine writers are not, as a class, able dialecticians. They have no special skill in the polemics of the printed page. Pamphleteering is becoming a lost art among us. The man with the reporter's instinct for news and a Gradgrindish passion for "facts" is more frequently the writer of the typical magazine contribution. He may, and usually does, have other qualifications for the task, but these he must have.

Many of us were brought up, as it were, to regard the *Atlantic Monthly* as belonging in a class by itself among American periodicals. It was more distinctively literary than any other magazine; there was less about it to remind one of the frankly materialistic aspects of life. That is true of the *Atlantic* to-day, in a general sense, but some topics are now discussed in its pages that have an unfamiliar look there. Twenty years ago the *Atlantic* was not giving much space to "The Drift toward Government Ownership of Railways,"—a subject admirably treated in the December number by a railway president, B. L. Winchell. In the same number are two articles on the new science of eugenics by Samuel George Smith and Simeon Strunsky.

The January *Atlantic*, indeed, suggests the London reviews in the range of international questions that engage the expository abilities of its contributors. Ferrero's comments on European war prospects, Arthur Ruhl's survey of our dealings with Colombia *in re* Panama, Ernest Dimnet's thought-provoking inquiry into "Syndicalism and its Philosophy," Ching Chun Wang's "Plea for the Recognition of the Chinese Republic," Roland G. Usher's "The Balkan Crisis,"—each of these articles serves to remind us that our national point of view has changed since we entered the group of world-powers. "The Epic of the Indian," by Charles M. Harvey, reviews the melancholy record of our dealings with the red man and John Muir's "Lessons of the Wilderness" reverts to the days of pioneering in Wisconsin, where the venerable naturalist as a boy did a man's work on the farm. The series of pen portraits of Confederate commanders, by a Northern writer, Gamaliel Bradford, Jr., is noteworthy. Longstreet was described in December and J. E. B. Stuart in January.

Among our popular magazines none has done more than the *Century* in the cause of American history and the preservation of authentic accounts of important events. The *Century's* great series of Civil War papers, printed a quarter of a century ago, was an enterprise unprecedented in the history of magazine publishing. In December appeared two articles in the *Century's* "After-the-War-Series," covering the impeachment trial of Andrew Johnson, the causes being sketched by Gen Harrison Gray Otis, while the more conservative view is presented by Gen. John B. Henderson, the only survivor of the seven Republican Senators whose votes prevented President Johnson's impeachment. These contributions are followed in the January number by an account of the trial, largely based on the President's notes and letters, and an anecdotal sketch of Johnson. The editors promise for subsequent numbers of the magazine papers treating of the later aspects of "Reconstruction" from the Southern viewpoint.

Other *Century* features (for December) are Farnham Bishop's very human account of "The End of the Big Job" (Panama), including a conversation with Colonel Goethals; a wonderful collection of photographs of the heads of all the various sects now resident in Jerusalem, with text by Thomas E. Green; and an illuminating article on "The Trade of Russia" by James D. Whelpley.

The publication of Explorer Stefánsson's account of his laborious and fruitful quest in the Arctic has been begun in *Harper's*. The Stefánsson-Anderson expedition differed from former undertakings in the Arctic in that its object was to discover people, rather than

lands. The explorers hoped to find tribes who had never seen white men and their wish was gratified. Several theories have been advanced to account for the fact that some of these people were of fairer complexion than is usual among American aborigines, but Mr. Stefánsson's own hypothesis is reserved for later disclosure.

Another leading feature of the Christmas *Harper's* is a delightful account of "Cordova and the Way There" by W. D. Howells. Illustrations in tint are supplied by Norman Irving Black.

Price Collier's articles in *Scribner's* on "Germany and the Germans from an American Point of View" are notably instructive, —especially the December installment, dealing with German political parties and the press. The same magazine has Christian Brinton's "Scandinavian Painters of To-Day," with reproductions of paintings by leading artists, some of whom are represented in the exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of New York.

McClure's, *The American*, *Munsey's*, *Everybody's*, and *Hearst's Magazine* are devoted for the most part to peculiarly American topics. In *McClure's*, for example, Burton J. Hendrick tells how workmen's compensation for industrial accidents is provided in the State of Washington. In *Everybody's*, S. H. Wolfe summarizes the methods of compensation now adopted by our States under these broad classifications: The Washington idea, the Ohio idea, the New Jersey idea, and the Massachusetts idea.

A HIGHER COST OF LIVING YET TO COME

THE fact that "things are not what they seem," in every case, is forcefully illustrated in a paper by Prof. Irving Fisher of Yale on the high cost of living, contributed to the *North American Review*. The man in the street has been laboring under the illusion that one reason of the high cost of living has been the increased prices of foods; also that while the prices of foods have augmented there has been a scarcity of money wherewith to purchase the necessities of life. But Professor Fisher, whose authority to speak on the subject no one will question, makes the following assertion:

> The prices of foods constitute, of course, a very important part of the cost of living. Yet a study of the actual statistics reveals the surprising fact that the general average rise in the price of food has little more than kept pace with the general average level of all prices. This fact and others make it clear that, in the main, the rise in "the cost of living" is not a rise peculiar to foods or other special items of domestic expenditure, but is merely a part of the general expansion which has been going on and is still to go on, due *primarily* . . . to gold inflation and the extension of banking.

In other words, the real cause of the high cost of living is *too much gold*. The Professor realizes that "this is a difficult conclusion for many people to accept: it is difficult to see the woods for the trees." He therefore cites some of the common explanations of the rise of prices, which "are so shallow that they merely need to be stated to be refuted." He tells us:

> No explanation is sufficient which merely explains one price in terms of another price. For instance, to say that "prices" have gone up because "wages" have gone up is merely to say that the prices of *commodities* have risen because the price of *labor* has risen. It is no more satisfactory to turn it about and say that the price of *labor* has risen because of the higher prices of *food* which have driven workmen to strike for higher wages; or that the cost of finished products has risen because the cost of raw material has risen, or *vice versa*. These are examples of circular explanations well cartooned by the picture of a number of people standing in a circle and each accusing his neighbor; the consumer blaming the retailer, the retailer the middleman, the middleman the manufacturer, the manufacturer the producer, the producer the workman, the workman the trust, the trust the extravagant consumer, etc. Of course individual prices act and react on one another in thousands of ways. But these pushes and pulls between different commodities do not raise them all any more than pulling on our bootstraps will raise us from the ground. The causes which raise the general level of prices are as distinct from those which change individual prices as are the causes affecting the tides distinct from those affecting individual waves. The ground-swell or ocean tides of prices are primarily the result of inflation of some kind.

On the subject of inflation Professor Fisher writes at considerable length, quoting some remarkable statistics; but what the average housekeeper will be most interested in will be his observations on the purchasing power of the dollar. He says:

> The forces which determine the purchasing power of the dollar may be grouped under two heads: first, the circulation of media of exchange (money and checks), and, second, the volume of trade or the quantities of goods bought and sold. Every increase in the use of money and checks tends to inflate prices, while every increase in the volume of trade tends to lower prices. . . . If facilities for payment (money and checks) outstrip the needs of business, the price level will rise; if the business to be done outstrips the money and checks to do it with, prices will fall.

GERHART HAUPTMANN, NOBEL PRIZE WINNER

BY MAY TEVIS

ON the fifteenth of November, 1912, Gerhart Hauptmann, Germany's most distinguished dramatic poet, celebrated his fiftieth birthday, and on that day he received the award of the Nobel Prize of approximately $40,000, for idealism in literature.

There is a line of cleavage in the crystal of this poet's genius, dividing it into the harshly realistic on one side and ideal poetic symbolism on the other, and this cleavage admirers of one or the other aspect persist in regarding as a flaw.

Hence the controversy which has raged about his work ever since the day, now more than a score of years ago, when he flung to the world the flaming indictment of social injustice and economic oppression embodied in the brutal realism of "The Weavers," the incendiary play of which Francisque Sarcey said that "no government which had not gone mad would allow this piece to be played before the mob."

But above its dark waters unfolds the exquisite blossom of human compassion as a lily spreads its shining petals above the slime and scum of a noisome pool.

Again in the more recent play, "The Rats," we find a frightful and revolting picture of those rodent human animals that are gnawing at the foundations of society. Yet another French critic, Henri Guilbeaux, finds in it qualities of "strength and rhythm, light and life."

And in the religious novel, "The Fool in Christ," published a year or two ago, many serious-minded persons find a noble embodiment of the true Christ spirit, while the equally serious-minded Mr. Joyce Kilmer regards it as "frankly and repulsively blasphemous."

BOYHOOD AND YOUTH

The ancestry, the early environment, and the subsequent career of Hauptmann shed much light on this singular combination of characteristics. Born in the tiny village of Obersalzbrunn, amid the poetic beauty of the Silesian mountains, he springs of sturdy peasant stock. His grandfather, Ehrenfried, felt in his own person the cruel trials that beset the Silesian weavers, but had sufficient energy and good fortune to change his occupation. He became a waiter, and later an independent and thrifty innkeeper.

This business was inherited by the poet's father, Robert Hauptmann, a man of "solid and not uncultivated understanding," who married Marie Straehler, the daughter of one of the pious Moravian households of Silesia.

Gerhart attended the school in his native village till he was twelve, when he was sent to Breslau for four years. He was accounted an idle pupil in both places, hence his father, who had meanwhile become less prosperous, withdrew him at sixteen and determined to make a farmer of him, for which reason he went to live with a pious uncle. At eighteen the lad, who had always displayed talent for modeling, decided on a sculptor's career and in 1880 he entered the Royal College of Art in Breslau. Here again he failed to impress his teachers, and two years later he joined his brother Karl at the University of Jena, where, as a special student, he had the privilege of hearing lectures by Haeckel and Eucken.

But academic life failed to hold his restless spirit and we next find him a passionate pilgrim to Italian shrines of beauty.

EARLIER PLAYS

Meanwhile, the literary impulse began to assert itself and he thought to satisfy his nature by becoming an actor, a plan which came to nothing practically, but doubtless influenced him in his later dramatic writings.

In 1885, the year of his marriage to Marie Thienemann, who had nursed him through an illness in Rome, the young man definitely cast in his lot with literature by the publication of his first work, "Promethidenlos," whose hero "vacillates between poetry and sculpture, but is able to give himself freely to neither art because of his overwhelming sense of social injustice and human suffering."

He now resided in Berlin and became a leading spirit among the group of young writers who about this time began to be known as the naturalistic school. This movement dominated German literature for a few years, despite the bitterness with which many critics attacked its matter and its methods.

But, though Hauptmann was its acknowledged leader, it ceased to be an adequate vehicle for the spiritual energies of this creative mind, which found fuller utterance in the symbolic idealism of the drama-poems, "The Sunken Bell" and "Hannele's Himmelsfahrt" (Heavenly Pilgrimage). Both of these are well known to playgoers in America, the former having been presented by Mr. Sothern, and the latter by Mrs. Fiske. Both display the minute observation and the careful technique of the realistic school, but both are illumined by those loftier aspirations of the soul implied in the term idealism, and in contrast to the rough coarse dialect of "The Weavers" we find in each of these exquisite passages of poetic diction where the Teutonic tongue is attuned to a smooth and singing sweetness whose vocal harmonies haunt the inner ear as their lovely imagery haunts the inner vision.

In "Lonely Lives" we find another phase of the struggle in the author's soul. Its theme is the struggle of individualism against environment, and its hero is, like Hauptmann himself, an "*Uebergangsmensch*," a "transition-man," to use the expressive German phrase.

One of the poet's admirers and disciples gives a glowing account of his personality in this period

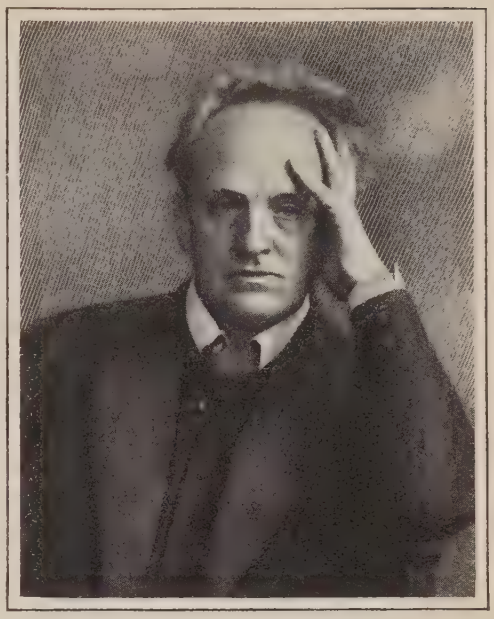
of the '90's—the delicate, ardent, sensitive face crowned by masses of fair hair and lit by eyes of blue fire. He describes very tellingly the effect produced by the first reading of "Hannele" on the day the poet finished it after weeks of a spiritual travail which left deep-graved marks upon his countenance.

The coterie of writers who had gathered about him in the old home in the Silesian mountains were met in the garden one afternoon when the poet rushed out to them crying that his work was finished. They listened spellbound and in rapt enthusiasm while he poured forth the moving story of the sufferings of the orphan child with whose prototype in the streets of the village they were all familiar.

The time is not ripe for a consideration of all the influences, spiritual and material, public and domestic, that have molded the plastic soul of this creative artist.

But it may be mentioned briefly that his first marriage was dissolved, and that a later union with a woman who was herself highly gifted, a celebrated violinist, seems to have brought peace into his life.

Hauptmann has suffered much from that morbid super-sensitiveness to criticism so often found in men dowered with the exquisite impressibility of genius.



GERHART HAUPTMANN

"GABRIEL SCHILLING'S FLIGHT"

This explains, perhaps, the fact of his withholding from the public for six years his latest play, "Gabriel Schilling's Flight." Not until last summer did he permit its presentation, and then the première took place, not on the adequate stage of a Berlin theater, but in the so-called Goethe's Theater, at Lauchstadt, some miles distant. The event, however, roused widespread interest, and the leading critics and other *literati* of Germany attended.

The dramatist was greeted with a personal ovation which must have been peculiarly grateful, coming from so brilliant an audience and one so largely composed of "intellectuals."

This reception, however, did not save it from the attack he evidently dreaded. One critic writing in a leading magazine, declared it old-fashioned and tiresome, saying it should have appeared fifteen or twenty years before, during the reign of "naturalism," to have any hope of success. But another well-known critic, in another leading magazine expresses his admiration in a charming metaphor, saying that not since "Lonely Lives" has Hauptman plunged so profoundly into the human soul, "bringing from its depths handfuls of pearls—or are they but crystallized tears?"

This play will undoubtedly rouse interest in America. It is to be produced in German in New York in February, and with the name-part taken by Mr. Rudolf Christians of the Court Theater of Berlin, one of the most distinguished actors of the modern German stage.

An English version will appear about the same time, in the authorized translation of Hauptmann's works now being issued by the publishing house of B. Huebsch.

Gabriel Schilling is a miserable weakling, a painter in early middle life who has fallen into a morass of poverty and failure through his moral vacillation. He has burdened himself in youth with a dull and uncongenial wife and has sought refuge from the banality of her society in that of a brilliant but unscrupulous Russian Jewess, Hanna Elias, who poses for him and of whose child he is the father.

His "flight" is from the importunities of wife and mistress, from the latter of whom he has finally resolved to cut loose. He takes refuge on an island in the Baltic, where he is the guest of his faithful friend, the sculptor, Professor Mäurer, who is represented as a man of contrasting character—strong in body, soul, and mind as poor Gabriel is weak.

For a few days he is happy in the hope of regaining health and courage and in the congenial society of Mäurer and of Lucie Heil, a brilliant young violinist, between whom and Mäurer there exists the trinity of a perfect love.

But Hanna seeks him out and easily refastens her chains on her willing victim, in spite of Mäurer's remonstrance. Gabriel's broken body succumbs to a sudden seizure and Dr. Rasmussen is summoned hastily from Berlin. The physician naturally advises the wife and she accompanies him.

Thus arrives the climax of the play in its strongest scene—a battle of scathing insults and reproaches between the two women, whose fury is unchecked even when the sick man, roused by the violence of their mutual imprecations, appears staggering in the doorway.

Overwhelmed with shame and disgust he demands from the doctor "Poison, a powerful poison," after exclaiming, pathetically enough, if unconvincingly, that he had not meant to do wrong and cause such misery.

A few hours later in a state of semi-delirium he wanders from the house and flings himself into the sea. Meanwhile, however, an episode has occurred which throws into strong relief the contrasting character of Lucie.

Hanna's companion, another clever Russian, belongs to that type of modern Delilah who shears the locks of strong men by fulsome flattery and insidiously soul-sapping adulation—a type familiar enough in the studios, universities, and congre-

gations of America. She promptly lays siege to the famous sculptor, who as promptly succumbs. Lucie supports this unlooked for defection with a noble fortitude and a dispassionate reasonableness —though she cannot suppress a few justly caustic remarks to the new siren on the subject of masculine instability.

The hideous quarrel-scene has a powerful effect on all the spectators. It brings Mäurer to his senses with a realization of Lucie's worth, and Lucie is moved to reflection on the shipwrecking folly of women who have neither material nor spiritual independence of existence, but fasten like harpies on some man, to their own ruin, or his, or both.

She rejoices in the possession of her profession, with its absorbing interests, honorable ambitions, and personal independence. Even if the man she has loved and trusted to the uttermost should play her false her life will not suffer ultimate wreck. Very joyously, however, she welcomes the return of his allegiance.

HAUPTMANN AS A NOVELIST,—"ATLANTIS"

This brief sketch would be incomplete without some account of the novel "Atlantis," which is shortly to be issued by Fischer of Berlin, after running serially in the *Berliner Tageblatt*, but which has already appeared in English, thanks to the enterprise of the American publisher, and the diligence of the translators, Adele and Thomas Seltzer.[1]

It is understood to be semi-autobiographical, and is of particular interest because it embodies some of the author's experiences during his visit to America about twenty years ago.

Atlantis, the fabled sunken continent of the ancients, is the term employed for that dream-world beyond the grave into which the hero penetrates during sleep and during the peculiar seizures or trances to which he is subject, and during which he is gifted with a sort of second sight.

These dreams or visions, ingeniously concocted of fact and fancy as they are, the present reviewer finds the least attractive and the most unconvincing portions of the book. Profoundly important as Frend has taught us to consider actual dreams in their bearing on the physiological and psychological state of the individual, the artificial dream is bound to remain a factitious and lifeless thing.

A far better title would be the "The Spider's Web," as the following brief analysis will show:

The hero, Frederic von Kammacher, a physician, a bacteriologist of promise, and a man highly susceptible to the expressions of art, despite his scientific tastes, finds himself at 31 suddenly caught in a mesh of circumstance which abruptly closes one phase of his career. The lovely young wife to whom he had been united several years before has become hopelessly insane, and a treatise on a supposed new discovery in bacteriology, by which he had fondly hoped to establish his reputation, has been received with jeers by his scientific compeers. Crushed by domestic misfortune and discredited in the eyes of the public he is in a spiritual condition which makes it exceptionally easy for the virus of an unworthy love to enter his veins.

He has seen at the *Kunstlerhaus* in Berlin a marvelous symbolic dance, called "Mara, or the Spider's Victim," given by a sixteen-year-old Swedish girl, Ingigerd Hahlstrom.

The description of this dance is a passage of wonderful poetic beauty and symbolism. In the center of the stage is a huge artificial flower in whose center squats a monster spider.

The dancer, whose exquisite sylph-like body is clad in floating gauzes shot with gold, represents an elf lured by the perfume and beauty of the flower at first and suddenly repelled by the sight of the lurking danger. In the second phase of the dance, the elf again seeks the flower, but this time lured by the mingled fascination, of fear, horror, and curiosity. In the third phase she seeks to escape, but is drawn closer and closer by the floating filaments of the web, until she lies bound and helpless at the mercy of her evil captor.

Frederic is penetrated with a sudden and irresistible passion by the mingled beauty and sensuousness of the dancer, and the powerful pathetic appeal of her helplessness. He abandons his practice, puts his three children in a school, bids a hearty good-bye to his parents and takes passage on the good ship *Roland*, on which the dancer and her father have embarked to fill a vaudeville engagement in America. The book is fraught with incident and rich in character-study, as well as in those curious dreams we have referred to above, but through all the central theme is Frederic's struggle with his passion for Ingigerd, a passion which survives even the girl's unblushing confession of a past life rivalling that of Lais or Phryne, and her cynical avowal that she would rather be disreputable and enjoy life to the utmost than be highly respected and bored to death. Frederic realizes that he "has set his all on nothing," but finds himself still enmeshed by the floating and clinging web of her lure.

The ship meets with wreck—a scene described with thrilling vividness. Frederic and Ingigerd, with a handful of others are rescued, and the scene changes to the life in New York described in Part II.

Frederic is received into a colony of German artists in Harlem, where he finds both old friends and new. Ingigerd, whose value as a vaudeville headliner is tremendously enhanced by the sensational shipwreck, refuses to renounce the career whose excitement both intoxicates her senses and flatters her vanity, and she and her manager are riotous with joy when the battle between him and the S. P. C. C. is decided in the favor of the former by the intervention of the Mayor, who decides the case not on its merits but because of the Tammany influence exerted.

Frederic has begged the girl to leave the stage, but feels her refusal "sets him free"—though we can not help believing that the beautiful sculptress he has met in the artists' colony and under whose inspiration he has been developing a latent ability to model, is a determining factor in this. Shortly after, he breaks down under the load of all he has suffered and battles for life in an attack of typhoid fever.

The beautiful Eva nurses him safely through it and on his recovery he learns that his unhappy wife, despite the care of her attendants, has committed suicide.

Frederic emerges from his spiritual and physical crisis purged and restored. He is united to the admirable Eva and the two return to make their home in Germany. In Eva, as in Lucie Heil, we find Hauptmann's conception of the fine strong modern woman who is man's best helpmeet because she is capable of standing alone.

[1] Atlantis. By Gerhart Johann Robert Hauptmann. Translated by Adele and Thomas Seltzer. B. W. Huebsch. $1.50.

NEW BOOKS ON RELIGIOUS THEMES

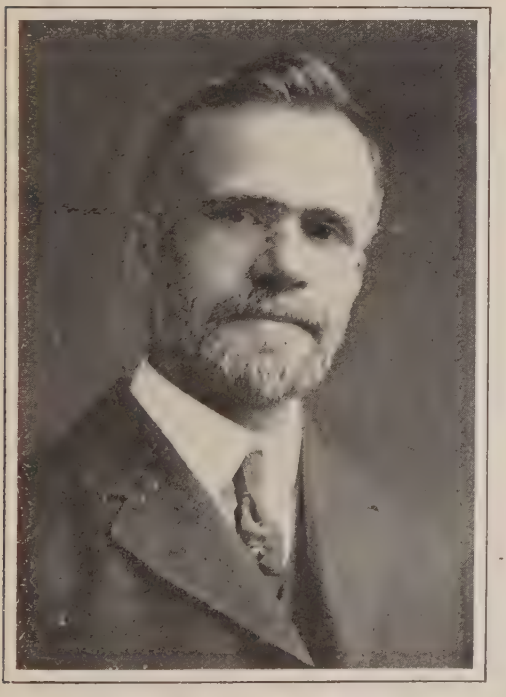
THE distinguishing characteristic of the work of the Christian church to-day is its already keen, and ever sharpening appreciation of the social problems that face our generation. Theology has indeed begun its descent from the "theorizing of the steeple top" to the need of hungry humanity at its door. Modern Christianity, says Dr. Samuel G. Smith (of the Department of Sociology, University of Minnesota) in his new book "Democracy and the Church,"[1] has been the mother of the great social movements of our times.

The Church and Society

"Stupid critics have railed against the church because it did not always move at once as one mass in favor of every great and good cause. It were foolish to expect it. We have prophets and reformers simply because masses of men do not move easily and love their traditions. The glory of the church is not that she was always encamped in full force on every battle line, but rather that she gave birth to the new leaders, furnished them with their ideas, developed for them their character, provided their inspiration, and was the recruiting ground for their battalions."

Dr. Smith's book is based on a course of lectures on applied Christianity delivered several years ago at Bangor Theological Seminary.

A new Christian social order in the process of making is the subject of the third of Dr. Walter Rauschenbusch's series of books on social-religious subjects, the two former being entitled "Christianity and the Social Crisis" and "Prayers of the Social Awakening." He entitles this new book "Christianizing the Social Order."[2] It is a vigorous indictment of the collective sins of our age. For the past ten years, says Dr. Rauschenbusch, our nation has been under conviction of sin. We have now begun to realize this. "The old leaders of the people are stumbling off the stage bewildered; there is a new type of leaders and they and the people seem to understand each other as if by magic." Dr. Rauschenbusch, who, it will be remembered, is Professor of Church History at Rochester Theological Seminary, has been a frequent contributor to the magazines during the past few years, always in clean-cut, vigorous accents arraigning national dereliction of duty.



DR. WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH
(Author of "Christianizing the Social Order")

THE REV. BERNARD VAUGHAN
(Author of "Socialism from the Christian Standpoint")

Father Bernard Vaughan, the celebrated English Jesuit prelate, scholar, and author, has gathered into book form a series of ten "Conferences" on Socialism[3] from the standpoint of Christianity

[1]Democracy and the Church. By Samuel G. Smith. D. Appleton & Co. 357 pp. $1.50.

[2]Christianizing the Social Order. By Walter Rauschenbusch. Macmillan Company. 493 pp. $1.50.

[3]Socialism from the Christian Standpoint. Father Bernard Vaughan, S. J. Macmillan. 389 pp. $1.50.

actually accomplished. In statesmanship, programs have to be arranged in due order, and some reforms must precede others. Two years ago Governor Wilson's views favoring corporation reform were well known, but their statement at that time was by no means equivalent to their acceptance and adoption. But a great deal has happened since the beginning of 1911, and Governor Wilson now speaks, on a subject of this kind, with a sense of power and authority that makes it seem that his statement of the case must be followed promptly by the desired action. Note the following paragraphs from the opening section of the Governor's message, dealing with subjects the treatment of which he declares to be "most immediately necessary":

> The corporation laws of the State notoriously stand in need of alteration. They are manifestly inconsistent with the policy of the federal government and with the interests of the people in the all important matter of monopoly, to which the attention of the whole nation is now so earnestly directed. The laws of New Jersey as they stand, so far from checking monopoly, actually encourage it. They explicitly permit every corporation formed in New Jersey, for example, to purchase, hold, assign, and dispose of as it pleases the securities of any and all other corporations of this or any other State and to exercise at pleasure the full rights of ownership in them, including the right to vote as stockholders. This is nothing less than an explicit license of holding companies. This is the very method of forming vast combinations and creating monopoly, against which the whole country has set its face, and I am sure that the people of New Jersey do not dissent from the common judgment that our law must prevent these things and prevent them very effectually.
>
> It is our duty and our present opportunity to amend the statutes of the State in this matter not only, but also in such a way as to provide some responsible official supervision of the whole process of incorporation and provide, in addition, salutary checks upon unwarranted and fictitious increases of capital and the issuance of securities not based upon actual bona fide valuation. The honesty and soundness of business alike depend upon such safeguards. No legitimate business will be injured or harmfully restricted by them. These are matters which affect the honor and good faith of the State. We should act upon them at once and with clear purpose.

A Reform of National Significance

This demand comes at an opportune time. It is true that the laxity of the New Jersey corporation laws has given the State treasury some profit by way of fees for the granting of charters to hundreds of fraudulent or over-capitalized companies that could never have passed muster under the laws of Massachusetts, for example. And this income from a discreditable traffic has been urged as an excuse for not reforming the laws. But Louisiana had the moral courage to exclude the lottery business, and South Dakota adopted reforms which allowed Nevada a relative monopoly in another field of questionable enterprise. The people of New Jersey can certainly afford to refuse further hospitality both to the trust promoters and also to the men who float fraudulent companies and unload millions of worthless shares of stock upon innocent investors. It is not enough that Governor Wilson condemns the New Jersey corporation laws; he means to secure their prompt revision. The whole country will look on, and the New Jersey legislature must treat this question in the light of present-day knowledge and convictions. The Democrats not only have a large majority in the lower house, but have also a working majority in the State Senate, besides which some of the Republican Senators are undoubtedly in favor of corporation reform.

Democrats Watching New Jersey

The Democratic party of the country will expect the Democratic legislature of New Jersey to stand loyally by the President-elect and agree upon enactments that will bring New Jersey laws into better harmony with Democratic opposition to trusts and monopolies. Governor Wilson, meanwhile, could do nothing better, in preparation for his Presidential duties, than to give a great deal of immediate attention to this question of dealing with trusts and corporations as it presents itself concretely in the reform of the New Jersey statutes. He sees clearly that New Jersey ought not to create a corporation and turn it loose upon the people of the United States,

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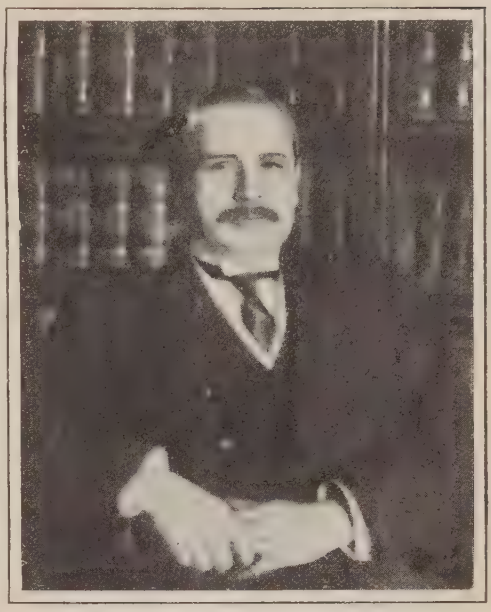
PRESIDENT-ELECT WILSON WARNS PANIC BREEDERS
From the *Arizona Republican* (Phoenix)

unless it is in every way a sound and reputable business entity. During the next year or two it is not unlikely that he may see with equal clearness that the Government of the United States ought, by virtue of its control over interstate commerce, to provide certain tests, of a just and reasonable kind, which corporations must meet before being allowed to do an interstate business. Such questions must engage the attention of *President* Wilson a little later on. Meanwhile, may *Governor* Wilson have full success in his New Jersey undertakings!

State Efficiency Demanded

Citizens of well-governed States west of the Alleghany Mountains have no idea of the absurdities and evils that survive in some of the official methods of old States like New Jersey and New York. Thus Governor Wilson now calls marked attention to the need of reform in the matter of assessing and collecting taxes. If such a system of tax assessment and collection existed in Iowa, for instance, as in New Jersey and New York, there would be reform or revolution within a twelvemonth. Nothing of its kind is as bad anywhere else in the civilized world. New Jersey has had a commission studying these subjects which is about to report to the legislature. Quite apart from this bad system,—or, rather, lack of system,—in assessing and collecting taxes, there is lack of sound and businesslike organization of the State's administrative mechanism, and Governor Wilson points out the existing conditions in phrases which the people of other States beside New Jersey may well read, as, for instance, in the following passage:

> The pressure of intelligent opinion will soon be upon us in irresistible fashion concerning the business methods of the State also. I suggest that we do not wait for the pressure. The business of the State (I mean its administrative business) is conducted with a wastefulness, a duplication of effort, a confusion and conflict of function, which no business enterprise could survive for six months. There is an extraordinary multiplicity of boards, departments, commissions and miscellaneous offices overlapping, connected without being coördinated, independent of one another and yet naturally belonging to a single systematic whole which ought to be drawn together, simplified, brought into their proper relations, pruned and put upon a footing of efficiency which will also be a footing of economy and quick responsibility. A commission is now inquiring into this very matter by direction of the last legislature.
>
> We have lagged far behind other States in these matters. We are wasting the public moneys and are not getting the results good business methods would get. This has not been by deliberation. Our administrative methods have been developed piecemeal and at haphazard, but they are none the less worthy of condemnation and reform on that account, and we shall not have proved ourselves faithful and disinterested public servants until we correct them.



Photograph by American Press Association, New York

HON. JAMES F. FIELDER, NEXT GOVERNOR OF NEW JERSEY

(State Senator Fielder will fill out the unexpired term of Governor Wilson, ending January 19, 1914)

How to Serve the Plain People

A number of other suggestions of an admirable kind are made in this message, to which we may refer not so much because of their bearing upon New Jersey as because of what they disclose to the inquiring American citizen as respects the mental attitude of their future President. Thus, railroad employees will note that he urges the adoption of the Full Crew bill, either in the form of a specific and compulsory measure, or in that of an increase of the discretion of the public-utility commissioners. He also asks that these commissioners be authorized to secure the abolition of grade crossings,—a reform most urgently needed in New Jersey. He devotes attention to farm conditions, and describes with appreciation the work of farm demonstration in the South carried on by the National Agricultural Department under the direction of the late Dr. Knapp. Whether or not the New Jersey legislature adopts such methods, it is highly important to know that Mr. Wilson himself, as President, will be in sympathy with forms of effort in the Agricultural Department that have done so much already,

In "Immigration and Labor,"[1] Dr. Isaac A. Hourwich discusses the economic aspects of European immigration to the United States as summarized in the recent report of the Federal Immigration Commission. Dr. Hourwich is convinced that no method of restriction thus far proposed would avail to make any important change in the America labor situation.

The Immigrant in the Labor Market

Starting out with the audacious belief that, "for the vocation of housewife there should be as careful technical education as for the physician, the lawyer, the editor or the politician; that modern science can be harnessed to the use of the household just as it has been harnessed to the use of a steel works; that the mother of children has an opportunity for the use of skill in pedagogy not surpassed by the teacher, and that coöperation between households calls for as much diplomacy as that exercised by statesmen," Martha Bensley Bruère and Robert W. Bruère have prepared an entertaining and useful volume on "Increasing Home Efficiency."[2] It is an attempt to treat clearly and in a scientific way a phase of married life which has heretofore been neglected or dismissed with rather thin sentimentalities. The Bruères, husband and wife, have investigated the business of housekeeping and tabulated and interpreted the results of their investigations. Their general conclusion is that what the world needs most to-day is "the domestication of business and the socialization of the home."

Housekeeping as a Business

NEW EDITIONS

ONE of the most noteworthy contributions to the scholarship of the present day is the Loeb Classical Library. Because he believed that the modern demand for something "more practical," the large variety of subjects that must be taught in our schools are crowding out the humanities, Mr. James Loeb has been spending lavishly of his ample means to help "make the beauty and learning, the philosophy and wit of the great writers of ancient Greece and Rome once more accessible by means of translations that are in themselves real pieces of literature." Mr. Loeb, after his retirement, some years ago, from the banking firm of which he was a member, became interested, while a member of the English Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, in the revival of the classics in an adequate modern literary form. In France there already existed editions of the classics giving text and translation, original on one page and French on the other. In Germany the attempt had been made to do the same thing, but until Mr. Loeb took up the matter no collection of the kind existed in English speaking countries. He consulted a number of the most distinguished scholars of the world before undertaking the enterprise. His advisory board consists of a number of the most eminent scholars of Great Britain, Germany, France and the United States. These include Dr. Edward Capps, of Princeton, Dr. William G. Hale, of the University of Chicago, Professor John William White, of Harvard, Dr. J. G. Frazer and Sir J. E. Sandys, of Cambridge, Mr. A. D. Godley, of Oxford, Dr. Otto Crusius, of the University of Munich, Dr. Herman Diels, of the University of Berlin, and M. Maurice Croiset and Salomon Reinach, of the Institut de France.

Reprinting the Classics

Wherever translations of marked excellence were already in existence efforts were made to secure them for this edition, but in many cases wholly new translations were made by British, French, German and American scholars. Mr. Loeb, in his introductory statement, says that he hopes not only that this series will be of value to those who wish to read the classics for the pure joy of it, but that "some readers may be enticed by the text printed opposite the translation to gather an elementary knowledge of Greek and Latin." The first twenty volumes of the "Library" which have now appeared include: "The Apostolic Fathers," 2 Vols., translated by Professor Kirsopp Lake; "The Confessions of St. Augustine," 2 Vols., (revised) translated by W. Watts; "Euripides," (in 4 Vols.) Vols. 1 and 2, translated by A. S. Way; "Philostratus, the Life of Apollonius of Tyana," 2 Vols., translated by F. C. Conybeare; "Propertius." translated by Professor H. E. Butler, "Terence," 2 Vols., translated by J. Sargeaunt; "Apollonius Rhodius," translated by R. C. Seaton; "Appian's Roman History," (in 4 Vols.) Vols. 1 and 2, translated by Horace White; "Catullus," translated by Professor F. W. Cornish; "Tibullus," translated by Professor J. P. Postgate; "Pervigilium Veneris," translated by J. W. Mackail; "Cicero's Letters to Atticus," (in 3 Vols.) translated by E. O. Winstedt; "Lucian," (in 8 Vols.) Vol. 1, translated by Professor A. M. Harmon; "Julian's Orations," (in 3 Vols.) Vol. 1, translated by Professor W. C. Wright; "Theocritus, Bion and Moschus," translated by J. M. Edmonds; "Sophocles," (in 2 Vols.) Vol. 1. translated by F. Storr. The "Library" is brought out in this country by Macmillan.

Among the holiday editions of standard works of literature which have marked the present season particularly noteworthy are: Maeterlinck's "Life of the Bee," which has been brought out by Dodd, Mead, illustrated in color by Edward J. Detmold, a translation of Alfred Sutro; Jack London's "Call of the Wild," (Macmillan) with colored illustrations by Paul Bransom; the "Poems of John Keats," (Little, Brown & Co.) with illustrations in color by Averil Burleigh; and the "Romances and Travels of Théophile Gautier," (Little, Brown & Co.) translated and edited by Dr. F. C. de Sumichrast, of the French department of Harvard; the new Grant White Shakespeare, pocket edition, (Little, Brown & Co.) specially illustrated from photogravure prints of Goupil; "Charcoals of New and Old New York," (Doubleday, Page & Co.) illustrated and written by F. Hopkinson Smith; charmingly printed and bound; and "Our House and London Out of Our Windows, (Houghton Mifflin Co.) by Elizabeth Robins Pennell, illustrated by Joseph Pennell.

Holiday Reprints

[1] Immigration and Labor. By Dr. Isaac A. Hourwich. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 544 pp. $3.50.

[2] Increasing Home Efficiency. By Martha Bensley Bruère and Robert W. Bruère. Macmillan Company. 295 pp. $1.50.

BOOKS OF TRAVEL, OBSERVATION, AND ADVENTURE

"MOROCCO, Algeria, Tripolitania, Equatoria, Rhodesia, Sahara, the Sudan, the Congo, the Rand and the Zambezi . . . with your permission, I will take you to them all and you shall see as through your own eyes these strange and far-off places which mark the line of the last frontier where the white helmeted pioneers are fighting the battles and solving the problems of civilization." These sentences in the preface of E. Alexander Powell's book, "The Last Frontier,"[1] admirably set forth the scope and purpose of the book. Mr. Powell, it will be remembered, has more than once been a contributor to the REVIEW OF REVIEWS. He was for a time a member of the United States consular service in Egypt and the Balkans. Besides he has been a traveler of wide experience extending over many years. In this volume he tells in a sprightly way the story of exploitation of the past two decades in Africa. As he graphically puts it, "this stealing of a continent, lock, stock and barrel, is one of the most astounding performances in history." He pays his compliments to French expansion, to English enterprise, and German thrift. The volume ends with a chapter on the islands of Africa: "the country of big things," which he concludes with the statement that "fortune knocks at a man's door once in most countries, but in South Africa she knocks twice." The volume is copiously illustrated.

Africa of To-Day

A careful study of the conditions and possibilities of life in the French colony of Algeria, with just enough history interwoven to form the proper background is Roy Devereux' "Aspects of Algeria."[2] This volume also is fully illustrated. While giving the French great credit for the work that has been done in their oldest African colony, the author is moved to remark, by way of conclusion, that the only thing that might retard the development of France's colonial empire would be "the repetition in Morocco of the errors which characterized the conquest of Algeria."

The French as Colonists

Mr. James H. Blount is qualified by six years of experience in the Philippines, two of which were passed as an officer of United States Volunteers, and four as a District Judge, to write with some authority of "The American Occupation of the Philippines." This he does in a volume of 650 pages, largely devoted to a vivacious chronicle of the successive stages in the subjugation of the Filipino insurgents by our army and the organization of civil government in the various provinces.[3] One does not have to accept Mr. Blount's conclusions as to the fitness of the Filipino people for immediate self-government in order to appreciate the force and significance of much that he has to say regarding the mistakes of our government both in policy and in execution. Those administrative errors were such as might have been expected in so vast an undertaking, and even taking Mr. Blount's statement of the facts without qualification, they do not militate against the general belief that, on the whole, the Philippines are far more advanced to-day than they could possibly have been if they had been left to Aguinaldo and his followers. Nevertheless, it is well that Mr. Blount's views should be presented at length in order that the future historian may have full data on which to base the complete record of our dealings with the Philippines. Apart from the controversial passages, the chapters recounting the military exploits of our soldiers in the islands and the difficulties of administration that presented themselves when our government took possession are vivid and well worth while.

Our Rule in the Philippines

It is an audacious thing that Herbert Perris has attempted to do in his "Germany and the German Emperor."[4] He aspires to interpret the German people in their strength and weakness, their "puzzling and sometimes apparently contradictory characteristics, their great men and their lack of great men, the singular contrast between their advance in philosophy, music and literature, and more recently in industry, and their political backwardness." The book is in the main historical, but the latter chapters analyze modern industrial and political problems. Particularly stimulating is the chapter on the Hohenzollern ideals.

Germany's Problems

Melton Prior, the famous English war correspondent, with a record covering literally almost all parts of the world, has brought out his memoirs: "Campaigns of a War Correspondent."[5] This volume is illustrated and is packed full of incident and anecdote. It will be read with particular interest for its chapters on the Balkan Wars of 1875, '77, and '78, as well as the Egyptian campaigns of 1882-84, and the blockade of Crete in 1897.

A War Correspondent's Memoirs

[1]The Last Frontier. By E. Alexander Powell. Charles Scribner's Sons. 291 pp., ill. $3.
[2]Aspects of Algeria. By Roy Devereux. E. P. Dutton & Co. 315 pp., ill. $3.50.
[3]The American Occupation of the Philippines. By James H. Blount. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 664 pp. $4.00.
[4]Germany and the German Emperor. By Herbert Perris. Henry Holt & Co. 520 pp. $3.
[5]Campaigns of a War Correspondent. By Melton Prior. Longmans, Green & Co. 340 pp., ill. $4.20.

FINANCIAL NEWS FOR THE INVESTOR

MR. ANDREW CARNEGIE, with his funds for libraries, teachers' pensions, heroes, and universal peace, and now with his proposed pensions for ex-Presidents, is so provocative of public discussion that it is no marvel that one of his important services has attracted but little attention. Yet Mr. Carnegie's recently expressed attitude in regard to paying taxes on his enormous holdings of bonds was not only significant of present investment tendencies and problems, but touched the investor's pocketbook in the most practical way.

For a number of years Mr. Carnegie has not only paid a large tax on his Fifth Avenue property in New York City, but he has headed the list of those who pay the so-called general property tax on bond holdings in New York State. It is a matter of record that when the old ironmaster retired from active business he took with him about $213,000,000 of first-mortgage bonds of the newly formed United States Steel Corporation, and there is no reason to doubt that he possessed a large fortune in addition to that sum. Thus he has always been a conspicuous object for the New York tax assessors to levy upon and for a number of years he has regularly paid a tax in New York City on $10,000,000 of bonds. This tax has been as high as 1.83 per cent. and, as the bonds pay only 5 per cent. interest, Mr. Carnegie has given to the city more than one-third of his income on $10,000,000 of bonds.

Of course, Mr. Carnegie had more than $10,000,000 of bonds, but in paying taxes upon even that small fraction of his income he headed the list in the country's metropolis. This year, however, when the fall taxing season came around the benevolent Scot caused temporary newspaper astonishment by "swearing off" the entire $10,000,000. For a day or two, the paragraphers raged, but then it was discovered that Mr. Carnegie had paid the recording tax of one-half of one per cent. on all his bonds and was therefore ever after exempt from taxation on them. In explaining this action he issued a public statement of much force and point on the whole subject of investment taxation.

As Mr. Carnegie said, and as everyone at all familiar with these subjects has long known, the general property tax in New York has been worse than a farce. And the same statement applies to nearly all the States. The charge is grossly unfair, when imposed upon bonds, because it is, or at least has always been, impossible to impose with equality upon all. The law does not require owners of bonds to report their holdings; it simply places them at the mercy of the Tax Commissioners, who guess at the likely holders of bonds. As a fact several billion dollars' worth of bonds have escaped taxation in New York State, one estimate running as high as five billions. Only the men whose wealth was overpoweringly conspicuous, such as Carnegie and Rockefeller, and heirs of estates, the probate of whose inheritance fairly came under the nose of the assessor, have paid the tax. The vast majority of rich persons have escaped.

Even Mr. Lawson Purdy, president of the Department of Taxes and Assessments of New York, admits that the general property tax as applied to bonds is confiscation and not taxation. He points out that competition in the market for the purchase of bonds by persons who expect to dodge their taxes, or by institutions such as savings banks, insurance companies, colleges, hospitals, and charitable organizations, which do not have to pay taxes on bond holdings, keeps the price of taxable bonds at about the level of non-taxable securities. The result is, he points out, that the few persons who happen to be caught by the assessors pay an imposition which has the effect of reducing the value of their property. In other words, their property is confiscated.

Recognizing the unfairness of the general property tax as applied to bonds, the tax experts in New York secured the enactment in 1911 of a law which provided for a recording tax on bonds, the exact operation of which was explained by our Investment Bureau in the December issue. This law did not do away with the old levy but it does provide that practically all bonds upon which an initial recording tax of one-half of one per cent. is paid shall thereafter be forever exempt. The firm of J. P. Morgan & Co. and other leading banking firms as well as Mr. Carnegie and many other very wealthy investors had their bonds recorded, and in the year ended September

30, 1912, $220,000,000 bonds were thus exempted from further taxation. Several corporations including the General Electric Company and the International Agricultural Corporation, paid the tax themselves on new issues of their bonds, thus freeing the individual investor in New York State from all further trouble about paying taxes.

In Minnesota, Iowa, and Washington, the antiquated general property tax has recently been abolished, and, as Mr. Purdy says, intelligent efforts have been made throughout the country in the last five years to amend the tax laws. But the whole scheme of investment taxation is still in such confusion as to be a serious national evil. There are still almost as many different systems of imposts as there are States, and even in one State the methods of assessment vary radically in different localities. There appears to be no book which explains it all, and even lawyers and bond dealers are often only partially informed on tax subjects. On the desk before him the writer has six circulars containing offerings of high-grade bonds, and only one of them is tax-exempt and that is only in California. In other words, the man who buys these bonds, if he should happen to be caught, might be taxed fully half the income of the bonds if he chances to live in New York City, and almost as much in some other places.

One practical moral for the investor to draw is to insist upon buying securities which are non-taxable, for there are always certain important classes of securities which are free from imposts. This is true of all Government issues and many State and municipal bonds, as well as of most stocks. On the other hand, Ohio recently passed a constitutional amendment which made State and municipal bonds taxable. Again, it may be noted that because certain bonds are tax-exempt in one State they are not so exempt in another State. Then, too, the inexperienced buyer of bonds often misunderstands the tax-exemption clause which appears in the trust deed and in the bond recital and which frees him from the liability the corporation itself is under to pay the levy made by the State, but not from paying taxes on his bond holdings.

If the Investment Bankers Association of America, which recently held its annual convention in New York, wishes to do real service to its constituency, it can take up no worthier object than the securing of uniform and equitable tax laws. It might even with advantage have printed a small circular summarizing these laws as they at present apply to investments in all the States, this circular to be supplied to every investor who buys securities through its members. Bond houses are often silent on the subject of taxation when their bonds do not happen to be exempt.

That the Investment Bankers Association is already on the road to accomplishing large service is patent to any one who followed the proceedings of its enthusiastic and well attended convention, late in November. One of the principal speakers discussed in detail the "blue sky" law of Kansas, which aims to protect the investor from offerings of worthless securities, and pointed out that a mass of similar legislation is pending in Ohio, Massachusetts, Maine, Washington, Oregon, Nebraska, Indiana, and perhaps other States. The object of this legislation is, of course, praiseworthy, but the laws may well be drafted hurriedly and by persons not familiar with business conditions and methods. But if the investment bankers give this subject close attention and the laws which are drafted combine their experience with the vigor of legislative remedies. the results are certain to be beneficial.

TYPICAL INQUIRIES AND ANSWERS

No. 412. SOME QUESTIONS ON NEW YORK CITY BONDS

I write to ask for investment information, having the intent to put several thousands into New York City bonds, yielding a little better than four per cent. In order to make my inquiries clear, I will put them in the form of a series of questions.

First, is there any advantage to an investor who desires safety and easy convertibility in a short term New York City 4 per cent. or 4¼ per cent. bond, over one having a long term (to 1950, say) to run?

Second, if one were putting several thousand dollars into these securities, would it be better to buy $1000 bonds, or to buy a number of smaller denomination (say, $100 or $500)?

Third, is there any choice, so far as relates to safety and convertibility, between different kinds of New York City bonds? If so, will you please mention those you consider best in these respects. Is a "coupon" bond preferable to a "registered" bond?

Fourth, is there any New York City bond which can ordinarily be bought to yield as much as 4½ per cent?

To take up your questions seriatim:

First: There seems to be no particular advantage to the investor, desiring safety and easy convertibility, in the short term New York City bonds over the long term bonds, or, as they are called "corporate stock," except this: that by reason of the former's "short haul" to maturity, they are apt to be more stable in market price under all conditions, and to command a somewhat quicker market on account of being more satisfactory to institutional investors such as banks and trust companies.

Second: We should be inclined to say that, to split up an investment of a few thousand dollars into a number of small denomination bonds of this character might be a disadvantage, rather than an advantage. In other words, we think this would be carrying the idea of diversification rather to an extreme. Obviously, with the money all secured in the same way by the city's general credit you would be gaining nothing in safety, and you might by such practice render your investment much less easily convertible. As a matter of fact, we believe you would find it desirable to have such an investment all in one "piece," or, at least, in several bonds of the standard denomination of $1000.

Third: We have already intimated that, so far as *ultimate* safety is concerned, there is no choice between the various issues of New York City; but that possibly, so far as convertibility is concerned, the preference lies slightly with the short term issues. As between "coupon" and "registered" bonds, the preference has to be determined in accordance with the requirements of the investor in each case. Again in this connection, if there is any decided preference at all, it is on the basis of convertibility. Coupon bonds pass by delivery, and on this account are somewhat more readily negotiated than registered bonds, for the transfer of which it is necessary to go through certain formalities of indorsement, verification of signature, etc.

Fourth: There are no New York City bonds which can be bought to yield as much as 4½ per cent. on the investment. In times of more or less severe depression in the general investment markets, certain long time issues of the city have been found to sell on an average basis of as high as 4.35 per cent. At the present time, however, these same bonds are quoted to yield only about 4.20 per cent. This is also the basis on whic one or two of the short term issues of "assessment bonds," so-called, are now quoted.

THE AVERAGE INVESTOR'S INCLINATION

READERS of these pages will find the figures appearing below particularly interesting for the clue they give to the consensus of the actual investment experience, during the year just closed, of a large number of people in every walk of life.

The analysis, comprehending the letters written by correspondents of our Investment Bureau between January 1 and December 1, 1912, is intended to indicate the principal types of securities, with which the inquiries received during this period were concerned, as well as the geographical distribution of the inquiries.

For example: The figures of the table opposite Missouri mean that there were six instances in which municipal bonds were under consideration, five in which the inquirers' interest was in railroad bonds, seven in which railroad stocks were concerned, and so on.

Alabama	..	1	..	1	..	1	.	..	..	1	.	4	8
Alaska	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Arizona	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	.	2	5
Arkansas	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	4	5
California	5	12	6	4	8	16	..	1	5	4	2	25	88
Colorado	1	3	..	4	1	4	1	..	3	2	1	8	28
Connecticut	3	4	3	2	7	6	2	2	6	3	1	6	45
Delaware	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
District of Columbia	1	3	2	2	6	3	1	..	7	1	1	11	38
Florida	..	2	..	..	1	2	..	..	2	3	.	3	13
Georgia	..	1	1	1	1	..	..	1	2	..	..	6	13
Idaho	..	..	1	..	..	5	1	..	..	2	1	3	13
Illinois	5	14	14	9	21	22	6	8	7	6	3	29	144
Indiana	4	5	4	3	3	5	3	..	3	3	2	7	42
Iowa	2	2	6	3	5	2	4	..	2	6	1	10	43
Kansas	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	..	..	4	..	9	22
Kentucky	3	6	2	3	2	5	2	..	1	2	..	6	32
Louisiana	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2
Maine	3	7	3	5	10	11	3	3	4	..	3	9	61
Maryland	3	7	..	4	2	7	..	1	2	3	..	6	35
Massachusetts	..	6	2	2	8	5	3	..	11	..	6	13	56
Michigan	3	4	2	1	3	2	2	1	4	4	7	18	51
Minnesota	2	1	2	2	5	6	1	..	2	..	3	9	33
Mississippi	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	3
Missouri	6	5	7	5	7	7	4	..	..	6	1	6	54
Montana	1	2	..	1	1	4	..	..	..	1	..	4	14
Nebraska	..	..	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	6	10
Nevada	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	2
New Hampshire	2	..	1	3	3	2	4	1	1	..	..	7	24
New Jersey	3	6	8	7	19	8	6	4	9	4	1	10	85
New Mexico	..	1	..	..	2	..	..	..	1	..	1	3	8
New York	10	25	22	29	48	32	17	8	25	14	7	58	295
North Carolina	1	3	1	1	2	5	..	1	..	2	1	4	21
North Dakota	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	3	5
Ohio	13	5	2	9	20	14	2	4	4	5	1	22	101
Oklahoma	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	2	6
Oregon	2	1	1	1	..	2	..	..	..	4	1	6	18
Pennsylvania	9	17	13	22	30	24	8	6	16	5	5	42	197
Rhode Island	1	..	1	1	5	..	1	..	2	1	..	5	17
South Carolina	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	5	6
South Dakota	1	1	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	1	7
Tennessee	1	..	1	..	2	1	1	..	..	..	3	2	11
Texas	1	2	2	1	4	1	.	1	2	3	1	8	26
Utah	2	1	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	2	7
Vermont	..	1	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	3	7
Virginia	..	1	3	..	3	2	..	..	..	2	5	6	22
Washington	2	2	3	1	2	5	..	..	..	1	2	11	29
West Virginia	..	2	1	1	4	2	..	..	1	1	2	2	16
Wisconsin	4	3	..	4	4	6	2	..	4	1	1	7	36
Wyoming	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Foreign	7	7	6	10	8	8	2	1	5	10	3	27	94
Total	104	164	126	146	252	230	77	43	132	113	68	144	1899

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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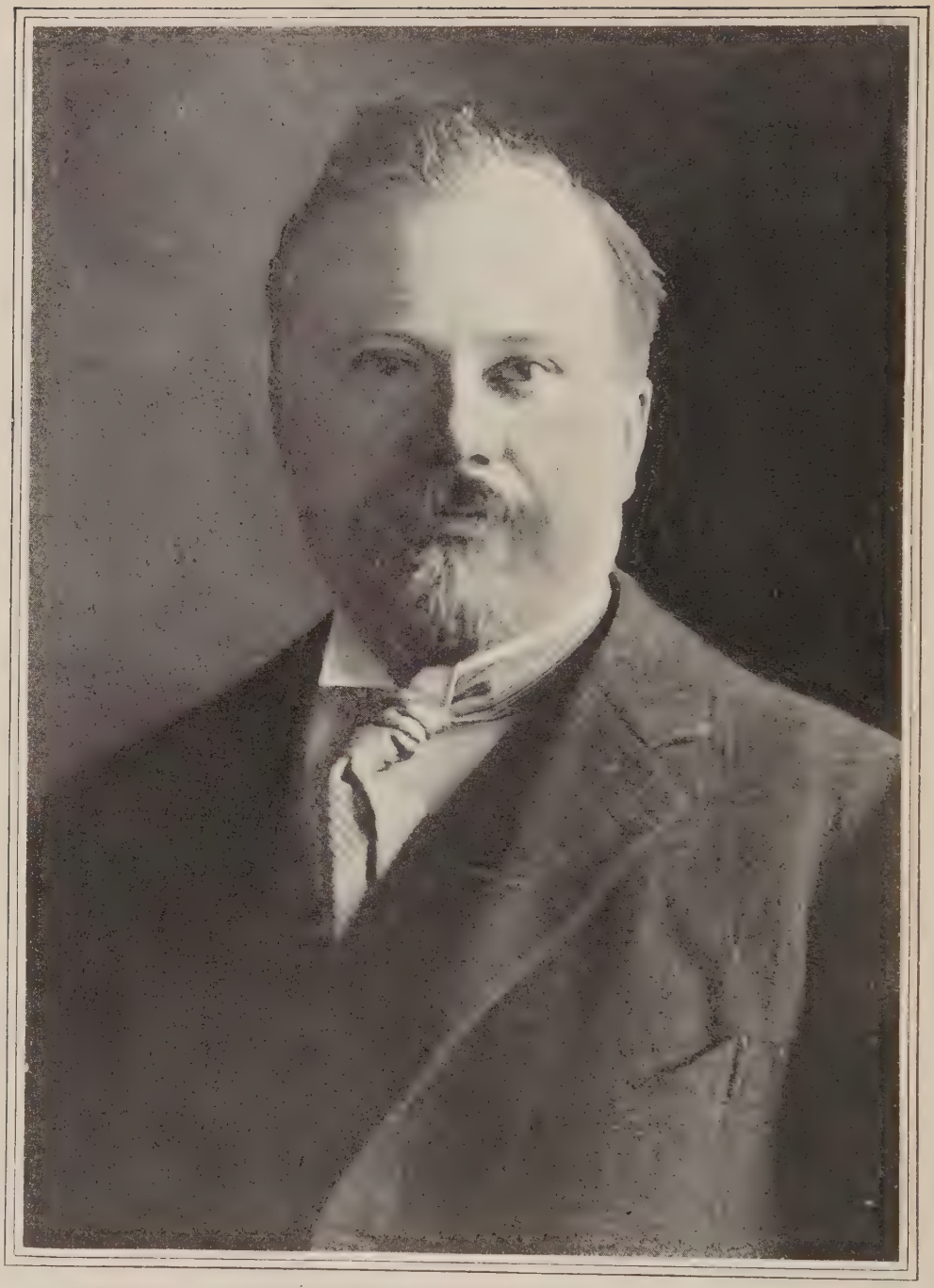

RAYMOND POINCARÉ, NINTH PRESIDENT OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC

(The French National Assembly, which is the combined membership of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies, met at the Palace of Versailles, on January 17, to elect a President for seven years to succeed Armand Fallières. After two ballots the choice fell on M. Raymond Poincaré, lawyer, political orator, author, member of the French Academy, and Premier of the Republic since February, 1912. M. Poincaré was the popular choice, and his election was received with marked popular satisfaction. He has had a forceful public career. He is of middle-class family, and is now in his fifty-second year. M. Poincaré is a writer of grace and charm. As a public man he has shown vigor and initiative, and has just enough radicalism in his make-up to be called progressive without being revolutionary. It will not be surprising if he adds a forcefulness and dignity to the usually colorless and purely ornamental position of the presidency of France.)

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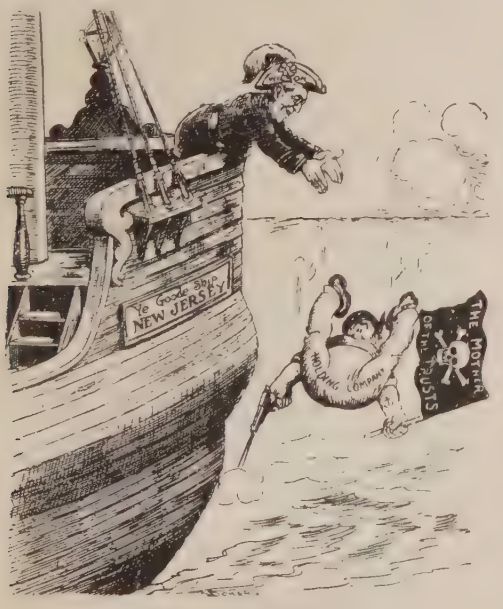
THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

Wilson's Work as Governor

It was charged against Governor Wilson, especially during the first half of last year, that he was neglecting his duties as chief executive of New Jersey in his quest of the Presidency. But his record as Governor has been a good one from the beginning, and he has brought back to New Jersey some excellent ideas gained through visits to other parts of the country. He is not allowing the last weeks of his Governorship to be wholly given up to plans for his larger task. On the contrary, he has been using the influence and prestige of his national success in a series of spirited efforts to accomplish as much as possible in New Jersey before moving on to Washington. The legislative session of 1911 had accomplished some notable reforms, and enacted several constructive measures of great importance. It had created a commission to supervise public-utility corporations, had legislated for modern types of municipal government, and had given much attention to progressive plans for workmen's compensation and other provisions in the interest of an industrial population. The session of 1912 had been comparatively unimportant. On Tuesday, January 14, Governor Wilson addressed his final message to the New Jersey legislature. He began with congratulations upon the notable reforms that had already been accomplished during the two years of his Governorship, and proceeded in a very direct and convincing way to point out the things most essential that still remain to be done in order to bring New Jersey to the very forefront of well-governed States. Most important to the country at large is the Governor's characterization of the present statutes of New Jersey that relate to commercial corporations.



DROPPING THE SUPERCARGO
From the *Jersey Journal* (Jersey City)

Shall New Jersey Charter the Trusts?

Most of our readers know that a great majority of the so-called "trusts," which do business throughout the United States, have been incorporated under New Jersey laws enacted for their especial benefit. Governor Wilson had made it plain, before his election in 1910, that he believed these laws ought to be reformed. But a newly elected Governor cannot hope to have everything done in one or even two brief sessions of the legislature immediately following his induction into office. If Governor Wilson had used his whole energy in an attempt at radical revision of the corporation laws, during the session of 1911, he would not only have failed to accomplish his purpose but he would also have been unable to bring to a fortunate conclusion the many excellent things that were

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actually accomplished. In statesmanship, programs have to be arranged in due order, and some reforms must precede others. Two years ago Governor Wilson's views favoring corporation reform were well known, but their statement at that time was by no means equivalent to their acceptance and adoption. But a great deal has happened since the beginning of 1911, and Governor Wilson now speaks, on a subject of this kind, with a sense of power and authority that makes it seem that his statement of the case must be followed promptly by the desired action. Note the following paragraphs from the opening section of the Governor's message, dealing with subjects the treatment of which he declares to be "most immediately necessary":

> The corporation laws of the State notoriously stand in need of alteration. They are manifestly inconsistent with the policy of the federal government and with the interests of the people in the all important matter of monopoly, to which the attention of the whole nation is now so earnestly directed. The laws of New Jersey as they stand, so far from checking monopoly, actually encourage it. They explicitly permit every corporation formed in New Jersey, for example, to purchase, hold, assign, and dispose of as it pleases the securities of any and all other corporations of this or any other State and to exercise at pleasure the full rights of ownership in them, including the right to vote as stockholders. This is nothing less than an explicit license of holding companies. This is the very method of forming vast combinations and creating monopoly, against which the whole country has set its face, and I am sure that the people of New Jersey do not dissent from the common judgment that our law must prevent these things and prevent them very effectually.
>
> It is our duty and our present opportunity to amend the statutes of the State in this matter not only, but also in such a way as to provide some responsible official supervision of the whole process of incorporation and provide, in addition, salutary checks upon unwarranted and fictitious increases of capital and the issuance of securities not based upon actual bona fide valuation. The honesty and soundness of business alike depend upon such safeguards. No legitimate business will be injured or harmfully restricted by them. These are matters which affect the honor and good faith of the State. We should act upon them at once and with clear purpose.

A Reform of National Significance

This demand comes at an opportune time. It is true that the laxity of the New Jersey corporation laws has given the State treasury some profit by way of fees for the granting of charters to hundreds of fraudulent or over-capitalized companies that could never have passed muster under the laws of Massachusetts, for example. And this income from a discreditable traffic has been urged as an excuse for not reforming the laws. But Louisiana had the moral courage to exclude the lottery business, and South Dakota adopted reforms which allowed Nevada a relative monopoly in another field of questionable enterprise. The people of New Jersey can certainly afford to refuse further hospitality both to the trust promoters and also to the men who float fraudulent companies and unload millions of worthless shares of stock upon innocent investors. It is not enough that Governor Wilson condemns the New Jersey corporation laws; he means to secure their prompt revision. The whole country will look on, and the New Jersey legislature must treat this question in the light of present-day knowledge and convictions. The Democrats not only have a large majority in the lower house, but have also a working majority in the State Senate, besides which some of the Republican Senators are undoubtedly in favor of corporation reform.

Democrats Watching New Jersey

The Democratic party of the country will expect the Democratic legislature of New Jersey to stand loyally by the President-elect and agree upon enactments that will bring New Jersey laws into better harmony with Democratic opposition to trusts and monopolies. Governor Wilson, meanwhile, could do nothing better, in preparation for his Presidential duties, than to give a great deal of immediate attention to this question of dealing with trusts and corporations as it presents itself concretely in the reform of the New Jersey statutes. He sees clearly that New Jersey ought not to create a corporation and turn it loose upon the people of the United States,

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PRESIDENT-ELECT WILSON WARNS PANIC BREEDERS
From the *Arizona Republican* (Phoenix)

unless it is in every way a sound and reputable business entity. During the next year or two it is not unlikely that he may see with equal clearness that the Government of the United States ought, by virtue of its control over interstate commerce, to provide certain tests, of a just and reasonable kind, which corporations must meet before being allowed to do an interstate business. Such questions must engage the attention of *President* Wilson a little later on. Meanwhile, may *Governor* Wilson have full success in his New Jersey undertakings!

State Efficiency Demanded

Citizens of well-governed States west of the Alleghany Mountains have no idea of the absurdities and evils that survive in some of the official methods of old States like New Jersey and New York. Thus Governor Wilson now calls marked attention to the need of reform in the matter of assessing and collecting taxes. If such a system of tax assessment and collection existed in Iowa, for instance, as in New Jersey and New York, there would be reform or revolution within a twelvemonth. Nothing of its kind is as bad anywhere else in the civilized world. New Jersey has had a commission studying these subjects which is about to report to the legislature. Quite apart from this bad system,—or, rather, lack of system,—in assessing and collecting taxes, there is lack of sound and businesslike organization of the State's administrative mechanism, and Governor Wilson points out the existing conditions in phrases which the people of other States beside New Jersey may well read, as, for instance, in the following passage:

> The pressure of intelligent opinion will soon be upon us in irresistible fashion concerning the business methods of the State also. I suggest that we do not wait for the pressure. The business of the State (I mean its administrative business) is conducted with a wastefulness, a duplication of effort, a confusion and conflict of function, which no business enterprise could survive for six months. There is an extraordinary multiplicity of boards, departments, commissions and miscellaneous offices overlapping, connected without being coördinated, independent of one another and yet naturally belonging to a single systematic whole which ought to be drawn together, simplified, brought into their proper relations, pruned and put upon a footing of efficiency which will also be a footing of economy and quick responsibility. A commission is now inquiring into this very matter by direction of the last legislature.
>
> We have lagged far behind other States in these matters. We are wasting the public moneys and are not getting the results good business methods would get. This has not been by deliberation. Our administrative methods have been developed piecemeal and at haphazard, but they are none the less worthy of condemnation and reform on that account, and we shall not have proved ourselves faithful and disinterested public servants until we correct them.

Photograph by American Press Association, New York

HON. JAMES F. FIELDER, NEXT GOVERNOR OF NEW JERSEY

(State Senator Fielder will fill out the unexpired term of Governor Wilson, ending January 19, 1914)

How to Serve the Plain People

A number of other suggestions of an admirable kind are made in this message, to which we may refer not so much because of their bearing upon New Jersey as because of what they disclose to the inquiring American citizen as respects the mental attitude of their future President. Thus, railroad employees will note that he urges the adoption of the Full Crew bill, either in the form of a specific and compulsory measure, or in that of an increase of the discretion of the public-utility commissioners. He also asks that these commissioners be authorized to secure the abolition of grade crossings,—a reform most urgently needed in New Jersey. He devotes attention to farm conditions, and describes with appreciation the work of farm demonstration in the South carried on by the National Agricultural Department under the direction of the late Dr. Knapp. Whether or not the New Jersey legislature adopts such methods, it is highly important to know that Mr. Wilson himself, as President, will be in sympathy with forms of effort in the Agricultural Department that have done so much already,

and can do so much more in future, to improve the business of farming. Similar observations are made regarding forestry. Enthusiasm is shown for a plan of opening the schoolhouses everywhere, under due regulation, for the use of all the people in the encouragement of the habit of discussing public questions and affairs of common interest. The Governor makes some very simple but profoundly wise observations upon the practical value of open neighborhood discussion of all matters affecting the general welfare. Publicity and discussion are the great correctives.

Constitutions Past and Present

He urges the passage of the federal amendments relating to the income tax and the election of Senators. One of the most important of his recommendations is that of a convention, in the near future, to provide New Jersey with a revised constitution. His remarks upon this question are also worth quoting as showing the trend of his thinking:

> There are other things we have outgrown. The constitution of the State needs reconsideration in a score of parts, some of them of the first consequence. No doubt its provisions were considered wise and suitable at the time of its adoption, but that was quite two generations ago, and the circumstances of our life have altered fundamentally within that time, politically, socially, economically. I urge upon you very earnestly indeed the need and demand for a constitutional convention. The powers of corrupt control have an enormous and abiding advantage under our constitutional arrangements as they stand. We shall not be free from them until we get a different system of representation and a different system of official responsibility. I hope that this question will be taken up by the legislature at once and a constitutional convention arranged for without delay, in which the new forces of our day may speak and may have a chance to establish their ascendancy over the rule of machines and bosses.

In other words, Governor Wilson does not see why men now living should be inconvenienced by constitutional arrangements devised by men of earlier generations to suit conditions that no longer exist. Certainly the men who framed constitutions and statutes for themselves, fifty or a hundred years ago, never for a moment supposed that their descendants would not feel free, in like manner, to act in the light of their own needs and wishes.

Wilson's Type of Public Man

The term for which Governor Wilson was elected expires on January 19, 1914. When he resigns to become President on March 4, he will be succeeded by State Senator James F. Fielder, who will serve out the remainder of the term. Mr. Fielder is a banker of Jersey City, and Governor Wilson concludes his message with a tribute to Senator Fielder which is worthy to be quoted because it goes farther and characterizes the kind of men with whom Mr. Wilson likes to be surrounded. There is some prophecy in this passage that gives it meaning for those who are asking upon what principle of selection Mr. Wilson will proceed when he names his department heads and other important functionaries at Washington.

> May I not in closing express the satisfaction I feel in the knowledge that when I lay down the duties of governor I shall leave them in the hands of Senator Fielder, a man of proved character, capacity, fidelity, and devotion to the public service, a man of a type to which the people of the state desire their public men to conform. I look back with the greatest admiration to that fine group of men in the houses whose names all the State knows and honors, who set the pace in the days when the State was to be redeemed. It is men like these who have rendered the policies and reforms of the last two years possible. It is men like these who will carry them forward, and the people of the State will sustain them. They will sustain no others. Woe betide the individuals or the party groups that turn away from that path! The future is with those who serve and who serve without secret or selfish purpose. A free people has come to know its own mind and its own friends.

THE AMERICAN SPHINX AND THE OFFICE-SEEKER
From the *Post* (Pittsburgh)

"Progressives and only Progressives!"

There has been much question throughout the country regarding Wilson's choice of a cabinet, not so much regarding individuals as principles and tendencies. The President-elect was nominated at Baltimore after a tremendous fight, for no other reason of a fundamental

sort except that he stood as a progressive, even to the extent of being a pronounced radical. If an avowed reactionary or a contented conservative had been nominated at Baltimore, it is probable that the progressive Democrats would have joined in the third-party movement and that a Progressive ticket, supported by Bryan as well as by Roosevelt, would have carried the country. That the Governor perceives the real situation was made plain in a speech to the Presidential electors of New Jersey and the other leaders and official heads of the party on January 13 (the day for the official election of a President of the United States by the electoral college). In an extemporaneous address of remarkable eloquence, Governor Wilson declared, in the very face of the party conservatives of his own State, that the only basis for Democratic solidarity must be one of progressive principles and policies. The most significant passage in this speech was the following:

> Some men have been slow to observe, but the majority of us have seen that the people of the United States have made a definite choice, and that choice is for the long future. The people of the United States have turned their faces in a definite direction, and any party, any man, who does not go with them in that direction they will reject, and they ought to reject.
>
> Therefore, in looking forward to the responsibilities that I am about to assume, I feel first, last, and all the time that I am acting in a representative capacity. I am bidden to interpret as well as I can the purposes of the people of the United States and to act, so far as my choice determines the action, only through the instrumentality of persons who also represent that choice. I have no liberty in the matter. I have given bonds. My sacred honor is involved, and nothing more could be involved. Therefore, I shall not be acting as a partisan when I pick out progressives, and only progressives. I shall be acting as a representative of the people of this great country, and, therefore, it is a matter of supreme pleasure to me to find in every direction, as I turn about from one group of men to another, that men's minds and men's consciences, and men's purposes, are yielding to that great impulse that now moves the whole people of the United States.

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PRESIDENT-ELECT WILSON AND WILLIAM J. BRYAN

(This snapshot was made on the occasion of Mr. Bryan's recent consultation with Governor Wilson at Trenton, N. J.)

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THE TRUSTS DISTURBED BY WILSON'S ASSOCIATING WITH BRYAN

UNCLE TRUSTY: "Come on, boys, ring your bells hard and look as pleading as possible—maybe Woodrow will do something for us after a while! I see that mysterious gink has got him to pose with him for a photograph! Wait till Woodrow gets a swat with that mallet! Oi! Oi! Well, of all the nerve! Look at the Common People with a fur overcoat on, while we're freezing here! I'll take that away from him before he's twenty minutes older!"

From the *Commercial Appeal* (Memphis)

Speeches on Business and Government

Governor Wilson has always possessed, in very rare and enviable measure, the gifts of public speech. He made a number of excellent speeches during the campaign. But it may be said with some assurance that he has never spoken with such wisdom and power as in a series of addresses since his election and his return from the month of vacation in Bermuda. Three speeches are so notable, in their exposition of the relations between business and government in the United States, that they ought to be put in some form which would make them available for careful study.

The first of these, early in December, was a speech before the Southern Society in New York. The second was delivered in the city where he was born, Staunton, Va., on his fifty-sixth birthday, December 28. The third was a speech before the Commercial Club at Chicago, on January 11. The condensed reports have wholly failed to do justice to these remarkable addresses. In the case, for instance, of the Chicago speech, the New York newspapers printed a meager column or so of telegraphed extracts, while the Chicago *Tribune* gave six columns to the unabridged speech. These discourses are in perfect temper, and cannot be said to contain any attacks upon the so-called "captains of industry." But they show, with a wealth of convincing analysis, what economic freedom really means in point of principle.

"Monopoly" in Wilson's Analysis

Governor Wilson does not care how large any business enterprise may grow to be, provided it grows honestly, upon sheer merit, in a field where the law and public opinion keep wide open both the right and the opportunity of competition. Monopoly in a naturally competitive field, obtained by devices for destroying the business of competitors, is wholly contrary to that spirit of economic freedom that must be maintained along with our institutions of political and personal liberty. To be sure, the laying down of principles and axioms is not the same thing as writing statutes for the protection of such principles. Yet one must know the ends to be gained before he can devise means adequate to his purposes. If Governor Wilson, in his appeal to the business men of the country, can cause the larger view to prevail, we may hope for great national progress. The dominance of private interest as a motive in circles and cliques of men controlling the larger forces of finance and industry, has led to the corruption of legislatures, has lowered the tone of our law courts, and has given some abnormal characteristics to the business growth of the country. We must have an honest tariff, and not one built up by the log-rolling of private interests, thus creating monopolies. We must have a currency and banking system that operates justly throughout the country, and that cannot be controlled in the interest of some men and to the detriment of others. All these great questions have been brought within the compass of Governor Wilson's recent speeches upon the relations of government to business enterprise. It remains to find concrete rules of action.

Can He Keep His Course?

There is cheering hope that the new President will not be a time-server and a compromiser, who will gradually lose his bearings and end by facing nowhere in particular. Mr. Taft himself was a tariff reformer in 1908; but by sheer drift of circumstances and a fatal ease of acquiescence and compliance, he became, in 1909, the chief apologist for the Payne-Aldrich act. He, too, was a convinced reformer in the field of business methods, and gave us high hope of a proper national regulation of trusts and corporations. But here, also, he veered about and became the chief exponent of the beauties of the Sherman Anti-Trust law, at the crucial time when its practical working was shown to be in the interest of those very aggregations against which it was supposed to be a bulwark. The most crying need of all was currency and banking reform; yet we have come through another Republican administration with nothing accomplished in that field. The times are now ripe for action all along the line of reform in our economic and business policies. Wilson's opportunity is in keeping with his convictions—may he hold unswervingly to his course!

The Untermyer Inquiry

There has been a continuation of the remarkable hearings before the Banking and Currency Committee, under the direction of Mr. Untermyer, as its counsel. Alluding to comment upon

MIRAGE OR REALITY?
From the *News* (Newark, N. J.)

this inquiry in our January number, Mr. Untermyer makes the following statement in a letter to the editor: "I take this opportunity of assuring you that the only purpose of the inquiry is as a basis for wholesome, remedial, and constructive legislation. Every effort has been made, so far as I am concerned, to keep it as free as possible from sensationalism and to pursue the investigation in as conservative and unemotional a manner as the facts to be disclosed will permit." The concentration of financial power, in this country, has been well understood by those conversant with recent facts; but it has needed this investigation to bring those facts to light in an official way and to place them upon record, where they can be studied and discussed as testimony rather than as mere assertion or guess. Thus the relationship of Mr. Morgan and his private banking house to several large national banks and several great trust

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MR. J. PIERPONT MORGAN, THE FAMOUS BANKER
(Mr. Morgan was a frank and useful witness before the Pujo Committee which is investigating the concentration of control over the banking and monetary resources of the country)

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MR. GEORGE F. BAKER, OF NEW YORK, AND HIS SON, GEORGE F. BAKER, JR.
(Mr. Baker is one of the foremost bankers of New York, and both he and his son are officers of the First National Bank and connected with various other financial institutions. Mr. Baker is one of Mr. Morgan's closest business associates and personal friends and is of high repute in the world of finance)

companies is a matter of everyday knowledge in financial circles. There was no attempt on the part of the committee at Washington to discredit distinguished bankers, like Mr. Morgan and Mr. George F. Baker, in obtaining their testimony regarding the concentration of banking resources, of railroad and industrial deposits, and of the nation's reserve funds upon which business credit is maintained.

Aggrandizement of Wall Street

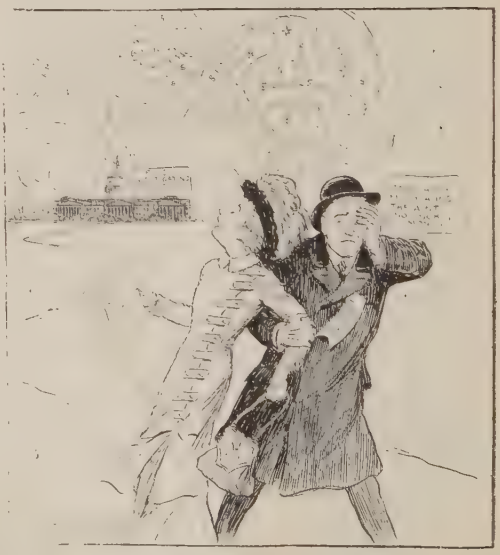
There is no mystery about the general process of financial centralization. We have witnessed the aggregation of railroads, for example, into great systems. Last month, in these pages, it was remarked that the New Haven road, now dominating New England, had been formed by the consolidation of nearly

MR. HENRY P. DAVISON, OF NEW YORK
(Mr. Davison was also a witness before the Pujo Committee last month. He is a member of the banking firm of J. P. Morgan & Co., and was a prominent member of the Aldrich Monetary Commission, and has studied the banking systems of Europe)

half-a-hundred smaller railroads. In like manner, the New York Central system has become very extensive, as have the Pennsylvania and others. Alongside of these railroad amalgamations there have grown to colossal dimensions the chief industrial corporations, such as the Standard Oil, the American Tobacco Company, the United States Steel, and dozens of others having a capitalization in excess of a hundred million dollars each. These corporate enterprises have been involved in enormous financial transactions; and it is natural that their financing should have been associated with the rapid growth of a group of affiliated banking houses. Thus the Wall Street money power (in which Mr. Morgan is the most representative figure, and which is not made up of three or four men ruling in a sinister spirit of tyranny, but rather of all the Clearing House banks, with the principal trust companies and a large number of private bankers, together with those of other cities) has become greater than the money power of London, which centers in the Bank of England; of Paris, which centers in the Bank of France, or of Germany, centering in the Reichsbank at Berlin. Mr. Baker was, upon the whole, justified in taking the ground that this American money power is not in the hands of a group of bad men consciously using it to obtain control over the industries and wealth of the country. But he was also clearly right in admitting that, in the hands of men of bad intent, the system as at present unregulated might be very dangerous.

Bankers Themselves Have Urged Reform

It has been shown that the present system makes it relatively too easy for the bank deposits of the United States to drift into Wall Street and support stock speculations, while it is relatively too difficult for our banking power to finance the moving of the crops in ordinary years, and to support the credit of manufacturers, merchants, and traders in times of stress. It would, indeed, seem to be for the welfare of the country that the banks of New York should be able to finance our great business enterprises. There was a time, within the easy memory of men of middle age, when almost any sort of undertaking needing capital had to seek the favor of European bankers and investors. It is to be remembered that American bankers have not been responsible for the continuance of the existing laws, under which our monetary and currency arrangements are maintained, and which are responsible in large part for our ill-adjusted mechanisms of credit. The bankers for a long time have urged reform. Even those who disapprove of the elaborate work of the Aldrich Monetary Commission must admit that this



PYROTECHNICS IN WASHINGTON
From the *Inter-Ocean* (Chicago)

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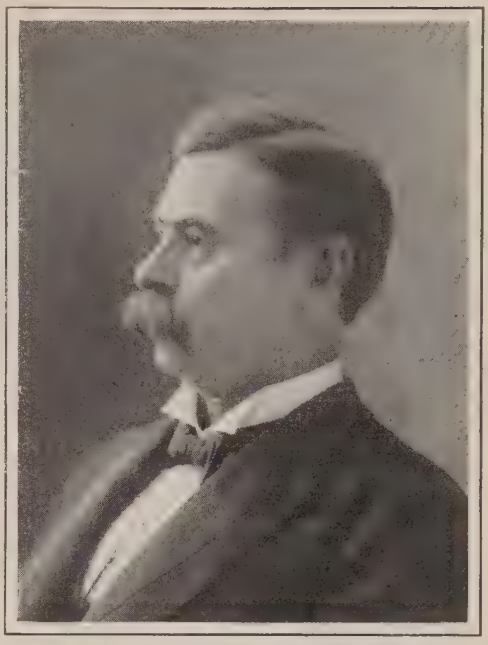
SENATOR MARTIN OF VIRGINIA
(Present Democratic leader of the Senate)



SENATOR SIMMONS OF NORTH CAROLINA
(Who aspires to be chairman of the Finance Committee)

TWO CONSPICUOUS DEMOCRATIC SENATORS OF THE CONSERVATIVE WING

commission has done everything in its power to give us the comparative point of view, and to show us how much better are the systems of other countries than our own. Furthermore, even those who do not accept the Aldrich conclusions as a whole can utilize them in large part for working out their own divergent plans. The greatest of all the advantages to be derived from an inquiry like that of the Pujo committee lies in the fact that things heretofore regarded as confidential are now so fully out in the open that nobody can any longer object to their being frankly discussed. As the inquiry progressed, its bearings became more evident and its witnesses more willing and able to give valuable information.

Will Congress Support Wilson?

The special session of the new Congress will be called to meet in March, soon after the inauguration of President Wilson. There is no reason to doubt the progressive temper and spirit of the greater part of the Democratic members of the House of Representatives. President Wilson may expect to be supported by the House, even though some of the leaders are said to be a little less radical than he in the natural working of their minds. Few reasonable men suppose that very much more can be done with the tariff at the present time than has already been done under Mr. Underwood's leadership in the bills that were vetoed by President Taft. As regards the Senate, there is great interest in the question whether the conservative or the progressive wing will be the stronger. The Democrats will be in the nominal majority. There has been open talk of an attempt to minimize the tradition of the Senate under which seniority of service on committees secures the powerful chairmanships. The retirement of Senator Bailey of Texas is a fortunate gain for the progressive element; but Senator Martin of Virginia and Senator Simmons of North Carolina naturally aspire to be the leaders of the Senate and heads of the chief committees. For a good while there has been a tendency to disregard party lines in the Senate. The conservative Democrats have been in natural sympathy with the standpat Republicans. The progressive Republicans, on the other hand, have in many important matters worked in coöperation with the radical Democrats. Senator LaFollette is openly pledged to uphold Wilson in so far as possible, and the other Progressive Senators, without any pledges, will be glad to support his measures in so far as their judgments and consciences approve.

Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

THE NEW GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK WALKING TO THE CAPITOL FOR HIS INAUGURATION

(At the left of the picture, and next to Governor Sulzer, is the Hon. John A. Dix, his predecessor)

Governor Sulzer, Optimistic

Governor Sulzer has made a promising entrance upon his task at Albany. In his inaugural address, and in his message to the legislature, he expressed opinions, both general and specific, that are in keeping with the best sentiment of the State. There are now about 10,000,000 people in the State of New York, practically one-half of whom belong to the great metropolis at the mouth of the Hudson River. Far more rapid than the growth of population has been the development of economic interests and resources, and the expansion of governmental undertakings. To adapt government completely to the recognized needs of the State, will require years of intelligent study and unceasing effort. But much can be done this very year. Governor Sulzer welcomes the opportunity in a buoyant spirit, and declares himself ready to achieve all necessary reforms. His mood, like that of Governor Wilson, is in hopeful contrast with the cynical and negative attitude of the ordinary party politician. The experiences of 1912 show that public opinion can be developed very rapidly; and it is quite possible that many things may be accomplished, both in nation and in State, that seemed most unlikely one brief year ago. In the State of New York it is necessary to lift the business of public administration to a higher plane. Never were the people so impatient with the idea of having their good roads made in the interest of party bosses and local politicians as they are to-day. Never before have they so fully realized the need of taking the prisons and charitable institutions out of the control of mere political place-seekers who are the tools of private interests and grafting bosses.

Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

THE CROWDS OUTSIDE THE CAPITOL AT ALBANY

(Whom Governor Sulzer addressed immediately after his inauguration)

Large Public Works in New York

A few years ago the State of New York authorized the expenditure of $50,000,000 for the creation of a State system of good roads. During the last two years the rapidity with which the expenditure of that vast sum was completed involved many questionable details, both of planning and supervision and also of contracts and execution of work. The State has now resolved to spend another sum of equal amount, making a total of $100,000,000, for the same purpose. A number of years ago the people of the State voted for a bond issue of $100,000,000 to enlarge and deepen the Erie Canal system, and subsequently $20,000,000 additional was authorized to provide for terminals which would make the use of the canal more practicable. This work also has lately been pushed along very rapidly. It is needless to say that a State carrying on enterprises of such magnitude needs ability and character of a high order to secure ade-

quate results. A few years ago the State of New York had no public debt worth mentioning. These large works, and certain other expenditures, are giving a new importance to the financial administration of the State and have a necessary bearing upon its system of taxation.

A Commission on Expenditures

Governor Sulzer made a good move in appointing, as one of his first acts, a commission of three men to make a rapid survey of the principal administrative departments. The object of this inquiry is to stop waste, promote efficiency and save public money. It was the Governor's intention to have the work of creating the State highway system thoroughly investigated and then reorganized under a single responsible head—an eminently desirable thing to do. The State of New York has two large and expensive Public Service Commissions, one supervising railroads and certain other corporations within the metropolitan district, and the other having its jurisdiction outside the city of New York. It has been Governor Sulzer's impression that better results could come from having one commission analogous to the Interstate Commerce Commission. He is of opinion that a better administration can be worked out for the prisons, hospitals, and asylums of the State, and so on.

GOVERNOR SULZER: "Er—when did I last humiliate my incompetent though Democratic predecessor?"
SECRETARY: "Last night."
GOVERNOR SULZER: "Remind me to take another crack at him to-morrow morning."
From the *Tribune* (New York)

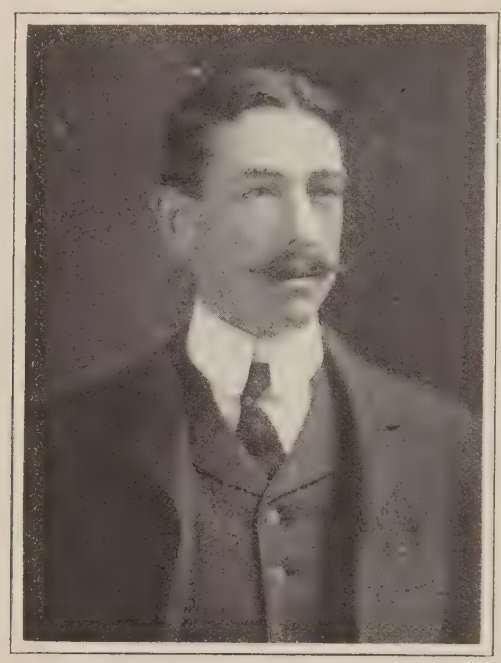
THE COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR SULZER, AND ITS COUNSEL

(The chairman, John N. Carlisle, is seated. Standing, from right to left, are H. Gordon Lynn, John T. Norton [counsel], and John H. Delaney)

At the head of his investigating committee of three he named the Hon. John N. Carlisle, of Watertown, a lawyer and public man of excellent reputation. The second member is John H. Delaney, prominent in the printer's trade and now manager of a New York paper. The third member is H. Gordon Lynn, an expert accountant in the department of Commissioners of Account in New York City, experienced in public bookkeeping and financial investigations.

To Promote the Public Health

Another highly promising act on the part of Governor Sulzer is the appointment of a commission of eight persons to investigate health conditions and recommend better laws and methods for combating tuberculosis and other diseases. The names of this commission inspire confidence that good results will be forthcoming. The chairman is Dr. Herman M. Biggs, of the New York City Health Department, a foremost authority upon preventable diseases and health administration. The secretary is Mr. Homer Folks, also widely known as an authority in social science



MR. HOMER FOLKS

DR. HERMAN H. BIGGS

and the administration of public charity and relief. The other members are John A. Kingsbury, of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, Mr. Ansley Wilcox of Buffalo, Dr. Edward Baldwin of Saranac Lake, Dr. Otis of Poughkeepsie, Dr. Milbank of Albany, and Miss Adelaide Nutting, who is a professor of nursing and health at Columbia University. It is to be hoped that this commission, every member of which is already possessed of exceptional knowledge, will move with the utmost possible swiftness toward practical proposals, in order that no time may be lost in obtaining necessary legislation. Great gains are practicable in the immediate future in the hopeful war against infectious and contagious diseases.

What New York Pays Out

The ordinary appropriations of the State of New York had been increasing very rapidly in the twenty years from 1883 to 1903. They had, in fact, doubled in that period. But they have grown far more rapidly in the ten years since 1903. Thus the State appropriations for 1913 are $52,367,000, while for 1903 they were only $23,588,000. This great increase is due to many causes, most of them commendable. The cost of the good roads and rebuilt canals means an annual payment of several million dollars of interest on bonds, and several million more toward paying off the principal. The general educational expenses of the State have greatly increased during the decade, as also have those of the State's agricultural department, while the appropriations for State hospitals and related matters of relief and charity amount to perhaps $10,000,000 a year, showing a rapid increase. Having created its system of good roads, the State has now to spend several millions a year to maintain and repair the highways. It is probable that 10 per cent. of the State's appropriations could be saved by such methods of efficiency as would be used in private business undertakings. But that is not the principal thing to be desired. It is not so much the cutting down of appropriations that is needed as the securing of the best possible results. Does the State's supervision of education accomplish as much of good for the people of New York as corresponding amounts in some other State or country? Are the farming interests of the State of New York sufficiently benefited by the expenditure of two millions a year upon a State agricultural department? Are the hospitals and asylums of the State, and the other related enterprises, producing the best social results possible? Is the prison system up-to-date and free from abuses?

How the Money Is Raised

Apart from the value of the results obtained by the people through the expenditure of public money, there is always the complicated problem of raising the State revenue by means the most equitable and the least burdensome. For a period of several years the State of New York had income enough from indirect sources to leave direct taxes entirely to counties, cities, towns, villages, and school districts. But the growth of recent expenditure has made it necessary to impose a general State tax of one mill,—that is to say, one dollar upon each thousand dollars of assessed valuation. Governor Sulzer had believed that by economy this direct tax could be dropped. The controller, however, declares that it cannot be done. During the year past the receipts from inheritance taxes were more than $12,000,000, but there was an unusual number of large estates to pay this form of toll. The State tax on corporations amounted to more than $10,000,000. The excise taxes produced more than $9,000,000; stock transfers nearly $4,000,000; the State's share of the tax on mortgages nearly $2,000,000. The annual license fees of motor vehicles provided a State income of a million dollars, in round figures. The direct tax of one mill yielded more than $11,000,000. Not to discuss these items in detail, it suffices to say that they are subject to a good deal of yearly fluctuation, and that the great State of New York has by no means reached a final solution of the taxation problem.

New York's Barge Canal

In 1915 the State of New York will have completed and opened to traffic its Barge Canal, with wholly modern equipment,—a great outlet to the sea for western grain shipments. In addition to the original bond issue of $101,000,000, voted by the people of the State, an additional $20,000,000 was provided by a special vote in 1911 for canal terminals, and it is well understood that further appropriations will be required to complete the work, but now that the State has entered on the task there is a general desire to have it thoroughly and satisfactorily finished. The progress in construction during the past two years has been especially rapid. Some sections of the canal are already completed. A siphon lock, the first of the kind to be built in the United States and the largest in the world, has been put in commission at Oswego, where the canal connects with Lake Ontario. All the canal locks are built to accommodate barges of 3000 tons' capacity,—a tonnage that would fill seventy-five freight cars of 80,000 pounds' capacity each. If the old style canal boats were to be retained in service, six of them could be put through one of the new locks at a time, but all six would carry only half the tonnage of one of the new barges. Furthermore, it is promised that the barges will be propelled at a speed two and one-half times the speed of the old boats. More than half of the new canal line is through lake or natural river channels, where enhanced speed will be possible.

Planning a Great Public Enterprise

In this new period of great undertakings, public and private, for the better handling of commerce and movement of populations, there is ample opportunity to study the relative merits of public and private activity. Where an enterprise is to serve the public in a large and general way, it is best that its planning should not be left wholly to the initiative of those whose motive is private gain. New York City, for example, is now entering upon the construction of a great system of new underground rapid-transit electric railways. These new lines with equipment will cost, in the aggregate, about $300,000,000. Approximately half of the investment will be made directly by the city government, and the other half by the operating companies that will equip and run the roads for long terms of years as lessees from the city. The routes have been laid out, after great study, by the Public Service Commission, with the cooperation of the ultimate authority in the municipal government. The Interborough Company and the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company, which will operate the lines, have of course shared in the initial study. The result has been a well-planned and maturely considered project, in which the present and future welfare of the people has been the dominant motive. However great may be the faults of city government in New York,—and they are not to be lightly regarded,—it can be asserted with confidence that the new subway scheme, which amounts to one of the largest engineering undertakings in the world, has been wisely and ably devised. Its completion will greatly facilitate the distribution of population throughout the area of the greater New York.

The New York Central's Great Project

Perhaps the most notable instance of a great transportation improvement, brilliantly worked out under private initiative and control, is that of the New York Central's electrifica-

Photograph by the American Press Association, New York. From a drawing

THE NEW YORK CENTRAL'S GREAT TERMINAL

(With suggestion of related buildings not yet completed)

tion project, with the new station and terminal arrangements in New York City. The great station is virtually completed, and will be opened to the public in all its parts within a few weeks. Several scores of tracks enter this station on different levels, and all the trains will turn upon loops and serve the needs of outgoing passengers,—an improvement of such obvious value as to need no explanation. The electrical zone, when completed, will extend about thirty miles, heavy express trains being drawn by electric locomotives, and suburban trains being equipped on the multiple-unit plan and taking the electric current from a third rail. The new station, while of great architectural merit and beauty, is chiefly notable for the convenience of its arrangements as worked out by the officials of the road. The station communicates directly with the subway system; and when affiliated enterprises are completed there will be several large hotels also connecting by subway passages with this great traffic center.

A Brilliant Scheme of Financing

Inasmuch as this project in its totality will involve an outlay of about $200,000,000, the question must arise, wherein lies its earning capacity, and who must pay the bills? A magnificent and convenient terminal station cannot be expected to increase very much the number of passengers passing through it nor will those passengers pay higher rates of fare. The management of the New York Central has adopted a great idea, never before carried out on so large a scale,—although once before exemplified in a striking way, also in New York City. The so-called McAdoo Tunnels, those of the Hudson and Manhattan Railroad system, connect the New Jersey suburbs with New York City by means of short but very expensive railroads under the Hudson River. It was desirable to have a downtown station and terminal, with a loop that would admit of the continuous movement of trains. It was necessary to occupy an expensive site, comprising the area of two city blocks. Mr. McAdoo and his associates provided ample station accommodations, far underground with easy inclined planes for entrance and exit. Above this station they built twin office buildings twenty-two stories high. The rent of these buildings not only carries the cost of the terminal station, but also helps to pay interest upon the cost of tunneling under the Hudson. The New York Central yards (which had always been open and uncovered, with the smoke of hundreds of locomotives and the noise of many trains constituting a great

nuisance in the heart of the city) are now to be completely covered over with great buildings,—a wonderful transformation.

To Earn Interest Upon $200,000,000

This yard space is equivalent to about thirty-two city blocks. Vast excavation has depressed the tracks far below the street level. A number of public streets, formerly interrupted, are now carried across as viaducts, with one great north-and-south avenue bisecting the yards. Steam power has entirely disappeared, and there will be no sound of the movement of electric trains beneath the great buildings. Heat, light and power will be distributed from a common center to all the buildings on these thirty-two blocks. It is confidently stated by the highest financial authorities of the New York Central that the use of the "air rights" above their yards will pay a good interest upon $200,000,000, and thus save the stockholders of the railroad from any burden or loss due to the vast expense of the new terminal and the electrical installation.

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PRESIDENT BROWN OF THE NEW YORK CENTRAL

Financing a Government Project

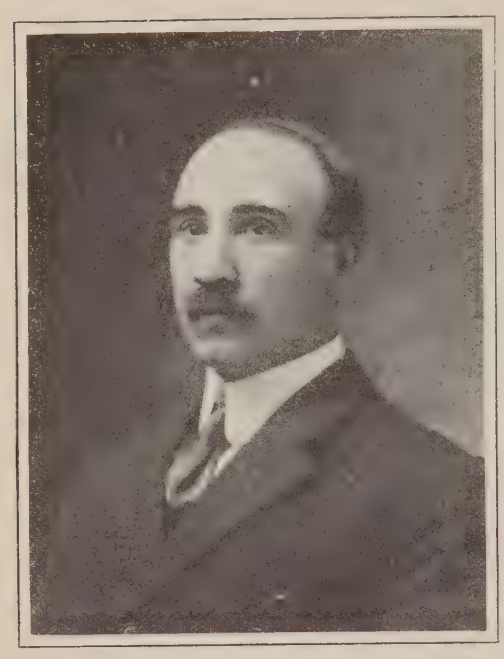
It becomes increasingly manifest that we are just beginning to apprehend the physical and economic possibilities of this electric age. And it is all the more necessary that all our resources of intelligence and public spirit, as well as of science and capital, should be brought to bear upon every new or suggested project. In Mr. Tiffany's article, on the Mississippi River improvement at Minneapolis, it should be particularly noted (see page 180) that the United States Government, for the first time, is going into the business of marketing hydro-electric power. A great dam, that will improve Mississippi River navigation in a very important way, is to be made productive, at the same time, of water power that will entirely (or at least to a great extent) repay the Government for its outlay. Many other projects in which the Government is concerned can be worked out upon analogous principles, if there is as much intelligence and public spirit on the side of those representing the Government as there is energy and ability upon the side of those seeking water-power concessions or having other private interests at stake.

Our Water Traffic

The national waterways movement has entered on a phase that seems to have a new meaning for some of the country's transportation interests. Mr. Tiffany's article, to which we have referred, sketches the work now under way on the upper Mississippi which will facilitate the shipment of wheat and flour from the Northwest to New Orleans. Barges propelled by power-boats are likely within a few years to be as familiar a sight at St. Paul and Minneapolis as they are to-day on the Rhine. Improved terminals and terminal equipment will soon replace the antiquated docks that are picturesque survivals of ante-bellum life and customs. The opening of the Panama Canal is expected to give new vitality to north-and-south trade currents, and meanwhile commerce is continually seeking new channels to the eastern seaboard.

The Federal Census

That part of the Census Bureau's work which the public hears most about is the decennial count of noses, but there is a wide range of useful activities included in the bureau's functions which go on from year to year, without noise and with very limited publicity, but which should concern every intelligent citizen. The gathering of facts about the nation's population, agriculture, and industries every ten years would be of little service to the general public unless this great mass of facts were reduced to some sort of presentable form. It is this formidable task of editing and compiling for publication that has occupied Director Durand and his corps of able assistants since the collection of data for the Thirteenth Census was completed more than two years ago.



DIRECTOR E. DANA DURAND OF THE CENSUS

(Who has achieved unusual success in compiling and popularizing the results of the Government's elaborate statistical investigations. Dr. Durand, who is now in his forty-third year, is a graduate of Oberlin College and Cornell University, and for more than twelve years has been employed upon statistical undertakings for the Government. He has succeeded in reducing to the compass of a single volume of moderate size all the important and significant results of the census of 1910)

Figures Made Interesting

The volume containing the "Abstract of the Census," recently issued from the Government Printing Office, is in itself a justification of the toil and expenditure involved in the world's greatest statistical undertaking. Furthermore it is a book with which every American should acquaint himself. Nowhere else can he find such a picture of his country's progress, material and intellectual. We say "picture" advisedly, for never before has the Census Bureau given so graphic a presentation of its own figures. Readers who have made use of the "Abstract" of preceding censuses, and think of it as merely a succession of unexplained tables of figures will be agreeably surprised on opening the new volume to find, in addition to the tabulations, many pages of illuminating text, illustrated with maps and diagrams of the most pertinent and serviceable kind, the whole forming a really useful and fresh treatment of a wide field of economic and social interest. With the first edition of the "Abstract" is printed a supplement for Maine, containing statistics for the State, counties, cities, and minor divisions. This volume is intended for distribution in Maine; and editions for distribution in other States will contain similar supplements relating to those States. Thus a resident of any State of the Union, of Alaska, of Hawaii, or of Porto Rico, will be able to find in a single volume of 600 or 700 pages a compendium of all the general results of the census of 1910, together with the details pertaining to his own State or locality. It is to be hoped that Congress will make an appropriation for a large edition of this work, —say, 500,000 copies.

Triumphs of Wireless

Familiar as we have become with wireless telegraphy, we do not yet quite realize the fact that this method of transmitting messages has passed the experimental stage and has become a permanent, dependable factor in the world's daily business. What was once spectacular is now a matter of humdrum routine. Last month the new high-power station of the Telefunken system at Sayville, L. I., held direct communication with a station in Germany, and a Marconi station erected in New Jersey will soon be attuned to a similar sta-

Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

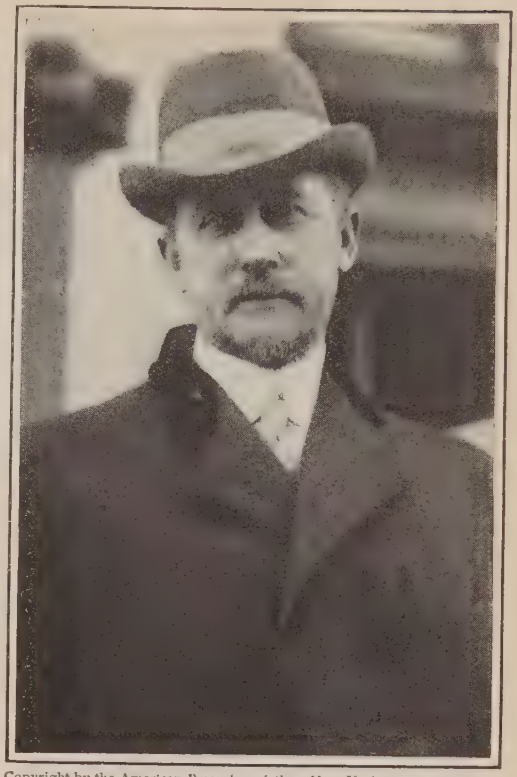
GUGLIELMO MARCONI

(A new portrait of the illustrious inventor of wireless)

tion within a few miles of London. These wireless stations have quick telephone communication with their respective cities and the actual time of transmission of messages between European capitals and New York is less than ten minutes.

Crossing the Pacific

The United States Government's wireless station at Fort Myer, near Washington, with its towers 450 feet in height, has been able to read messages thrown out from Cliffton, Ireland, and works directly with the naval stations at Mare Island, near San Francisco, Guantanamo, and Panama. High-powered stations have been erected or are now rising at Havana, at Santiago, in Mexico, and in Costa Rica. The most powerful of wireless stations is to be built in connection with the Panama Exposition. By using the stations at Hawaii and Guam as stepping stones, it will be possible to transmit wireless messages across the Pacific, linking California with Japan, the Sandwich Islands, and Australia. The outposts of the wireless have already been carried far north into Alaska. The remote sections of the Pacific coast have been brought within instant communication with its great cities. The long-distance wireless system, by overleaping every obstacle, abolishes the frontier at a stroke.



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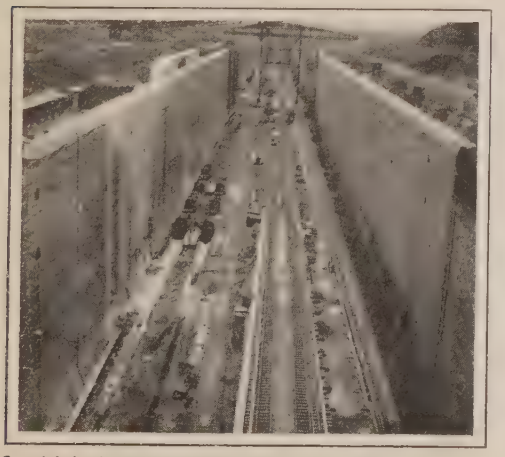
HON. CHARLES P. NEILL, UNITED STATES COMMISSIONER OF LABOR

(Dr. Neill, whose term is just expiring, has served with remarkable efficiency for eight years. President Taft has reappointed him, and he should be unanimously confirmed. No other man in America in recent years has done so much as Dr. Neill for the peaceable adjustment of disputes between labor and capital)

Prospects at Panama

Official reports show that on January 1 the work at Panama was seven-eighths done. This means that the completion of the Culebra Cut may be looked for by July 1, and that ships may pass from ocean to ocean by October 1, of the present year. Slides at Culebra may cause some delay, but Colonel Goethals has made provision for such contingencies. The countries to the south are already preparing to avail themselves of the opening of the great waterway. The voyage from New York to Valparaiso will be shortened by 4000 miles, and the Chilean Government has appointed a commission to advise on port improvements and treaties of commerce and navigation with the United States incidental to the opening of the canal.



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PRESENT STATUS OF GATUN LOCK, PANAMA CANAL

The Railroad Firemen's Dispute

The first month of the new year brought with it a number of serious disturbances in the industrial world. The trouble between the firemen and fifty-four railroads east of Chicago and north of the Ohio and the Potomac rivers reached a crisis in the middle of January. Earnest efforts in favor of mediation under provisions of the federal law had been made Judge Knapp of the Commerce

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD
(Organizer of the Industrial Workers of the World)

Court, and Commissioner of Labor Neill, but without success. Both sides were willing to arbitrate, but disagreed as to the form. The railroads insisted on a large arbitration board similar to the one which acted in the recent engineers' case, while the firemen contended for a board of three arbitrators, in accordance with the provisions of the Erdmann act. The chief demands of the firemen are for increased wages and improved working conditions. It was finally decided to let the question of a strike go to a vote. The counting of the ballots will begin on about the first of the present month, the result being known a few days later. About 35,000 firemen and engineers are affected. There is nothing in the case of the firemen that would seem for one moment to justify such a public calamity as the tie-up of railroad transportation throughout the East.

The Garment Workers' Strike

Another strike of immense proportions was that in the garment-making industry centering in New York City. The first to go out were the workers in men's and boys' clothing to a number estimated at about 100,000. These were later followed by about 35,000 women and girls in the waist and dress-making trades. The garment workers reversed the usual procedure in labor troubles by walking out first and declaring their demands afterwards. In addition to the wage scale and hours of work, the demands of the employees have to do with safety and sanitary conditions in the shops, and the abolition of tenement house labor and the system of sub-contracting. The strike was accompanied by a number of minor displays of violence, mass meetings, and a monster parade, the marchers—both men and women—bearing placards lettered with their demands in English, Italian and Yiddish.

The Little Falls Strike Settled

The bitter strike of the textile workers at Little Falls, N. Y., came to an end on January 2. It had lasted about ten weeks and attracted a good deal of attention by reason of the collisions between the strikers and the local authorities. The strikers were promptly organized into the Industrial Workers of the World, and leading members of that body, as well as prominent Socialists like Mayor Lunn, of Schenectady, lent active assistance. The settlement terms give the workers a wage increase, and yield the point which caused the strike. They objected to the reduction of wages which came when the fifty-four hour law went into effect. They will now receive sixty hours' pay for fifty-four hours' work.

Other Labor Troubles

The great dynamite conspiracy trial at Indianapolis, growing out of the McNamara case, came to an end late in December last. Of the fifty-four labor leaders indicted, thirty-eight were finally convicted. Frank M. Ryan, president of the Iron Workers Union, was sentenced to seven years imprisonment, the others all receiving terms varying from one to six years. A trolley strike in the city of Yonkers, N. Y., caused much inconvenience and demoralized business conditions in that city for more than a week, a settlement being finally accomplished with the aid of the Public Service Commission. Waiters and hotel employees in New York, to the number of 10,000, also voted last month to strike under the auspices of the Industrial Workers of the World.

The Parcel Post in Operation

The success of any public service may best be estimated by the extent to which it is made use of where competition exists. The Government's parcel post—which went into effect on January 1—is generally regarded as a success from the start. Within the first week, six million packages were sent through the mails. Some of these, of course, would have come within the provisions of the old "fourth class" matter. Others were packages which the express companies would have handled.

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POSTMASTER-GENERAL HITCHCOCK MAILING THE FIRST PARCEL AT THE WASHINGTON POST OFFICE.

Quite a large number, however, represented new business which had been encouraged by the installation of a swift and economical method of forwarding small pieces of merchandise. The number of parcels handled is increasing at a surprising rate, as the public becomes accustomed to the service and its possibilities. By a slight modification of the rules,—made immediately upon the recognition of its desirability,—manufacturers are permitted to include in a package printed matter which describes its contents. It is expected that further extensions will soon be made, so that books and other bulky printed matter will be transferred from the third-class to the parcel post. The framers of the legislation are to be congratulated upon the system which they created, and postal officials throughout the country deserve praise for the smoothness with which it is working so soon after its inauguration.

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MRS. SULZER, WIFE OF THE GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK, RECEIVING ONE OF THE FIRST PACKAGES SENT BY PARCEL POST.

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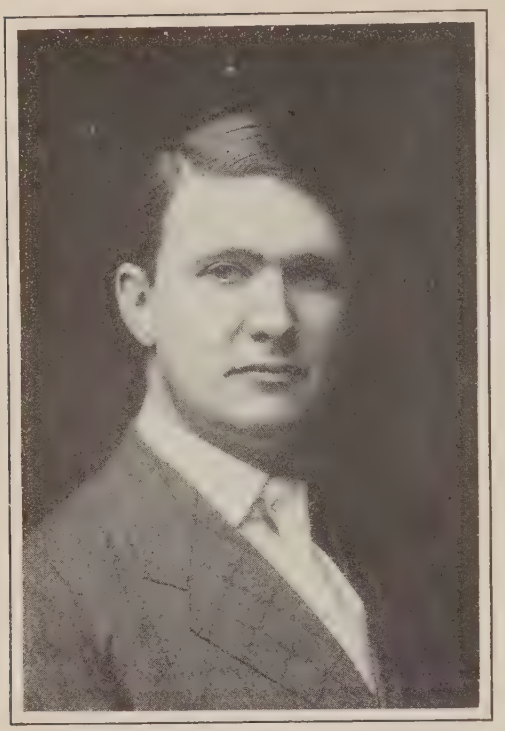
ONE OF THE NEW PARCEL POST AUTOMOBILES IN USE AT THE NEW YORK POST OFFICE



SENATOR LUKE LEA OF TENNESSEE
(Who is one of the foremost of the Democratic progressives)

Parties and Their Future

The newspapers and the political leaders have been indulging in much futile discussion regarding the future of parties. The voters are not anxiously concerned at present, but they are presumably intending that party cliques henceforth shall serve rather than rule. If the Republican party is to have a future it must promptly reform its methods of representation. The Progressive party has public ends to serve, and if the people wish to put it in power they will naturally cast their votes to that effect. Quite regardless of party membership, the Progressive movement is guiding the work of legislatures, and clarifying the purposes and ideals of executive officers. The Republican party has been suffering from the blighting effects of its own unscrupulous leadership, and its future is purely in its own keeping. The great issues at Washington during the next two years will not present themselves along the lines of any existing party cleavage.

The Progressive Spirit Is Dominant

President Wilson's personal position will be strongly progressive, and he is evidently intending to surround himself with cabinet officers and political advisers who are as free as possible from those mysterious restraints that large private interests have hitherto imposed upon so many public men. It has been suggested that he may even put in the cabinet a typical progressive who has not been identified with the Democratic party. But about appointments he has been keeping his own counsel. He is proposing to harmonize his party, and to do it on the basis of uncompromising acceptance of the new, progressive, American spirit. There are great masses of intelligent voters in all of the three leading parties whose similar convictions would justify their acting together in political matters. It remains to be seen what concrete conditions will arise to give the party system of the United States some true relation to opposing tendencies and convictions. During the present session little is happening that shows party lines. Whether or not we should remit tolls of coastwise vessels passing through the Panama Canal is a question that has no party bearing. Senator Root, who has long favored the encouragement of steamship lines trading with South America, opposes the plan of discriminating tolls. Republicans are more favorable to a strong navy than Democrats, yet the question is one of individual conviction. The standpat Republicans will try to make capital out of their championship of protection; but progressive Republicans are the strongest advocates of tariff reform.

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SENATOR THOMAS P. GORE OF OKLAHOMA
(Who is one of the chief progressive advisers and supporters of the President-elect)

"Anti-Yankee" Feeling in Latin America

Latin-American hostility to the United States, which persists, despite all the consistent pacific character of our foreign policy toward the nations to the south, is strikingly indicated by an agreement, recently announced in a cautious statement in a Buenos Aires journal, that Argentina, Brazil and Chile have come to an understanding already familiarly known as "A. B. C." for "common protection against the Yankees." The united navies of the three nations make a sea force of considerable magnitude. All over Latin America there is apparently coming to the surface a feeling that, under the administration of President Wilson, some of the rigor of American foreign policy will be relaxed, particularly toward the Americans south of Mexico. Reports come of plottings by revolutionary leaders in Nicaragua, Cuba and Venezuela to begin anti-government disturbances as soon as the new administration is established. Of course, it is not to be assumed, that under Democratic administration, there will be any less dignified or vigorous protection of American rights anywhere in the world. The reason for the point of view of Latin-Americans is to be found in statements of Democratic doctrine formulated by certain party leaders during recent years, as set forth in these pages in an article last month. One of the most notorious of Latin-American characters, General Cipriano Castro, who, from 1899 to 1910 was President of Venezuela, paid a visit to the United States late in December. Señor Castro, while virtual dictator of Venezuela, incurred the enmity of almost all the civilized world by his high-handed acts. His presence in New York was believed to be for the purpose of furthering a projected invasion of Venezuela from Cuba. The immigration authorities held him for examination as to his alleged part in the death of one of his countrymen. He was finally "excluded and ordered deported on the ground that he has admitted the commission of a crime and felony involving moral turpitude."

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THE FAMOUS VENEZUELAN EX-PRESIDENT AND REVOLUTIONIST, GENERAL CIPRIANO CASTRO

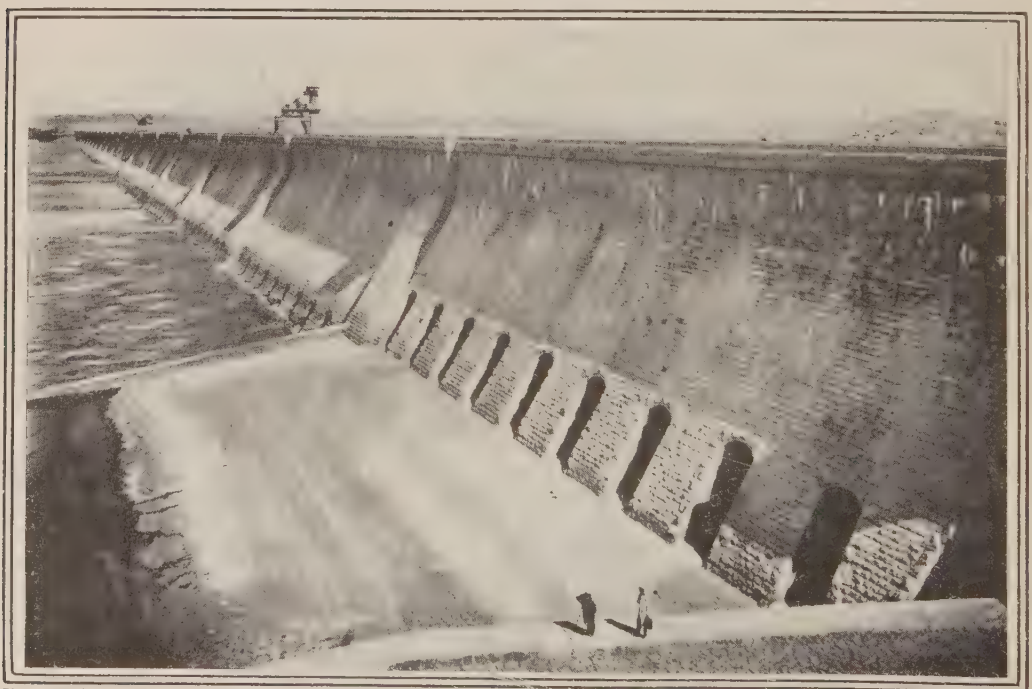
New Efforts Toward Pan-American Amity

Yet there are many evidences that Americans are coming to perceive more clearly the value of a better understanding of Latin America. The Pan-American Society of the United States was organized some months ago to "promote acquaintance between representative men of the United States and those of Latin America," and, "without involving political policies," to further and develop understanding, friendship and mutual knowledge between the American governments and peoples." The society has nothing to do with commercial affairs. The Pan-American States Association, on the other hand, has been organized frankly to promote commercial relations between this country and Latin America. It has headquarters in the center of the New York business district. The Pan-American Club will meet there and receive visiting Americans of every nationality. Other parts of the building will be occupied by a permanent free exhibition of Pan-American products, and of those of the United States for export trade, and an informational bureau and a reading room, where the best Latin-American periodicals will be kept on file. The Pan-American Mail is the name of the first American line flying the American flag to establish a regular steamship service between New Orleans and Latin-American ports. The establishment of this line has been brought about largely through the efforts of the Progressive Union, a civic body of New Orleans, to obtain efficient and moderate-priced transportation for its goods from American gulf ports to South America.

BONAR LAW, LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION TO THE ASQUITH GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND

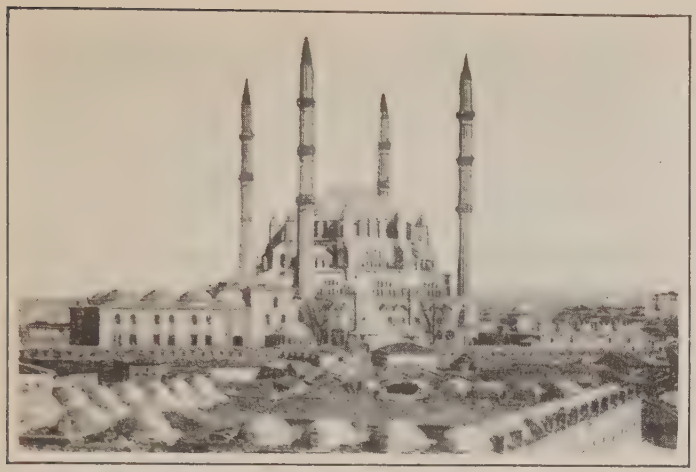
British Affairs

The Irish Home Rule bill entered upon its final stage in the British House of Commons on January 15. Mr. Bonar Law, leader of the opposition, Mr. Arthur Balfour, the former leader, and Premier Asquith made earnest, eloquent speeches. On the following day the measure was passed by the Commons by a substantial majority. It now goes to the House of Lords, who will, of course, reject it. Two years must then elapse before it can become law by the action of the Commons alone. Meanwhile, it is expected that a new election will be held to get a mandate from the country. Mr. Law, who was the center of a political storm last month because of his speech advocating a popular referendum on the tariff reform question, is a strong, even belligerent supporter of the Ulster position against Home Rule. The Ulster men and their English supporters claim that the economic and industrial revival, now in progress in Ireland, will be halted by the disorder sure to arise when Home Rule becomes a fact. They even charge the advocates of Home Rule with attempting to destroy the effect of the public works accomplished in Ireland during the past generation. Meanwhile, in the rest of the British Empire, great economic improvement is being recorded. In December the enlarged Assuan Dam in Egypt was officially inaugurated. This will greatly increase the storage capacity of the famous dam and make it possible to reclaim a million acres of new land in the valley of the Nile. The work has been under progress for seven years and has been characterized as second only to the canal at Panama as an engineering feat.



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, New York

A NEARBY VIEW OF THE HEIGHTENED ASSUAN DAM, BRITAIN'S GREAT ACHIEVEMENT IN EGYPT



THE FAMOUS MOSQUE OF SELIM IN ADRIANOPLE
(Almost as revered in Turkish eyes as is San Sofia in Constantinople)

"Bargaining" for Peace

The sessions of the peace conference were characterized generally by good feeling and courtesy. The heads of the delegations of each of the contending states presided in turn: Dr. Daneff, President of the Bulgarian Chamber of Deputies, for Bulgaria; M. Stoyan Novakovitch, for Servia; M. Eleutherios Venezelos, Greek Premier, for Greece; Count Voynovitch, for Montenegro; and Mustafa Reshad Pasha, for Turkey. The proceedings were made up of a series of tentative offers by each side with discussion, then adjournment, and then a reply from the other side. The first demands of the allies, presented on December 19, which were then termed the irreducible minimum, but which were afterward modified, were as follows: Surrender of all Turkish territory in Europe "to the west and north of a line drawn from near the Gulf of Saros to near Midia on the Black Sea." This includes all of Macedonia and the greater part of Thrace, with Adrianople; the cession of the Turkish islands in the Egean Sea, and of Crete to Greece. To the Sultan would be left the vilayets of Constantinople and Tchatalja, with a strip along the Sea of Marmora, and the Dardanelles. The Turks declared these terms impossible and hinted at mediation. However, they constantly communicated with Constantinople, and made concession after concession. The allies also slightly modified their claims, and by January 2, an understanding had been reached by which the Turks agreed to give up all except Adrianople and the Egean Islands.

Europe and the Balkan War Settlement

There is a tradition that a British schoolboy, when asked what occurred at the end of every war, (the teacher referring to a treaty of peace) replied: "England gets an island." The large proportion of historical truth in this apparently illogical statement is characteristic also of the cynical remark imputed to the German Ambassador to England, Count Lichnowsky. After one of the sessions of the Balkan peace conferences at London last month, the German statesman is said to have observed that a settlement of all modern wars in Europe, no matter who the combatants or what the result, is only possible after the great powers have "taken their brokerage for their unsolicited mediation." It took only a very few sessions of the peace conference to show the student of world politics that the failure to arrive at a definite basis for a treaty, in the six weeks and more during which the representatives of the allies and Turkey bargained in the British capital, was due, not to the unwillingness of the Bulgarians, Servians, Montenegrins, Greeks, and Turks to dispose of their differences, but to the difficulty experienced by the so-called great powers of Europe in coming to an agreement as to the nature and extent of their share in the spoils. While the officially appointed peace delegates of the former warring nations were discussing matters in St. James's Palace, the real "conference" was being held in another part of London, in a series of secret meetings of the ambassadors of the powers. The Turks looked to this conference to "ease up" the terms of the allies and hoped much from the traditional jealousies of the great powers of Europe.

The Chief "Bones of Contention"

The Turks at first refused to negotiate with the Greek representatives because the Athens government had not yet signed the armistice. During the early sessions of the conference the Greek and Turkish fleets, indeed, met in more than one engagement. Finally, however, the Turkish delegates were persuaded to deal with the Greeks, particularly after it was pointed out that the Turkish commanders themselves in Scutari and Adrianople had broken the armistice. It gradually became clear that the three chief "bones of contention" between Turkey and the allies

Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

THE BALKAN PEACE DELEGATES AND THEIR ENGLISH HOSTS AT LONDON LAST MONTH

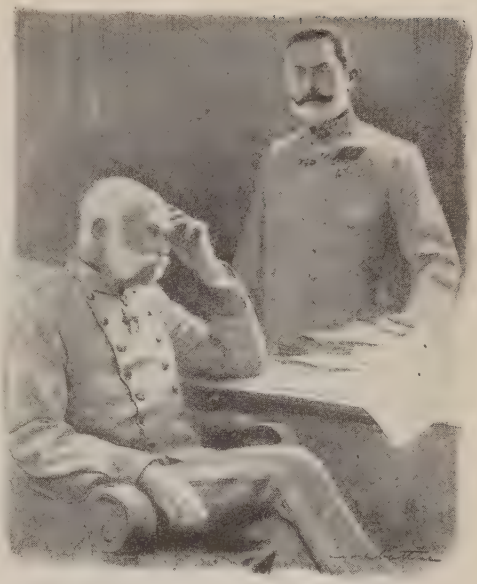
Seated, left to right.—Eleutherios Venezelos (Greece), Andra Nikolics (Servia), Stoyan Novakavitch (Servia), M. Mijouskovitch (Montenegro), Dr. Daneff (Bulgaria), M. Madjaroff (Bulgaria), Mustapha Reshad Pasha (Turkey), Lieut. Col. Popovitch (Montenegro), Dr. Milerko Visnitch (Servia). On the left of the center row.—M. Scouloudis (Greece). Second man in center row, on left.—Lord Haldane (The British Lord Chancellor). Center of center row.—M. Gennadius (Greece), next man Sir Edward Grey (British Foreign Secretary), then Mrs. Asquith on the left of her husband, Mr. Asquith (British Premier) the man on the extreme right of the center row.

were: (1) the "rectification" of the Turco-Bulgarian frontier; (2) the allotment of the spoils to the allies severally; and (3) the "auditing" of the agreement by the "ambassadorial conference."

Adrianople the Rock

Turkish pride insisted upon the retention of Adrianople (which, up to January 16, still held out). The unwavering reply of the allies to each Turkish concession which did not include Adrianople was "another proposition or a renewal of the war." The Bulgarian Premier, Dr. Guchkov is quoted as stating that any settlement that would leave Adrianople in the hands of the Turks would necessitate another war within five years. Reshad Pasha, leader of the Turkish delegates, declared that the "jewel of the Orient," as Adrianople is called, is indispensable to Turkey and that if deprived of it, the Turks would make war to get it back. As to the allotment of the spoils, even the enemies of the Balkan allies, while claiming that there have been dissensions among them, have admitted that they have presented remarkable unanimity in their operations on the field and their deliberations at the council table. On January 16 the Ambassadors of the six great powers presented a note to the Porte urging the Turks to agree to the cession of Adrianople and to leave the question of the Egean Islands to be settled by combined Europe.

THE MOSLEM MOVING DAY
(The members of the Sultan's household assisting him to get out of Europe)
From *Humoristicke Listy*. (Prague)



FRANZ JOSEPH, THE AGED KAISER OF AUSTRIA, AND HIS SUCCESSOR, THE ARCHDUKE FRANZ FERDINAND
(From a sketch by the famous French artist, L. Sabatier, appearing in *Illustration*, of Paris)

How Austria is Affected

Behind the debates and the diplomatic exchanges at the conference the forces at work to adjust finally the large lines of the situation were the conflicting interests of the great powers, chiefly Russia and Austria, in the Balkans. We have already set forth in these pages the genesis and development of the Austro-Servian quarrel. Austria's preparations for possible war told severely on the finances and industries of the Dual Monarchy, and reports from Vienna, late in December, indicated that 1912 had been the worst trade year in the memory of the oldest subject of Franz Joseph. The London *Economist*, on the day before Christmas, announced to European investors that the year 1913 would undoubtedly see the floating of loans aggregating $400,000,000 with which to repair the losses caused by the war and the mobilizations in Russia, Austria and Italy. The aged Austrian Emperor himself, now in his eighty-third year, has been in bad health, and there were reports last month of his approaching decease. His successor and nephew, the Grand Duke Franz Ferdinand, is known to be in favor of important concessions to the Slavic elements in the Dual Monarchy, and during recent weeks

KING CHARLES OF RUMANIA

(King Charles is a Hohenzollern who has figured a good deal in the news recently, since it is believed that his country has been contemplating a warlike move against Bulgaria)

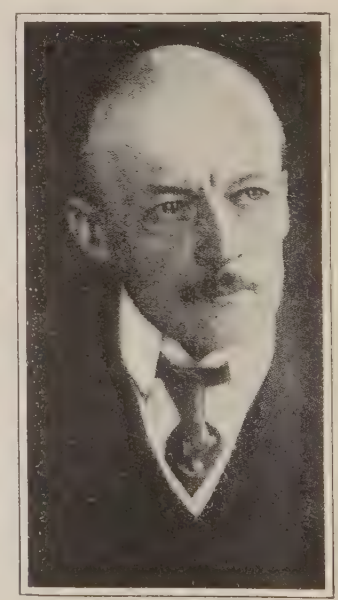
there have been reports that, when he ascends the throne, there will be formed a great Slavic confederation to include the various Slavs of Austria-Hungary and those of the Balkans. Late in December the news despatches announced that Austria and Servia had agreed on the two main points in dispute. Servia would recognize an autonomous Albania, and Austria would make no objections to Servia's using a commercial port on the Albanian coast connected by a neutral railway.

Some of the Losses of the War

The struggle of the allied Bulgarians, Servians, Montenegrins, and Greeks with Turkey has already profoundly affected the domestic life of these peoples. We refer elsewhere to the problems the Turk has to face in Asia because of his defeats in Europe. Financially the Turk is at his last stand, and the influence of the holders of Turkish bonds has undoubtedly been a powerful factor in the settlement of the future of the Moslem Empire. The losses of the war in men have fallen most heavily upon Bulgaria. An official estimate made public last month admitted that more than 21,000 dead and seriously wounded, made up the price that King Ferdinand's little country has had to pay for its victories. When the Sobranje, the Bulgarian Parliament, opened its regular sessions in Sofia in December, it was found that one-quarter of its entire number were dead, wounded or at the front. The Servian losses have been less severe but the Serb quarrel with Austria is a life and death one for the little kingdom. The Greeks, apparently, are to come off best in the final adjustment. Their sacrifice was least of all, and their share of the spoils is already admitted to have been determined upon as proportionately very large.

"Americans" in Montenegro

Late in December it was reported from Cettinje, the Montenegrin capital, that the dynasty of King Nicholas is shaky. The loss of fifteen per cent. of the entire Montenegrin army at the front and the failure to capture Scutari has embittered the Montenegrins. Moreover, some of those subjects of Nicholas who had immigrated to the United States and returned (known to their countrymen as "Americans") are actively trying to democratize the country, to expel the dynasty, and bring about the absorption of Montenegro by Servia. A new danger to Bulgaria appeared in December, when her neighbor across the Danube, Rumania, made demands for "compensation" for having remained neutral. At one time there was grave danger of hostilities breaking out between Bulgaria and Rumania. Main-



COUNT LEOPOLD BERCHTOLD, AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

(Around whose Balkan policy have centered the hopes and fears of Europe)

ly, however, through the efforts of the governments at Berlin and Vienna, it is now understood that the Rumanians and Bulgars have agreed; that Rumania will have a slice of what was formerly Bulgarian territory (for which, of course, the Bulgars will recoup themselves from Turkey) and that Bulgaria will become, as Rumania is now, one of the "minor associates" in the Triple Alliance.

"Reform" in Asiatic Turkey

The Turks,—if we may judge correctly from the utterances of their press and public men,—have already accepted the idea of their complete defeat at the hands of the Balkan allies. They realize that the diplomatic struggles of their delegates to the London Peace Conference have been more formal than effective. Their chief concern, ever since the terrible Bulgar columns hurled them back of the Tchatalja line of forts in November and December, has been the conservation of their faithful but ever neglected provinces of Anatolia. The Anatolian is the Turk of pure stock. He has been oppressed and neglected for centuries, yet uncomplaining. Moreover, his eastern neighbors, the Christian subjects of Turkey in the vilayets of Erzeroum and Van have also been neglected. It has ever been Europe before Asia. But the Christian in Turkey's Asiatic lands,—unlike the Anatolian—has a champion, albeit a self-seeking one. The Russian bear is always looking over the peaks of the Caucasus mountains watching his chance to sweep down and rescue the Christian population of that section of the Ottoman Empire. The journals of Constantinople are now urging the government to take some decisive steps to forestall the "self-invited mission" of "Holy Russia" to "emancipate" the Armenian Christians from the Turkish yoke. Finally even the patient Anatolian is now complaining.

How Much can Turkey Save?

The government at Constantinople at last, it would seem, realizes that it is time to accomplish serious and lasting reforms all over Anatolia, to better the economic and social conditions of the people and—so far as possible—to insure peace and justice. Every reform voted or executed by any Turkish government (so runs the Anatolian complaint) has benefited only East Rumelia, European Turkey. This has been true especially during the past four years, under the Young Turkish régime, and all at the expense of the poor Anatolian, who pays the high taxes and gives his time and life either to suppress revolutions or to defend the Fatherland. The Turks are apparently just now beginning to understand the causes of their defeats. It would seem that they realize they must start doing things whole heartedly in Anatolia, where the poor Turkish peasant—the backbone of the country—is worse off than his Christian neighbors under the banner of the Sultan.

Improving Internal Administration

The present government, under the grand viziership of Kiamil Pasha, is largely anti-Young Turk. It endorses the program of the so-called Liberal Union for a decentralizing administration of the provinces, for a policy of completely changing the form of government in the vilayets, giving vastly more independent powers to the governors, thus insuring a kind of local government with a recognition of different nationalities, their languages, schools, reforms, etc. The Minister of the Interior, Rechid Bey, is holding frequent meetings with prominent Armenians in Constantinople, in order with their help to elaborate a new law for the decentralization of government in the vilayets. Until such reforms can be realized, ministerial decrees to the governors direct the suppression of brigandage and Kurdish attacks on Armenians. A beginning has also been made toward bettering agricultural conditions.

Russia and the Armenians

The true inwardness of Muscovite intrigue in the Asiatic provinces of Turkey has been revealed very clearly during recent weeks. For some years past this flirting with the Armenians of the Caucasus has been going on. A recent mission sent by the Armenian Katholikos at Etchmiadzin, ecclesiastical head of all the Armenians, to St. Petersburg was received with all the official honors due to the envoy of an independent State. The object of the mission was to obtain from the Russian Government certain privileges for the Armenian language in the Caucasus, chiefly the substitution of Armenian for Russian in courts of law. The concession was granted and there has been a general relaxation of the rigorous attitude of the Russian administration in the Caucasus since the outbreak after the Russo-Japanese War. At the same time hints have been thrown out that if troubles should arise in Turkish Armenia the Russian Government would not be unwilling to intervene on behalf of the Armenians, and it has even been suggested that an autonomous Armenia might be the outcome. Russian Armenians, meanwhile, have been

particularly active. Steps were also taken at the time to send delegates to London to lay the case of the Armenians of Turkey before the Conference of Ambassadors sitting there, to endeavor to obtain the execution of the provisions of the Treaty of Berlin of 1878 affecting their conditions.

Russian Policy and the Caucasus

This action of Russia was to be expected, as a consequence of her arrangements with England regarding Persia, and is in pursuance of her traditional policy of not permitting Turkey an opportunity to reform and consolidate its empire. The rich and fertile plateau of Armenia, or Kurdistan, as the Turks call it, is a great temptation to so acquisitive a power as Russia, and there is very little doubt that the Czar's government has some secret understanding with England regarding all that part of Turkey in Asia. In a speech last month the French Premier intimated that France (also speaking for Russia) had agreed with Germany as to this country and hinted at an autonomous Armenia in the near future.

Pretexts for Intervention

As to pretexts for intervention in Armenia, they can always be found when wanted, and, at need can be created. The existence of the Armenian peasant under the Kurdish beys and aghas is intolerable beyond description. They may be plundered and murdered with impunity, and their women are subject to violence at all times without the administration punishing the malefactors. The Armenians are not permitted to carry arms, the result being that, between the Kurdish landlords and the paralysis of the authorities, nothing is done. In their despair the Armenians would accept Russian intervention were it not for their religious heads who hold out to them hopes of better conditions through the benevolent action of the European powers.

Why Turkey Needs the Armenians

Unlike the Greeks, Servians and Bulgarians of Turkey the Armenians have no free Armenian State that could stir itself on their behalf, so, not trusting Russia, they can only find hope in a reformed Turkey. With Turkey thrust out of Europe and leaving out of account the Greek fringe along the Mediterranean coast, the Armenians are the predominating element among the Christians of Northern Asiatic Turkey, and it they are allowed fair play are the best fitted, in comparison with the Turks, to raise that part of the Ottoman Empire to a high level of progress and culture. Practically all they ask is security for their lives and property, which to-day is entirely absent, and neither their interest nor their inclination allow them even to dream of rebellion against the Sultan. Yet they ask for it in vain, notwithstanding the fact that no reform in Turkey can be properly effective without the aid and good will of the Armenian people who occupy many of the most important positions of trust throughout the Moslem Empire.

Party Changes in Turkey

The Turkish leaders have also apparently come to the conclusion that they will have to adopt different tactics in their party politics, as well as in their administration, if they wish to save and render prosperous the Anatolian provinces. The Liberal Union, which several months ago overthrew the Young Turks, was a combination of all the Opposition elements, Liberals, Moderate Liberals, and Conservatives, an unnatural combination. Loutfi Fikry Bey, leader of the Liberal Union and editor of the journal, the *Tanzimat*, is organizing a new party, which is to be composed of all liberal elements, all progressives, all those who favor a complete adoption of a European civilization, "with all its advantages and shortcomings, its bad and good sides." There would thus be formed two great parties: a Progressive and Conservative. The next Parliamentary elections will occur soon after the conclusion of the peace. Late in January it was rumored that the entire cabinet had decided to resign. This, following the report that the Ministry of Kiamil Pasha contemplated calling a general council, like that of 1878, for the purpose of shifting to the people the responsibility of deciding whether to carry on war or submit to humiliating peace, was taken, in many quarters, to indicate that the Turkish Government was in a very uncertain state of mind.

Heroic Balkan Women

The part played by women in the Balkan War on both sides of the dividing line has probably been greater than that played by women in any preceding war in history. Indeed, as Mrs. Israel Zangwill, wife of the famous novelist, pointed out in a recent address in London, it may be said that the victory of the four allies over the Turks was won because every Turkish soldier was a single unit, whereas every married man in the Balkan armies counted as two. That this is not a fantastical explanation of the situation was convinc-

ingly demonstrated by Mrs. Zangwill in her speech. "In their native towns and villages the Bulgarian, Servian, Montenegrin, and Greek women are doing most of the work usually performed by men." Hence "the real base of the Balkan armies is the Balkan woman at home."

Their Work at Home and at the Front

The Balkan women in large numbers, furthermore, are actually employed in carrying provisions and ammunition to the fighting forces. The Bulgarian Queen and the Servian, Montenegrin and Greek princesses have gone to the front to do Red Cross work. The daily "service" and hospital work of the Balkan armies has been performed by the women exclusively. The women of the Turkish Red Crescent Society have rendered valuable assistance to their men in the field. On many occasions high born Turkish women, removed their veils for the first time, so that they might be unimpeded in their work of relieving suffering. A group of Turkish women engaged in this work was printed in last month's issue of this REVIEW. Mrs. Zangwill, in the speech already quoted, maintains that the position held by women in Turkey has been responsible for the inferiority of the morale of the Turkish soldiers to that of the men in the allied armies. This war in reality has been "not so much a triumph of Christianity over Mohammedanism, as the triumph of the Christian position of woman over the Mohammedan position of woman." We reproduce here a portrait of the heroic Queen of Bulgaria, who is a tireless worker in the activities of the hospital and sanitary corps of the allied army in its campaign from Kirk-Kilisseh to Tchatalja.

ELEONORE, THE HEROIC QUEEN OF BULGARIA
(Who has been untiring in her Red Cross work at the battle front in the Balkans)

What Military Germany Has Learned

One of the most significant results of the Balkan war is the radical new army organization bill which was laid before the German Reichstag last month. A Prussian officer is said to have explained the need for this increase in the German army in these words:

> Since Germany's diplomacy and military organization is based upon the Franco-Russian alliance, and since the Fatherland has to face two hostile elements, she has heretofore been dependent upon Italy and Austria for valiant help, and has counted somewhat also upon the military strength of Turkey. . . . The Turko-Italian War has necessitated the quartering of 100,000 of the best Italian troops permanently in Tripoli. The rise of the Balkan Slavs has shaken the loyalty of their brethren in Franz Joseph's realm. Turkey, moreover, as a military power, has disappeared from Europe forever. Finally, the prestige of the present German army has been weakened by the victories of French trained and French equipped armies in the Balkans. Therefore, her allies, Italy and Austria, being less ready than before, and her silent partner, Turkey, being eliminated, the increase in the efficiency of the German army is not only natural but inevitable.

The new plan, of which the details have not yet been made public, will endeavor to profit by the lessons of the war in Turkey.

Death of Two Eminent Germans

The difference between the old and the new order in Germany has been emphasized recently by the deaths of two eminent public figures. Prince Luitpold, of Bavaria, passed away on December 12, in his ninety-second year. He was the oldest member of any royal house in Europe. He had been Regent for twenty-six years, since 1886, when his nephew, King Ludwig, was adjudged "mentally incompetent to rule." A few days later Ludwig committed suicide, and was succeeded by his brother, who also became insane. The old Regent, a mild mannered man of the old régime, reigned without ruling. The new Regent is Prince Ludwig, son of the late Luitpold. The

FOUR GENERATIONS OF BAVARIAN ROYALTY

(The late Regent, Prince Luitpold, is third from the left. To his left is the present Regent, Prince Ludwig. To the extreme left is Prince Rupprecht, and the boy is Prince Luitpold)

man of the new order, who, while not reigning, counted for much more in German national life than any monarch, except the Kaiser himself, was the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Count von Kiderlen-Wächter. His energy and diplomacy, the Kaiser once declared, were among the most valuable assets of German foreign policy. Herr von Kiderlen-Wächter conducted the Morocco negotiations with France. He died on December 30, and was succeeded by Herr von Jagow, formerly German Ambassador at Rome.

China's Fight Against Opium

According to a recent official estimate, which is not excessive, there are close to 14,000,000 smokers of opium in China, and this despite the fact that an almost fifty per cent. reduction in the use of the drug has been brought about by the efforts of the Chinese government to stamp out the evil. An edict, issued under the Manchu Empire, decreed the total suppression of the habit by 1916, and there can be no doubt of a wholesome revolt against opium smoking among the Chinese people. In May, 1911, an agreement between India and China was signed at Peking, which apparently ensures the extinction of the opium traffic at the time set by the Imperial edict. An international opium conference was held at The Hague in December, 1911, in which the United States was represented, and a convention adopted (January 23, 1912) by the powers having treaties with China. But it is impossible to trace any distinct advance made by this convention. One of the chief difficulties has been not the appetite of the smoker, but the commercial greed of the British Indian producers of opium who have fought bitterly against the proposed extinction of their market. According to the provisions of the opium agreement referred to, importations were to be reduced gradually to keep pace with the decreased cultivation which the Chinese government was able to effect in its own provinces.

Is Britain in the Way?

It is the general testimony of competent observers that the Chinese government has loyally fulfilled its part of the agreement, and that the cultivation and use of the drug has decreased enormously. During the past few weeks, however, the burning of a large amount of British Indian opium stored at Anking (by young Chinese officials who believed they were furthering the anti-opium campaign), has aroused the resentment of British commercial circles, and resulted in the sending of a gunboat to Anking. This act is causing much discussion in China, and the press of the republic is accusing Great Britain of precipitating a new opium war. Some of the British newspapers are contending that Great Britain, not having recognized the Chinese Republic, is not compelled to keep to the agreement made with its imperial predecessor. The British nation, however, can scarcely afford to appear before the world in this unenviable light. It is being openly

charged by Far-Eastern journals, even by those published in the English language, that the obstacles put by the British administration in the way of the suppression, by China, of the opium business, are due to the fact that the opium trade is one of the chief bases of profit for the famous "Six Power Banking Syndicate" which is now attempting to "force" a loan upon the Chinese Republic.

A Japanese Cabinet Crisis

Japanese politics are just now feeling the effects of a kind of Samurai revival, in part growing out of the tragic suicide of General Nogi at the time of the death of the late Emperor Mutsuhito. Combined with this, however, is the influence exercised by the military party since the Russo-Japanese War, and their demands for an increase of two divisions to the army to be added to the garrison in Korea. The navy is equally insistent, and with more reason, on a large increase of the fleet. Both are checked by the economic condition of the masses of the people who are unable to bear

CHAO PING CHUN, NEW PREMIER OF CHINA

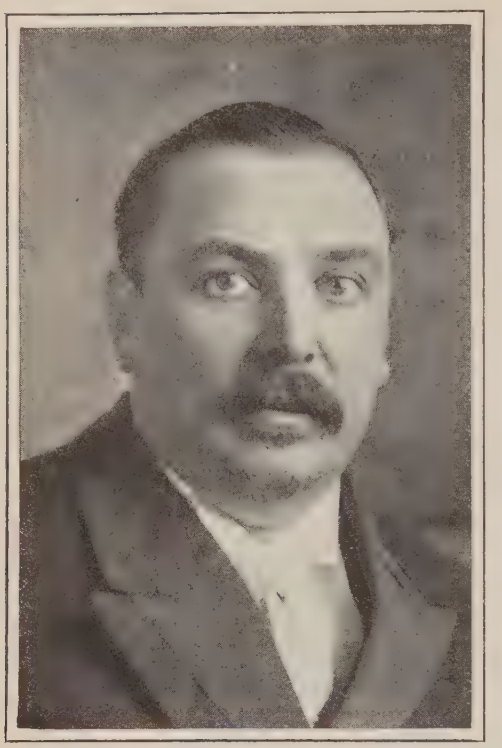
the strain of taxation and the rising cost of living. In Japan it is believed by many that the military revival is intended to create a diversion from affairs at home—which may explode at any moment—by making a raid on China. For the moment this spirit has been curbed and a change of cabinet has taken place, with Prince Katsura as Prime Minister. In reality, this is only one of those shuffling permutations that take place in Japan whenever the popular feeling rises to a dangerous degree. What is needed by the Japanese apparently is a government that will settle down seriously to meet the rising tide of popular discontent with existing conditions.

THE LATE MUTSUHITO, EMPEROR OF JAPAN, AS HE REALLY LOOKED

(A French traveler recently returned from Japan declares, in *Illustration*, Paris, that this snap shot is the only photograph taken of the late Japanese monarch in his later years)

Economic Conditions in Japan

It will come as a surprise to many to hear that more than forty per cent. of the arable land of Japan, much of it rice land, is lying idle. With this wasted land at home heavy burdens have been thrown on the Japanese people to extend the authority of their government over Korea for the benefit of the same class who want to stretch it further into China, a proceeding which (as the Japanese *Mail* has observed) would become so costly "that Japan would be crushed to the ground by the intolerable weight of its continental possessions, weak, therefore, abroad and crippled at home." The more conservative



Copyright by Ernest H. Mills
GENERAL BOTHA, PREMIER OF SOUTH AFRICA
(Whose progressive policies have triumphed over the reactionary ideas of his colleagues)

Japanese are in favor of the Empire keeping friendly with China, and for that reason advocate a steady increase to the navy to ward off foreign aggression on China. The same class is in favor of something like a Monroe Doctrine for Asia, at the same time having regard for the existing relations of a part of the continent to European countries. They would join with China to preserve her from the encroachments of Western powers, and work with her in the general interest of all Asiatic peoples. But the first necessity, in their opinion, is that Japan must suppress the entangling ambitions of the military class and strengthen herself economically to meet the future. The Katsura ministry announces as the chief features of its program, no increase in the army and navy, no loans, the same budget as last year, and a reduction of the outstanding debt by $25,000,000.

Botha's Troubles in South Africa

The resignation of General Louis Botha (late in December) as Prime Minister of the South African Union, after nearly three years' service in that capacity, apparently indicated that South African politics were taking a new line of cleavage. At the time General Botha formed his government, in 1910, when the new Union began its political life, the party lines were clearly those of race—English *vs*, Dutch. It soon become evident, however. that the opponents of General Botha's administration, in his progressive and conciliatory policies, were not in the official minority, but in the ranks of his own colleagues. It was progress *vs.* reaction among the Dutch. Questions of differences as to methods dealing with the problems of the natives, of immigration, and of the relation of the government to the large commercial enterprises controlled by foreign capital in the country separate the Dutch speaking element into two classes. There was also some radical differences over the question of South Africa's participation in Imperial defense. General Botha's chief opponents in his Cabinet were General Hertzog, Minister of Justice, and Colonel Leuchars, Minister of Commerce and Industries and Public Works. Lord Gladstone, the Governor General, finding it impossible to induce any other statesman to form a Ministry, insisted upon General Botha's return to office. On December 30, therefore, General Botha formed a new Cabinet which does not include General Hertzog and Colonel Leuchars. The new Ministry is heartily in accord with the Premier's progressive policies.

PRINCE KATSURA, WHO, FOR THE FOURTH TIME, BECOMES PREMIER OF JAPAN

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From December 17, 1912, to January 16, 1913)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

December 18.—The House passes the Burnett "literacy test" immigration bill.

December 19.—In the Senate, the third portion of the President's message is received and read. . . . Both branches adjourn for the holiday recess.

January 2.—Both branches reassemble after the holiday recess. . . . In the Senate, Mr. Bailey (Dem., Texas) delivers his farewell address, assailing the referendum and the recall and pleading for the maintenance of a representative democracy.

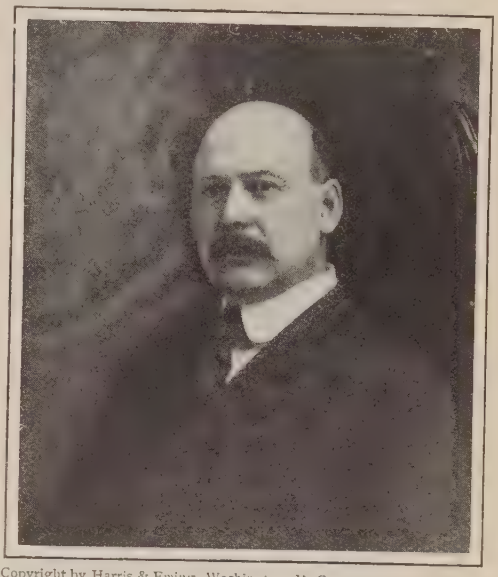
January 3.—In the House, the President's third message is read.

January 6.—In the Senate, Judge Archbald testifies in his own behalf in the impeachment proceedings.

January 7.—In the Senate, the taking of testimony in the impeachment case against Judge Archbald comes to an end.

January 10.—In the Senate, the arguments in the Archbald impeachment trial are concluded.

January 13.—In the Senate, Judge Robert W. Archbald, of the Commerce Court, is found guilty on five of the thirteen articles of impeachment charged against him by the House of Representatives; he is removed from the bench and disqualified from holding any office under the United States. . . . The House amends the Post-Office appropriation bill so as to annul the recent order of the President placing 35,000 fourth-class postmasters in the classified service.



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HON. JOHN W. WEEKS, OF MASSACHUSETTS

(Mr. Weeks, who has served eight years as a Republican member of the House of Representatives, was chosen last month to succeed the Hon. W. Murray Crane in the United States Senate)

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HON. JOSEPH W. BAILEY, OF TEXAS

(Who retires from the United States Senate, where he held a position of leadership on the Democratic side)

January 14.—The House, by vote of 146 to 101, indorses President Taft's order placing fourth-class postmasters in the civil service.

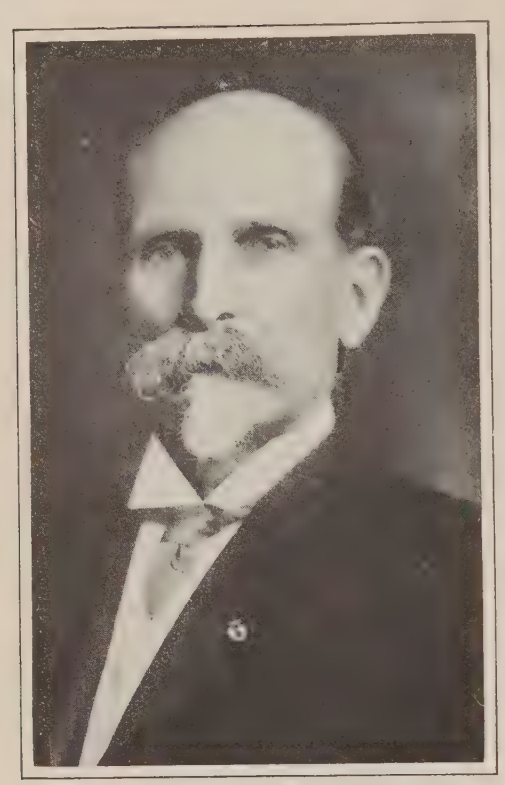
POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN

December 17.—President-elect Wilson, speaking at the Southern Society dinner in New York, gives warning to those who would attempt to embarrass the Democratic administration by creating a panic. . . . President Taft names the nine members of the new Commission on Industrial Relations.

December 18.—A New York hotel-keeper testifies before the police-investigating committee that he paid $100 a month for twelve years as "protection money." . . . It is stated at Washington that President Taft has decided to accept the offer of the Kent professorship of law at Yale University.

December 19.—President Taft urges Congress to adopt legislation which would confer upon members of the Cabinet the right to sit in the House and Senate and take part in discussions. . . . J. P. Morgan testifies before the special Congressional committee that it would be impossible to control the money power of the country.

December 20.—The Government brings suit in the District Court at Los Angeles to compel the Southern Pacific Railroad to release oil lands in California valued at $250,000,000, patent for which is alleged to have been fraudulently obtained.



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

GEN. POWELL CLAYTON

(Who has just retired as the Arkansas member of the Republican National Committee, after a continuous service of forty years)

December 21.—President Taft leaves Key West, on the battleship *Arkansas*, for a visit to the Panama Canal.

December 23.—A federal grand jury at New York indicts President Mellen, of the New Haven Railroad, President Chamberlin, of the Grand Trunk, and Alfred W. Smithers, chairman of the board of directors of the latter system, charged with conspiring to form a combination in restraint of trade.

December 24.—Governor Blease frees seventy-nine convicts in the South Carolina penitentiary, seventeen of whom had been convicted of murder. . . . President Taft and his party arrive at Colon.

December 26.—President Taft finishes his inspection of the Panama Canal and sails for Key West.

December 28.—Thirty-eight labor-union officials, including President Ryan of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, are found guilty in the Government's dynamite-conspiracy trial at Indianapolis.

December 30.—Prison sentences, varying from one to seven years, are pronounced upon thirty-three of the convicted labor-union officials in the federal court at Indianapolis.

January 1.—The parcel post goes into effect throughout the country.

January 2.—The editor and publisher of the *Daily Capital*, of Boise, Idaho, are fined $500 each and sentenced to ten days imprisonment for printing Theodore Roosevelt's criticism of a decision of the State Supreme Court. . . . A coalition of the Progressive and Democratic members of the New Hampshire legislature results in the election of Samuel D. Felker (Dem.) as Governor and a Progressive as Speaker of the House of Representatives.

January 3.—Joseph W. Bailey (Dem.) resigns as United States Senator from Texas.

January 4.—President Taft, in an address before the International Peace Forum at New York City, favors the arbitration of the dispute with England over Panama Canal tolls. . . . The Governor of Texas appoints R. M. Johnston (Dem.), editor of the Houston *Post*, to succeed Joseph W. Bailey as United States Senator.

January 6.—The Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives begins its public hearings preparatory to framing the tariff-revision bills for the special session to be called by President Wilson. . . . The United States Supreme Court, in the Patten cotton-pool case, reverses the lower court and holds that a "corner" in any commodity transported in interstate commerce constitutes a restraint of trade and is a criminal offense under the Sherman law. . . . The Governor of Arkansas appoints J. N. Heiskell (Dem.), editor of the *Arkansas Gazette*, to succeed the late Jeff Davis as United States Senator.

January 7.—An investigation of the so-called Shipping Trust, which is alleged to control 90 per cent. of the oversea traffic of the United States, is begun by the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

January 8.—The Comptroller of the Treasury, Lawrence O. Murray, testifying before the "Money Trust" investigating committee, states that in his opinion the national banking law is unscientific and inadequate.

January 10.—George F. Baker, the New York banker, states to the Congressional committee investigating the Money Trust that he believes it would be possible for a concentration of money power, in bad hands, to wreck the country.

January 13.—The Presidential electors chosen throughout the country on November 5, 1912, meet in the capitals of their respective States and formally cast their ballots for President and Vice-President; the votes of the eight Republican electors of Utah and Vermont are cast for Nicholas Murray Butler for the Vice-Presidency, in place of James S. Sherman, the deceased nominee.

January 14.—Governor Wilson, the President-elect, sends his last regular message to the New Jersey legislature, urging many reforms (see page 131). . . . The Massachusetts legislature chooses Congressman John W. Weeks (Rep.) to succeed W. Murray Crane in the United States Senate. . . . In Colorado, Governor John F. Shafroth (Dem.) is elected United States Senator to succeed Simon Guggenheim, and ex-Governor Charles S. Thomas (Dem.) is chosen to serve for the unexpired term of the late Charles J. Hughes, Jr. . . . The Montana legislature elects Thomas J. Walsh (Dem.) to succeed Joseph M. Dixon (Rep.) in the United States Senate. . . . The Michigan and Idaho legislatures reëlect William Alden Smith (Rep.) and William E. Borah (Rep.), respectively.

January 15.—Ex-Congressman Edwin C. Burleigh (Rep.) is chosen United States Senator to succeed Obadiah Gardner (Dem.)

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN

December 17.—Prince Taro Katsura accepts the Premiership of Japan.

December 18.—The Spanish Chamber of Deputies ratifies the treaty with France over Morocco. . . . Mexican insurgents capture the important towns of Ascension and Casas Grandes.

December 23.—The Viceroy of India, Baron Hardinge, is seriously wounded by a bomb thrown at him upon his formal entrance into Delhi.

December 25.—Dr. Elias Malpartida tenders his resignation as Prime Minister of Peru, following a vote of censure passed by the Senate.

December 26.—Premier Poincaré announces his candidacy for the Presidency of France.

December 31.—King Alfonso requests Count Romanones to continue as Premier and reorganize the cabinet of the late Premier Canalejas.

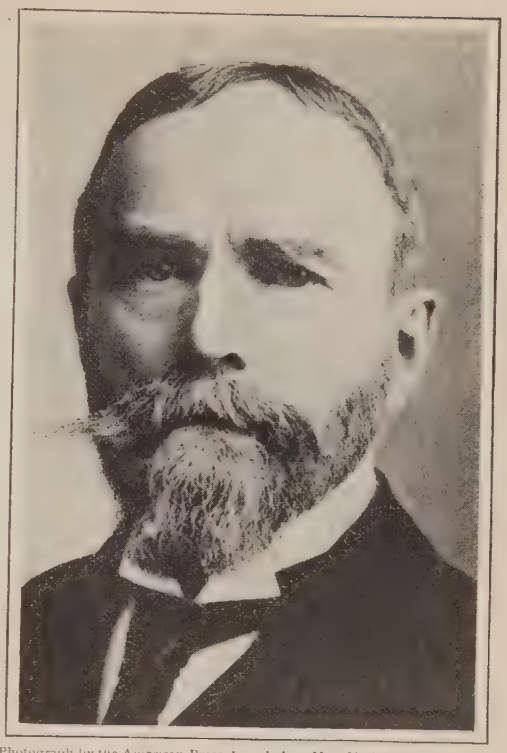
January 1.—The Russian Council of the Empire confirms the law recently passed by the Duma abolishing the serf class in the Caucasus.

January 3.—The Portuguese cabinet under Premier Leite resigns.

January 5.—It is announced at Berlin that Herr von Jagow, the German ambassador at Rome, will be the new head of the Foreign Office.

January 8.—Dr. Alfonso Costa, leader of the Democrats, forms a new ministry in Portugal. . . . Premier Romanones announces that Spain has decided to resume formal relations with the Vatican. . . . Alfred Deakin resigns the leadership of the opposition in Australia.

January 10.—It is announced that the Liberal government in Great Britain is planning extensive improvements in the educational system.



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

THE LATE JAMES R. KEENE, LAST OF THE GREAT STOCK EXCHANGE OPERATORS

Photograph by the American Press Association

MR. JAMES A. PATTEN, OF CHICAGO

(Following a recent decision of the Supreme Court, Mr. Patten will be brought to trial, under the Sherman law, for conducting a "corner" in the cotton market some years ago)

January 12.—M. Millerand, the French Minister of War, resigns because of criticism of his reinstatement of Colonel du Paty de Clam, one of the Dreyfus accusers.

January 15.—The French parliament begins balloting to elect a President of the republic. . . . The Irish Home Rule bill enters upon its final stage in the British House of Commons, brilliant speeches being made by Prime Minister Asquith and Mr. Balfour, the former leader of the Opposition.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

December 17.—The peace conference at London, to arrange a settlement of the war between Turkey and Servia, Bulgaria, Montenegro, and Greece, is adjourned in order to enable the Turkish representatives to receive further instructions.

December 20.—It is announced at London that the six European powers are agreed upon the autonomy of Albania and the granting to Servia of commercial access to the Adriatic.

December 23.—At the peace conference in London, the territorial demands of the allies are presented to the Turkish representatives. . . . It is announced at Stockholm that a neutrality agreement has been signed by Norway, Sweden, and Denmark.

December 25.—President Porras of Panama gives a ball in honor of President Taft, at Panama.

December 28.—The Turkish counter proposals are submitted to the allies at the resumption of the peace conference in London.

December 29.—It is officially stated at St. Petersburg that minimum tariff rates between Russia and the United States will be in effect even though the commercial treaty expires on January 1.

January 1.—The Turkish delegates to the peace conference in London offer to cede the greater portion of European Turkey to the allies.

January 6.—The peace conference at London is adjourned *sine die*, after the Turkish delegates refuse to give up Adrianople.

January 12.—Representatives of the six-power group of bankers meet at London and approve the agreement regarding the proposed $125,000,000 loan to China.

January 15.—Gen. Cipriano Castro, the exiled former President of Venezuela, is refused admittance to the United States under the immigration laws. . . . The United States cruiser *Denver* is sent to Acapulco, Mexico, the lives of Americans in that vicinity being endangered.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

December 18.—Roland G. Garros, the French aviator, flies across the Mediterranean from Tunis to Sicily, a distance of 160 miles.

December 20.—A memorial service for the late Whitelaw Reid is held at Westminster Abbey. . . . Twenty-two persons are drowned following the wreck of the steamer *Florence*, in St. Mary's Bay, Newfoundland.

December 22.—A severe earth shock is felt at Messina and Reggio, Italy.

December 23.—The Khedive of Egypt formally opens the extensive additions to the Assouan Dam, adding twenty-six feet to its height. . . . The men's garment workers of New York City vote to strike for shorter hours, increased pay, and safe and sanitary shops.

December 25.—Fifty-seven passengers on the steamship *Turrialba*, stranded near Atlantic City, N. J., are transferred to the revenue cutter *Seneca*.

December 26.—It is reported that 1714 persons have died from cholera in Mecca, Arabia, in the last four days.

Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

FRANCIS KEMPE, CHAMPION SKI-JUMPER, MAKING 132-FEET LEAP AT STOUGHTON, WIS.

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THE DISCOVERERS OF THE NORTH AND SOUTH POLES (Admiral Robert E. Peary, on the left, and Captain Roald Amundsen. The latter is visiting this country and lecturing)

December 27.—President-elect Wilson is warmly greeted by the inhabitants of Staunton, Va., where he was born, upon his fifty-sixth birthday.

December 30.—Seventy-five thousand workers on men's garments in New York City go on strike, the main demand being for a 20 per cent. increase in wages.

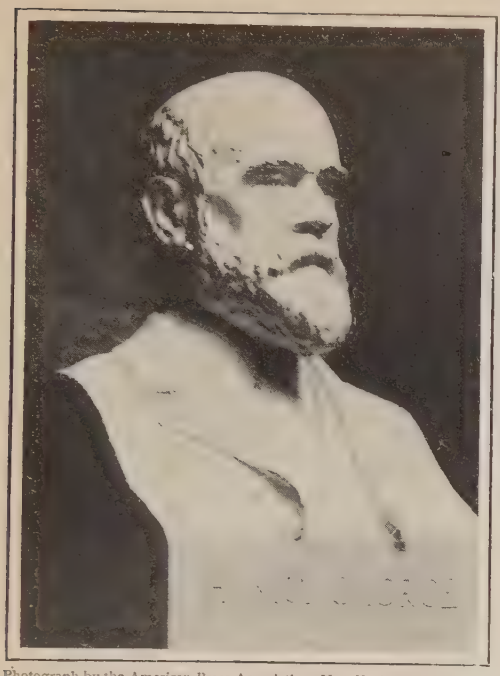
January 2.—The textile strike at Little Falls, N. Y., is ended through the efforts of the State Board of Arbitration.

January 3.—Thomas A. Edison, the inventor, gives a demonstration in his laboratory at West Orange, N. J., of talking moving pictures.

January 4.—The funeral service of Whitelaw Reid, in the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, New York City, is attended by President Taft, ex-President Roosevelt, the British ambassador, and many other public men.

January 7.—The orange and lemon crops in California are seriously damaged by frost, the loss amounting to more than $15,000,000. . . . The German Antarctic exploration party under Lieutenant Filchner returns to Buenos Aires after fifteen months in the southern seas. . . . The steamship *Rosecrans* is driven by a gale upon the rocks of Peacock Spit, Oregon, and sinks with the captain and thirty members of the crew.

January 9.—The representatives of the Eastern railroads and the firemen who threaten to strike fail to reach an agreement and request the mediation of Judge Knapp, of the Commerce Court, and Commissioner of Labor Neill.



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

A BUST OF HENRY GEORGE, RECENTLY PRESENTED TO THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

January 10.—Capt. Roald Amundsen, the discoverer of the South Pole, arrives at New York to begin a lecture tour of the United States.

January 12.—The transatlantic steamship *Uranium* runs aground at the entrance to Halifax harbor; 883 passengers are transferred to ships which go to her assistance.

January 13.—The Ohio River rises rapidly, causing flood conditions at Cincinnati, Evansville, Wheeling, and elsewhere.

OBITUARY

December 17.—William S. Price, dean of the Philadelphia bar, 95. . . . Rev. Abbott E. Kittredge, D. D., a prominent New York clergyman, 79.

December 18.—Will Carleton, the poet, 67. . . . J. Cheever Goodwin, author of many musical comedies, 60.

December 19.—Brig.-Gen. Theophilus F. Rodenbough, U. S. A., retired, editor of the *Journal of the Military Service Institution* and one of the editors of the "Photographic History of the Civil War," 74. . . . Gen. Domingo Diaz, instrumental in bringing about the acquisition of the Isthmus of Panama by the United States, 71. . . . Thomas Brennan, formerly a prominent Irish patriot.

December 21.—Brig.-Gen. Justus Morris Brown, U. S. A., retired, 72. . . . Col. James A. Stahle, formerly Representative in Congress from Pennsylvania, 82.

December 24.—Jean Baptiste Edouard Detaille, the noted French painter of battle scenes, 64. . . . Rev. Albert C. Bunn, M. D., the first medical missionary to the interior of China, 67. . . . Ex-Congressman Samuel Matthews Robertson, of Pennsylvania, 60.

December 25.—William H. Stiner, a prominent New York newspaper correspondent during the Civil War, 78. . . . Eugene Smith, editor of the *Aquarium*, 52.

December 27.—Representative John G. McHenry, of the 16th Pennsylvania district, 54. . . . Ex-Congressman Alvah A. Clark, of New Jersey, 72. . . . William Carter, formerly a well known banjo player and comedian, 63. . . . John Weimann, of New York, a prominent German editor and poet, 64.

December 28.—Rowland Ward, the noted English taxidermist.

December 29.—Robert Lee MacCameron, the portrait painter, 46. . . . Rear-Admiral Philip H. Cooper, U. S. N., retired, 68.

December 30.—Alfred von Kiderlen-Wächter, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the German Empire, 60.

December 31.—Henry Carey Baird, of Philadelphia, publisher and noted Protectionist, 87.

January 1.—Brig.-Gen. Robert Murray, U. S. A. retired, a veteran of the Mexican and Civil Wars, 90. . . . Dr. William Henry Watson, a prominent physician of New York State, 83. . . . John J. Finn, ex-Judge of the Superior Court of San Francisco, 73.

January 2.—Jeff Davis, United States Senator from Arkansas, 50. . . . Gen. Edwin Mervin Lee, a Governor of Wyoming Territory, 77. . . . Louis B. Akin, a painter of Indian life, 42.

January 3.—James R. Keene, the financier and turfman, 74. . . . Roswell Miller, head of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad, 69. . . . James Hamilton, Duke of Abercorn, 75.

January 4.—Brig.-Gen. Charles G. Sawtelle, U. S. A., retired, 78. . . . Count Alfred von Schlieffen, formerly German Field-Marshal, 79.

January 5.—Dr. Lewis Swift, the noted astronomer, 92. . . . Capel Lain Weems, formerly Representative from Ohio, 52. . . . Major Foxhall Alexander Daingerfield, the well-known racehorse breeder, 73.

January 6.—Enos H. Nebeker, United States Treasurer under President Harrison, 76.

January 7.—Paul Nash, United States Consul-General at Budapest, 35. . . . Charles Carroll Soule, the Boston book publisher, 70.

January 8.—Anton Schott, formerly a well-known opera singer, 66.

January 9.—William Miller, a prominent lawyer and head of the Christian Science Church of Canada, 74. . . . Ex-Congressman Warren B. English, of California.

January 13.—Charles Allen, formerly Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, 86.

January 14.—Samuel D. Coykendall, president of the Ulster & Delaware Railroad and prominently connected with educational and philanthropic institutions in New York State, 75. . . . Vice-Admiral Palma Firmin Christian Gourdon, of the French navy, 69.

January 15.—Chief Justice Frederick Byron Hall, of the Connecticut Supreme Court of Errors, 70. . . . Prof. George A. Koenig, of the Michigan School of Mines, 68. . . . Bertram, Earl of Ashburnham, owner of vast estates in England, 72.

CURRENT HISTORY IN CARICATURE

WHY, FOR MERCY'S SAKE, DON'T YOU STOP THAT DISGRACEFUL ROW ON YOUR BEAT!
AND WHY DON'T YOU STOP THEM ON YOURS.
CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICAN REBELLIONS.
MEXICAN WAR
BALKAN WAR
From The Minneapolis Journal.
Sunday, Jan. 5, 1913.

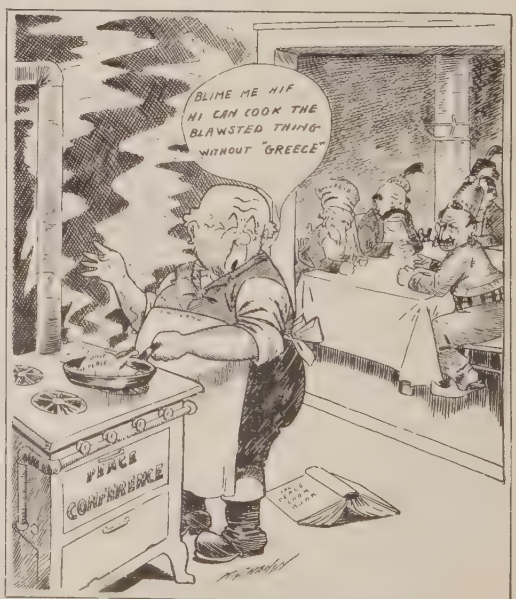
THE POT AND THE KETTLE

(Uncle Sam wonders why the Powers cannot preserve the peace in their hemisphere, and the Powers call his attention to the disturbances on his own side of the world)

From the *Journal* (Minneapolis)

THIS SUSPENSE IS AWFUL

From the *Inquirer* (Philadelphia)



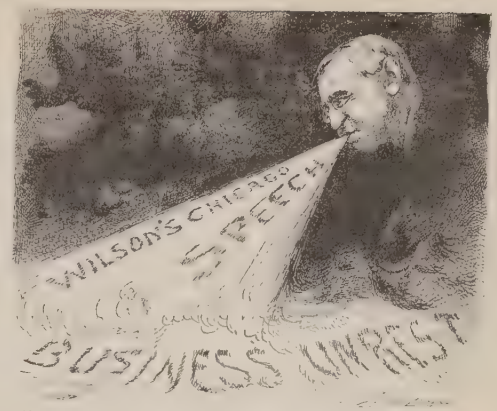
HAVING A LITTLE TROUBLE IN THE KITCHEN

From the *News-Tribune* (Duluth)

A MATTER OF MAKE-UP

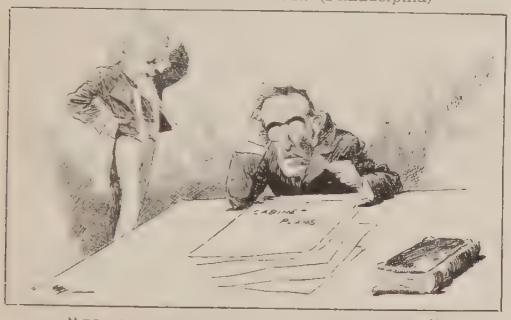
("The Presidency is not a rosewater affair. This is an office in which a man must put on his war paint."—President-elect Wilson, at Staunton, Va.)

From the *North American* (Philadelphia)



"BLOW, WIND, BLOW, AND CRACK YOUR CHEEK"

From the *Inquirer* (Philadelphia)

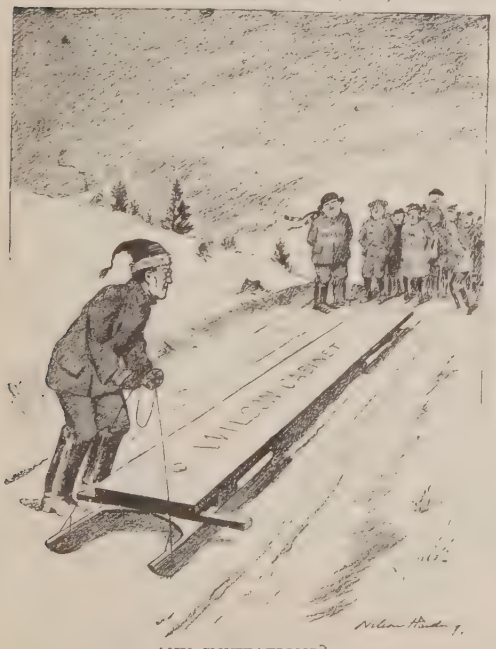


"PLEG-TEGGIT, WOODY, SAY SUMPIN"

From the *Leader* (Cleveland, Ohio)

TROUBLES BEFORE THE VOYAGE

From the *Daily News* (Chicago)



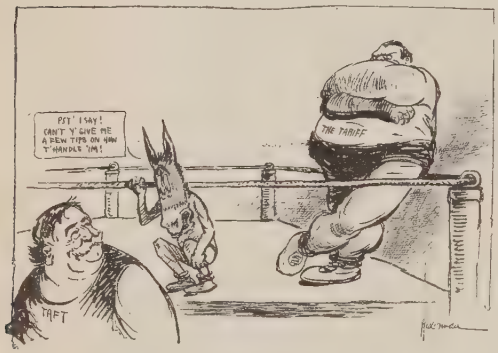
ANY INVITATIONS?

From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)

MR. WILSON TAKING CHARGE OF THE SCHOOL

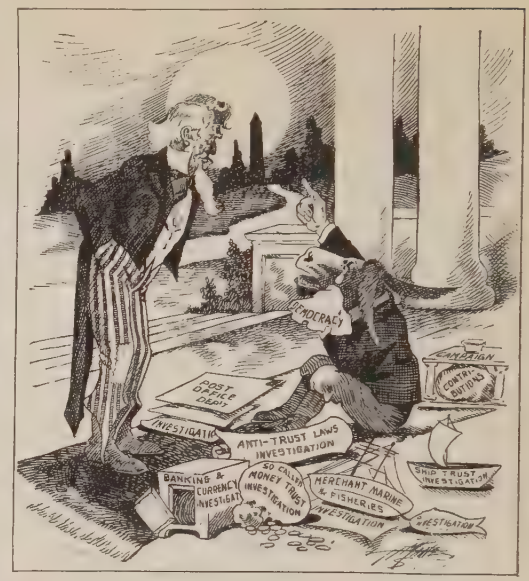
From the *American* (New York)

CATCHING 'EM WITH THE GOODS
From the *Advertiser* (Montgomery, Ala.)



FROM TALK TO TACKLE
DEMOCRATIC PARTY (to Mr. Taft): "I say, can't y' give me a few tips on how to handle him?"
From the *Ohio State Journal* (Columbus, Ohio)

THERE'S A DARK PERSON HANGING AROUND THE HOUSE
(The "dark person" being Mr. Filipino, demanding the redemption of Democratic promises of independence)
From the *Oregonian* (Portland)



NOT YET, BUT SOON
UNCLE SAM: "What are you crying about?"
DEMOCRACY: "The moon—I want to investigate it."
From the *Herald* (Washington, D. C.)

The cartoons on this page touch on some of the problems with which the Democrats will have to deal. One of the most delicate of these will doubtless be the policy to be pursued with regard to the Philippines. The Filipinos are now counting on independence.

WOLVES IN SHEEP'S CLOTHING
States' rights a disguise for public land exploiters
(Mr. Pinchot last month called attention to the danger threatening our national conservation policy from the advocates of the States' rights doctrine)
From the *Evening News* (Newark, N. J.)

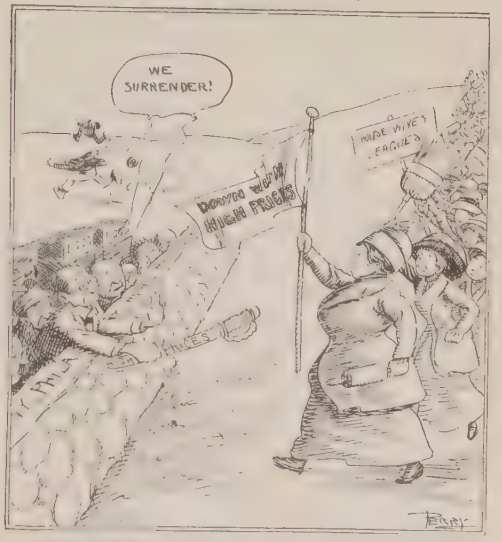
THE PARCEL POST IS A SUCCESS ALREADY
From the *Record-Herald* (Chicago)

WORRYING ABOUT UNCLE SAM'S NEW JOB
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis)

"BOOB, WHAT ARE YOU LAUGHING AT?" "OH, NOTHIN'; ONLY SOMEBODY SAID YOU'D HELP ME CARRY THIS BUNDLE"
From the *Leader* (Cleveland)

A CONSIDERABLE WORM FOR AN EARLY BIRD
(Governor Foss and the New Haven Railroad)
From the *Globe* (New York)

LITTLE JACK HORNER AND HIS COTTON CORNER
From the *American* (Baltimore)



THE LADIES AND THE HIGH COST OF LIVING
From the *Journal* (Sioux City), Iowa

NICE OLD LADY: "There, there; nice kitty; nice doggy; let's all be friends."

T. R. "Speaking for myself, sic 'em, Towser."

NOT BUILT FOR PEACE

(Apropos of Mr. Frank A. Munsey's plan of a "holding company" for amalgamating the Progressive and Republican parties.)
From the *Globe* (New York)

REVISING THE EMBLEM OF THE PROGRESSIVES
From the *Daily News* (Chicago)

MR. BARNES TRYING TO AWAKEN THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

"I can't get 'em up, I can't get 'em up, I can't get 'em up in the morning." From the *Press* (New York)

GIVE IT ANOTHER TURN, GOVERNOR SULZER!
From the *Sun* (Baltimore)

AN EASY CHOICE

(Will the Democrats take Mr. Bryan's suggestion and abandon the seniority rule in the matter of Senate committees?)
From the *Evening News* (Newark, N. J.)

EUROPE'S MANY-SIDED DEMOCRACY

BY JESSE MACY

[Professor Macy, the author of "The English Constitution," "Political Parties in the United States," and "Party Organization and Machinery," is now in Europe making a comprehensive study of party systems, particularly in the smaller countries. The following is the first of a series of four articles which Professor Macy will contribute to the REVIEW OF REVIEWS during the current year. The next article will deal especially with the party systems in Scandinavia, Holland and Belgium, or the general subject of party as related to free government as exemplified in selected European states. THE EDITOR.]

DEMOCRACY has been defined as one of the three forms of government. It is now seen that popular government may assume any form save that of a government by a privileged class. Jefferson taught that democracy must be local; that power must be retained in the hands of the people in their local municipalities; that a unified central government could not be democratic. In England power became thoroughly centralized in Parliament, local government disappeared, and now this unified central government is becoming completely democratic.

ENGLAND'S DEMOCRATIC PROGRESS

That which Jefferson deemed impossible is here being realized. The people first attained control with the use of a Cabinet and a House of Commons exercising both executive and legislative power. Local government is now being slowly re-created by this centralized democracy. The democratic city and county in England are recent gifts from an all-powerful government. Time was when monarchy was looked upon as a contradiction to democracy. This is now being disproved.

Autocracy is, of course, a denial of democracy; but with the passing of despotic power in Russia, Turkey, and China, autocracy is practically at an end. Henceforward all monarchies recognize some element of national or popular control. Between the first legal limitations and complete democratic monarchy there are many grades in the distribution of authority. European writers have recently fallen into the habit of distinguishing between constitutional and parliamentary monarchy. The first designates a government in which the crown is, in a measure, independent of the legislature. Russia and Germany represent extremes in constitutional monarchy. The parliamentary type appears when political power becomes fused into, or subject to, the legislature, and the monarch reigns but does not rule. England became parliamentary at the great revolution of 1688. Such a government may still be far removed from a democracy.

Since the Reform Act of 1832 England has been gradually passing to the final stage of complete democracy. Not only has the crown furnished no serious obstruction to this change, but it has been highly contributory to it. A note from the king to the Prime Minister removed the opposition of the House of Lords to the first act extending the franchise. A late act depriving the upper house of much of its remaining power was carried by means of a statement from the Prime Minister that in case of continued obstruction enough new peers would be added to pass the bill. Monarchs are trained to recognize and support public sentiment. The crown is held subject to this condition. Projects of legislation now clearly outlined will make England one of the most democratic countries in the world; yet royalty with popular approval remains.

The three Scandinavian states in their recent history exemplify three types of monarchy,—constitutional, parliamentary, and democratic. About a hundred years ago Norway was united to Sweden under a constitution which, as interpreted in Norway, gave to the people a parliamentary government.

NORWAY'S EXPERIENCE

Through a single-chambered legislature, elected by universal suffrage, the state claimed full control of its own affairs. The Swedish Government interpreted the constitution differently; but over the veto of the King aristocracy was abolished. The people were thoroughly united and determined to govern themselves. After nearly a hundred years of friction and conflict they set up an independent government. They became a free people, a true democracy, having equal manhood suffrage and ready to extend the suffrage to women. There had been a party

in Norway which favored a republic. These looked to the United States as a model.

Steps were taken to separate the executive from the legislature. But when the time for independence came this party could not agree upon a constitution. The experience of England tended to make monarchy popular, and, by an overwhelming majority, the Norwegians elected a king; but in choosing a dynasty they abated not a whit of their democracy. They account themselves the freest people in the world. The King knows that he is not to govern. He fulfills the formal function of appointing a ministry upon the advice of the leader of the dominant party in the legislature, and in case of doubt he is advised by the Speaker of the House. He gives royal assent to whatever the cabinet recommends. He is not forbidden to suggest changes in the cabinet program, but if he does this it is with deference and moderation. If at any time the people of Norway should decide to follow the example of France and choose a President, it would become the duty of the King to render royal aid in making the change, as did Dom Pedro of Brazil. Such a transfer of name and function should not be called a revolution; it is simply the modification of a detail in administration.

SWEDISH AND DANISH TENDENCIES

Sweden presents a different type of monarchy. Here aristocracy remains. There is an Upper House in the legislature representing interests diverse from those represented in the lower. There is rivalry and conflict between the two houses. The King takes an active part in cabinet meetings. The government is properly described as a Parliamentary but not a democratic monarchy.

Denmark exhibits still another variety of the same tendencies. Swept along by the movements for liberty in 1848, Denmark adopted a distinctly parliamentary government with the monarch as nominal head. There was a relapse to a constitutional monarchy in the conflict with Germany in 1866 and a contest ensued to regain parliamentary control. This lasted to the end of the century. Not many years ago there existed in Denmark rifle clubs organized for the purpose of defending parliamentary rights. The triumph of parliament was complete in 1901. As in Sweden, there is a reactionary Upper House. In both countries the people are rapidly gaining full control of their government Legislation is pending in the Danish Parliament for the reform of the Upper House and the extension of the suffrage to women. These are but examples of a universal tendency. Royalty is nowhere secure except as a servant of democracy.

DIVERSITIES IN MONARCHICAL GOVERNMENT

All monarchies are becoming democratic, yet no two are producing the same form of government. Differences appear in the organization of the legislature, in the relation of the ministers to the legislature, and in the relation of party organizations to the government. Some features of cabinet government appear in all free governments evolved out of monarchy. England first created the cabinet system of government; yet in no state outside of the British Empire has the cabinet government of two equally balanced political parties been adopted. Instead of two parties the states on the Continent have several parties, and cabinets are formed by more or less temporary coalitions. The very terms "party" and "party government" have a variety of meanings. No two states are alike. Switzerland has long been a school of democracy for the world, but in this state there has never been any semblance of party government.

Scandinavia is now appropriating Swiss institutions which are sure to effect changes in the cabinet system. Sweden has adopted proportional representation. Norway has used the referendum on noted occasions, and thoughtful citizens are considering its farther extension. Government by the people is still in the experimental stage. Each state goes its own way, using either local or imported institutions as occasion serves. Democracy excludes nothing in form and method except the rule of a privileged class. It may even appropriate the services of an aristocracy. Such an idea is as old as Plato and Aristotle. The New Testament distinctly recognizes an aristocracy of service. Some experiences reported from the communes and cantons of Switzerland suggest the realization of an aristocratic ideal. The good man is elected to office because he excels in public service and for the same reason he is kept in office. The son is trained and educated as a servant of the community and is freely chosen to succeed his father. Through education and training democracy has already made royalty its servant. It is not impossible that by a similar process there may be evolved a democratic aristocracy.

European democracy, while diverse in form, is rapidly becoming a unit in aim and pur-

pose. It is anti-military. The great military powers are held responsible for the abominations which have resulted in the Balkan war. To deter these states from again interfering in the interest of tyranny threats of a general strike were made. The subjects of the great states are realizing that their own liberties are attacked when they furnish support for the subjection of a feeble state. For centuries the great states have been bound by agreement to respect the rights of the smaller states; but these promises have been repeatedly broken. Democracy is now furnishing a guaranty which despotism could never give.

THE SMALL STATES GAINING SECURITY

The small states are winning the active sympathy and support of the citizens of all the states. The crimes against Poland and Finland would not now be repeated. Germany would not now annex Schleswig-Holstein, as was done in 1866. The annexed peoples are not conquered; they are encouraged by all democrats to maintain the fight for their local liberties. England annexed Ireland eight hundred years ago; but Ireland was never conquered. The people have been massacred by invading armies; they have been starved and driven from their country, but they have never been subdued. Just now the English democracy is accomplishing for Ireland what eight centuries of coercion has failed to do. The two peoples are becoming one on the basis of mutual aid in the interest of freedom.

Following the example of Ireland the people of all the annexed territories in Europe are encouraged never to submit to coercion. In this they have the sympathy and support of the mass of the people in the great states as well as the small states. As a matter of principle, European democracy cannot afford to permit any feeble people to be enslaved. The small states are to have their day. They are so many hostages for the good behavior of the dangerous military powers. Each little state is an experiment station for solving the common problems of free government. Each is a school for universal politics. Switzerland has long been thus recognized. Other small states are equally rich in the exemplification of Argus-eyed democracy.

THE NEWSPAPER PUBLICITY LAW

BY THE HON. JONATHAN BOURNE, JR.

(United States Senator from Oregon)

SOME critics of the act requiring newspapers and magazines to publish the names of their owners, editors, managers, stockholders, and security-holders, and requiring daily newspapers to make sworn statements of their circulation, contend that this is an interference with the freedom of the press.

As a matter of fact the law does not in any way interfere with the freedom of the press. It leaves every newspaper and magazine absolutely free to express its own opinions or the opinions of others and to publish any news or any facts that it may choose to publish, subject to the same accountability for libel that existed prior to the enactment of this law.

Though I was not the originator of this law, I supported it in committee and in the Senate and am in hearty accord with its purposes. That I would not favor it if it interfered with the freedom of the press may be inferred from my vigorous protest against the assumed power of the Postmaster General to discriminate between periodicals by ordering one carried by freight while a rival publication is carried by mail. The law now under discussion gives no official the slightest inquisitorial or controlling power.

There are three requirements in the newspaper publicity law; that the ownership, financial control, and editorial management shall be made public semi-annually; that all editorial or reading matter for which compensation is received shall be marked "Paid Advertising"; that daily newspapers shall make semi-annual sworn statements of their circulation.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS NOT IN QUESTION

To assert that such provisions interfere with the freedom of the press, is to make a strange perversion of the word "freedom."

Let us reflect upon the contention of the critics of this law. The freedom of the press differs in no respect from the liberty of the individual citizen. The publication of a newspaper entitles a man to no greater rights than the ordinary citizen enjoys. If a law requiring the owners of a newspaper to disclose their identity is an infringement upon the freedom of the press, then the corrupt practices act which prohibits the circulation of anonymous campaign literature is an abridgment of personal liberty.

If the view of the critics shall prevail, then it is unconstitutional to require that the name of the packer shall be placed on every can of meat or fruit. If the newspaper owner can conceal his identity, then it is proper for an ordinary citizen to conceal himself behind a mask and stand upon the street corner voicing his opinions of his fellow citizens. If it be un-American to compel publicity of newspaper ownership, then it is also un-American to compel publicity of bank ownership.

That provision of the law relating to paid advertising does not apply to matter that is plainly advertising, but only to matter that is in appearance reading or editorial matter. Shall we admit that maintenance of the freedom of the press requires that a newspaper shall be protected in its privilege of printing paid advertising matter in the guise of news articles or editorial comment? If so, then it is wrong to require that the man who takes money for his services in a political campaign shall file a sworn statement as required by the up-to-date corrupt practices act.

If it is unconstitutional to forbid a newspaper to deceive its subscribers, then it is also wrong to infringe upon personal liberty by making it a crime to sell watered milk. In fact, adulterated news is more harmful to the public than adulterated milk. The editor who protests against a law that forbids the publication of paid editorials without that fact being stated, should also protest against the law that forbids carrying concealed weapons. The right to bear arms is expressly reserved by the constitution but probably every state in the union forbids carrying concealed weapons. The secretly paid editorial is a weapon no less dangerous than the stiletto.

The other provision against which complaint is made is that which requires daily papers to make sworn statements of their circulation. Weekly and monthly publications were not included because it is comparatively easy for an advertiser to ascertain approximately the circulation of those publications. This is not true in the case of a daily paper, sold largely by newsboys upon the street but sent in part through the mails. In selling advertising space, the publisher bases his price upon his circulation. The number of copies sold is the measure of the service he renders.

If the freedom of the press is violated by requiring the publisher to swear to his circulation figures, then individual liberty has been destroyed by requiring that a package of food shall bear a statement of the net contents. If it is unconstitutional to require honest measure in advertising space, it is also unconstitutional to compel the coal dealer to use honest scales. Have we all these years maintained inspectors of weights and measures in violation of the personal liberty of our citizens? Let the critics of this law make answer.

HONEST JOURNALISM HAS NOTHING TO FEAR

In conclusion, the law relating to newspapers had its origin in conditions in the newspaper world very similar to manufacturing conditions which forced the enactment of the pure food law requiring that packages of food be branded with the name of the packer, that the net weight be printed on the package, and that certain regulations as to purity be complied with.

It is astounding to me that newspapers and periodicals pretending to deal fairly with their subscribers could to any extent find fault with an act of Congress which is aimed not against any honest, honorable, and square-dealing publication, but against those irresponsible and dishonest publications which have been the greatest menace to the good standing and influence of the press.

Just as it should be the desire of the legal profession to rid itself of shysters, just as it should be the effort of the medical profession to rid itself of quacks, so it should be the persistent effort of upright journalism to rid itself of all those publications that are issued under false pretenses, that deceive the public by printing advertising matter as news matter, and that defraud advertisers by misrepresenting their circulation. The legal profession and the medical profession are to-day justly suffering from the fact that they make no effective effort to eradicate shysters and quacks. In the same way journalism is to-day in disrepute because the upright and justly influential newspapers and periodicals do not join in a determined effort to drive out the unworthy members of what has been rightly called the "Fourth Estate."

HOW BOSTON RECEIVED THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

BY FANNY GARRISON VILLARD

[In the following article Mrs. Villard, the daughter of the Anti-Slavery leader, William Lloyd Garrison, complies with the request of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS to relate her personal recollections of the way in which the news of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, fifty years ago, was received at the center of the Anti-Slavery agitation.—THE EDITOR.]

WHEN a great moral agitation—after years of painful struggle—triumphs over unreasoning prejudice and fierce opposition, he who had no part in it may be lost in admiration of the victory, but he cannot rightly measure the sacrifices that were necessary for its achievement. Thus I realize the impossibility of presenting to the imagination of the present young generation a sufficiently graphic picture of the hold that the slave power had upon Church and State throughout the country, and upon all commercial relations between the North and the South when the Anti-Slavery movement was started.

To have dreamed at that time of a Lincoln or a Proclamation of Emancipation would have seemed as absurd and chimerical as the story of Munchausen's quick-growing ladder that enabled him to reach the moon with the greatest ease. Yet of such stuff are true reformers made that no one of that small band of abolitionists doubted that slavery would ultimately be overthrown, however dark and apparently hopeless the outlook. My father said: "Two cannot make a revolution, but they can begin one, and, once begun, it can never be turned back." And again: "Moral influence when in vigorous exercise is irresistible. It has an immortal essence. It can no more be trod out of existence by the iron foot of time, or by the ponderous march of iniquity than matter can be annihilated. It may disappear for a a time; but it lives in some shape or other, in some place or other, and will rise with renovated strength.'"

Looking back to the Anti-Slavery meetings, which were to the children of abolitionists more exciting and uplifting than any other influences that later came into their lives, that which impresses me beyond all else is the range of vision gained there in regard to the need of still other reforms—true indeed of all good but unpopular causes. The subject of Anti-Slavery became, as it were, a moral touch-stone quickly revealing the difference between lip professions and real Christianity.

Of course, there were many then, as there are many now, who deprecate the use of strong language in denunciation of a national sin against God and man. My father replied to one who said, "Mr. Garrison, you are too excited, you are on fire!" "I have need to be on fire for I have icebergs around me to melt."

The recent celebrations of the Proclamations of Emancipation have brought vividly before me the "Watch Night" of New Year's Eve fifty years ago in a crowded African Church in Boston, at which I was present together with a small party including Moncure D. Conway and my brother, William Lloyd Garrison, Jr., we being the only white people present. When my father's name was mentioned we were at once given seats.

The solemnity and intense excitement of the occasion were indescribably thrilling, and I almost felt as if I could hear the heart-beats of those present, as well as my own. The black preacher said, in substance: "The President of the United States has promised that if the Confederates do not lay down their arms he will free all their slaves to-morrow. They have not laid down their arms, and to-morrow will bring freedom to the oppressed slaves. But we all know that the powers of darkness are with the President, trying to make him break his word, but we must watch and see that he does not break his word." A great sensation was caused when he exclaimed: "The old serpent is abroad, and he will be here at midnight in all his power. But don't be alarmed, our prayers will prevail and God Almighty's New Year will make the United States a true land of freedom." Loud hisses were heard in different parts of the house, and there were cries of "He's here, he's here!" Shortly before midnight, we

were asked to kneel in prayer, and when the bells of the city rang in the New Year, we all joined in singing the old Methodist hymn:

"Blow ye the trumpet, blow!
The gladly solemn sound:
Let all the nations know,
To earth's remotest bound,
The year of jubilee is come!
Return, ye ransomed sinners, home."

Going forth into the beautiful star-lit night we realized that our emotions were of a kind too deep for expression. I doubt if sleep came quickly, for we awaited the dawn with feverish impatience lest, indeed, the terrible serpent had accomplished his deadly work. Early in the morning we looked in the papers for the good news from Washington that the Proclamation had become the law of the land, but it was not to be found. The reason for this great disappointment was afterwards explained by the fact that Lincoln did not sign the document until after he had held his New Year reception. As the day wore on, the suspense continued, the enthusiasm of the colored people, especially, being dampened by it.

A great concert had been arranged at short notice for the afternoon in Music Hall, the committee having it in charge being composed not only of the most distinguished musicians in Boston,—chief among them Mr. Otto Dresel,—but also of well-known literary and business men. The hall was thronged by an audience that found vent on that day of jubilee for its pent-up feelings, although it was undeniable that a vague feeling of unrest pervaded it at first.

Never, it seems to me, was music rendered more wonderfully than on that occasion, noble compositions of Händel, Mendelssohn, and Beethoven stirring us in our inmost souls. Emerson's "Boston Hymn," which has been brought to our special attention of late, was written for that occasion and read by the distinguished man himself before the music began. During the intermission at last came real exaltation of spirit with the announcement by some one from the platform that the President's proclamation was coming over the wires. Nine cheers were given for Lincoln, and three for William Lloyd Garrison. I can imagine what my father's feelings were at that happy beginning of the end of slavery to which he had given more than thirty years of his life, but I know that I stood up in the gallery beside him when he received the plaudits of the audience with joy in my heart that was akin to pain. Then the concert proceeded in a still more inspiring way than before to the end of that memorable occasion. But there were no newspapers to be had to confirm the glad tidings when we left the hall.

The evening that followed that exciting afternoon was spent with my father at the house of Mr. George L. Stearns (the friend of John Brown) in Medford, where a bust of Brown was unveiled in the presence of an unusual company, the faces of Phillips, Emerson, Julia Ward Howe, and Sanborn coming distinctly before me as I write. My brother, Francis Jackson Garrison, in the clear picture that he has just given of that day, never-to-be-forgotten by those who have been so fortunate as to have an Anti-Slavery heritage,—describes the meeting at Tremont Temple that evening in celebration of the great historic event. Even then no paper had been issued giving the text of the proclamation, but Judge Thomas Russell had seen the proof of it in the office of the *Journal*, which he did not hesitate to take without asking. He ran with all possible speed to the meeting, where it was read and received with deafening applause. Fresh courage with which to work still longer must have taken hold of all those present, until not only over three million slaves should be free, but the whole four million,—and the foul blot of slavery thus wiped from our escutcheon.

The question that concerns us to-day is, more than all else, whether our duty to the liberated bondmen has been fulfilled. The answer is, alas! No. Untutored, ignorant of the meaning of liberty, they were for a long time after the war abandoned both by the North and the South (save for few exceptions) and we are still to-day repairing the harvest of our neglect. Yet in spite of it, the colored people are rising industrially and intellectually, and—take it all in all—far more rapidly than we had a right to expect. But justice must be meted out to them if we would preserve it for ourselves, and every benefit than can be conferred by democracy bestowed upon each and every colored person, North or South, in common with every other inhabitant of this fair land. Only in this way can we make reparation for the complicity of the North with slavery, the Proclamation of Emancipation having been the initial step in the right direction.

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA AND BOHEMIAN FLATS—SITE OF A GREAT GOVERNMENT PROJECT FOR IMPROVING NAVIGATION

(The low land in foreground is the proposed site for a Minneapolis river traffic terminal. The dam six miles below will give a river depth of about nine feet at this point)

PREPARING THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI FOR MODERN COMMERCE

BY W. C. TIFFANY

THE University of Minnesota, situated on a high bluff east of the Mississippi River, in the city of Minneapolis, to-day looks down on a jumble of squalid houses occupied by squatters and known as the Bohemian Flats, which occupy a low-lying shelf of land at the foot of high sandstone cliffs across the river. Below the flats the river runs through a gorge formed by precipitous banks in a series of rapids too shallow for navigation. Within another year or so the scene from the university grounds will be completely changed. In place of the turbulent stream a quiet, winding lake will extend six miles down stream and, should the dream of the promoters of the enterprise come true, in place of the Bohemian Flats there will be a level embankment crowded with trucks and vans bringing flour from the mills and merchandise to electric cranes loading barges moored along retaining walls at the waterfront.

The creation of this lake is a necessary step in the plan of the federal government for a six-foot deep channel in the Mississippi River to Minneapolis. By dredging and wing-dams, with the assistance of the great storage reservoirs along the upper river, that depth can be maintained to a point about two miles above the confluence of the Minnesota River and six miles below the city of Minneapolis. Above that point, however, the Mississippi is too swift for up-stream freighting and can be made navigable for steamboats only by a lock-and-dam system. Under an act of Congress two locks and dams were authorized to create two slack-water basins in this part of the river.

After the completion of the upper lock and dam a new project was proposed, and subsequently approved by Congress; namely, to increase the height of the lower dam sufficiently over that originally contemplated so as to make one slack-water basin extending to the foot of the rapids below St. Anthony Falls with a depth of nine and a half feet at the proposed steam-boat landing at the Bohemian Flats just above the Washington Avenue bridge.

This new project, now being carried out and to be completed in about two years,

THIS LOCK AND DAM, HAVING COST THE GOVERNMENT $600,000 AND SERVED NO USEFUL PURPOSE, IS TO BE WRECKED

involves the wrecking and complete loss of the upper lock and dam. Built at a cost of over $600,000, after eight years of work, it is now to be relegated to the scrap-heap without once having been used. Its futile history as briefly told in a report of the United States chief of engineers is as follows: "Lock and dam No. 2 is the first of a series of two between St. Paul and Minneapolis, Minn., the object of which was to provide slack-water navigation over the stretch of river between Minnehaha Creek and the Washington Avenue bridge, Minneapolis. No. 2 is the upper one of the series and was constructed first because navigation on the section above was difficult and hazardous under the most favorable conditions and virtually impossible at low stages of the river. Since the completion of this lock and dam the river above is navigable up to Washington Avenue bridge, Minneapolis, for boats drawing five feet. There were no lockages during the year." Nor is it passing strange that "there were no lockages during the year," since, while the river was made navigable above the dam, the channel for some miles below is only two and one-half feet deep. The channel created by the dam is, therefore, about as valuable for navigation as a bridge would be for traffic which ended in mid-stream.

TO GENERATE ELECTRIC CURRENT

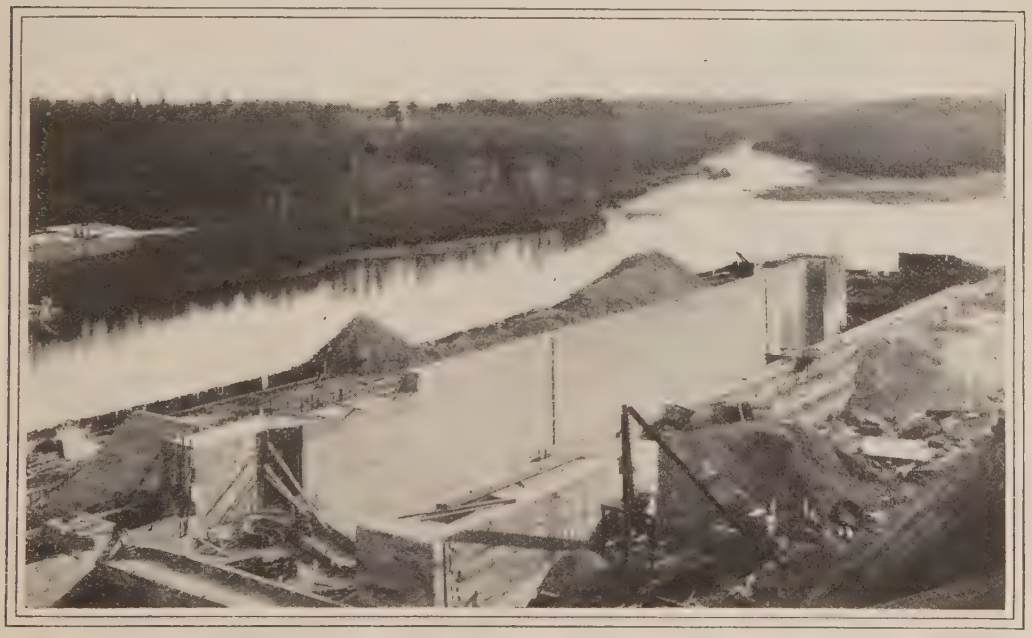
As a partial offset to the loss of the investment in the upper lock and dam, however, the new project embraces an additional enterprise, and one which has never before been undertaken by the national government. This enterprise is to utilize the head of water created by the new dam for the generation of electric power. Instead of a lift of about thirteen feet as originally intended, the dam will have a lift of about thirty feet. With the discharge of the river of about 1500 feet at low water to 60,000 feet at flood, it is estimated that 15,000 horse-power can be generated for 280 days of the year. The rest of the year the flow may fall so low as to develop only 9000 horse-power, and, as with many hydro-electric developments it will be necessary to install an auxiliary steam plant. The power-house and the penstocks which lead the water to the turbines provide for the installation of four units of 3800 horse-power, each unit susceptible of independent operation according to the amount of the flow of water. From the power-house on the east side of the river the dam, of hollow construction, with an electric-lighted passageway below its crest, will extend for 600 feet across the river to the huge lock on the west bank. Eighty feet wide and 350 feet in length between the gates, the lock is more than ample to accommodate any boats which can ascend the river from St. Louis, where the six-foot channel begins.

In extenuation of the abandonment of the original project, involving the complete loss of the money expended on the upper lock and dam, it is only fair to its originators to call

NEW LOCK AND DAM AND SOLDIERS' HOME

(With a head of thirty feet the dam will create 15,000 electric horsepower and form a slack-water navigable basin extending to the proposed Minneapolis river traffic terminal)

attention to the great development which has taken place since its adoption in the science of the generation of hydro-electric power and to the great increase in the commercial demand for electric power. As has been pointed out by the engineer in charge of the new project, it would be quite as unfair to criticize the lack of foresight in an owner of city real estate who builds a six-story building for failing to foresee that in a few years the



NEW PROJECT—350-FOOT LOCK

(For lockage of barge fleets and power-boat convoys)

growth of the city would demand its being wrecked to give place to a sky-scraper.

What disposition will be made of the electric power generated by the dam is yet to be determined by Congress. It is proposed, however, either to sell it to the highest bidder or to the University of Minnesota for experimental and lighting purposes and to the municipalities of Minneapolis and St. Paul at a price which will pay a stated rate of interest on the cost of construction and maintenance of the lock and dam. As the park boards of Minneapolis and St. Paul own most of the shores along the lake to be created by the dam and flowage rights will have to be obtained from them, their attitude in granting those rights may be a factor in the rate at which the electric power will be disposed of. Under the original project for two locks and dams, flowage rights were obtained to a certain height and little trouble is anticipated in obtaining the additional flowage rights necessitated by the present project unless the park boards should take the attitude of the owner of an island in the river who granted to the government the right to flow his island under the original plan for a certain sum, which would have put it ten feet under water, but who now demands additional compensation because his island will be twenty feet below the surface!

SCENIC EFFECTS

Whether or not there will ever be sufficient traffic on the Mississippi to and from Minneapolis to warrant the stupendous expenditures being made by the government in changing the head of navigation from St. Paul to Minneapolis, nevertheless from a purely esthetic standpoint the possibilities of the lake to be created by the dam are unique. The beauties of the deep gorge through which the river flows from the university grounds to the dam are known only to the occasional pedestrian who wanders down the paths at the foot of the cliffs on either bank or to travelers on the parkways on their summits through a few vistas among the trees. To realize fully the charm of this stretch of river, winding between precipitous, wooded banks, broken by deep coulees and fine headlands of bright colored sandstone, it must be seen from the water.

To the University of Minnesota the creation of a beautiful lake from eight hundred to one thousand feet wide extending from the very foot of the campus for six miles, will undoubtedly mean the development of the sport of boat-racing, which for lack of an available course near at hand has not before found place among its college sports. The shallowness of the stream has heretofore made the navigation of the river from Minneapolis impossible for motor-boats. With the lake as a starting-point the beautiful stretches of the Mississippi between and below the Twin Cities, the St. Croix, Wisconsin, and other tributaries of the river, running through some of the finest scenery in the Middle West, can easily be reached, while for canoes and row-boats no other large city will have such a stretch of water so easily available.

The point selected by the government for the construction of the dam and the topography of the river banks make the execution of the project a comparatively easy one. For almost the entire distance from the dam to the university grounds the river flows through a deep, narrow cleft in the sandstone rock. At no point are the cliffs over one thousand feet apart at their bases or too low to form ideal lateral retaining walls for the lake. While the current of the river is swift and in places breaks into rapids, the actual fall from the flats to the dam is not great, the crest of the dam being only thirty feet high. The level of the lake will therefore not be sufficiently high to much diminish the height of the banks, while the beauty of the shores will be greatly enhanced by the submerging of unsightly flats and shallows. Fortunately, most of the land which will form the shores of the lake was acquired by the park boards of the two cities before it had been defaced by man and retains to-day nearly the same charm of natural wildness which existed over two hundred years ago when it was first seen by Father Hennepin.

A SIX-FOOT CHANNEL

When the lock and dam are completed the last step will have been taken in the government project of creating a six-foot channel from Minneapolis to St. Louis. That this will result in building up a commerce on the Mississippi that will justify the cost of the improvements is strenuously denied by some transportation experts and as strenuously asserted by others. Those who deny any great future for water-borne traffic base their argument on the following considerations: That for years traffic on our rivers has steadily declined; that the main currents of commerce in this country, on account of the law of demand and supply, are from west to east and from east to west, while the Missis-

THE ST. PAUL LEVEE IN 1860

(Old-style upper Mississippi steamboat—still in use. In center building on right Mr. James J. Hill began his business career as a steamboat shipping clerk)

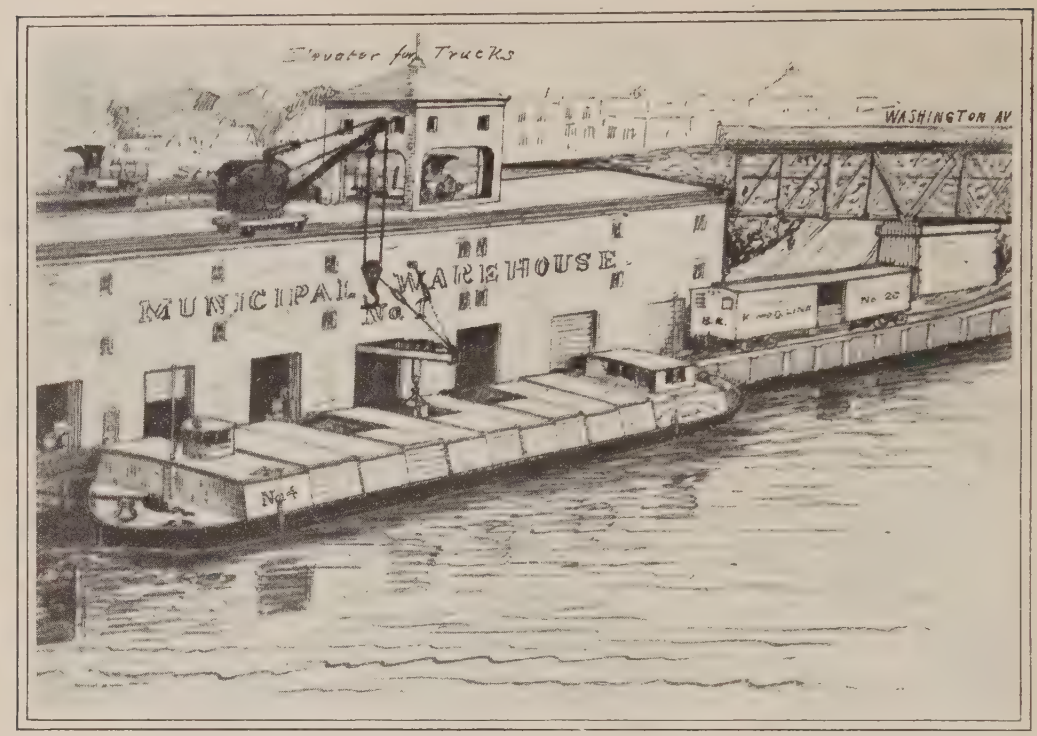
sippi runs transversely to these currents; and that the low rates of freight of American railroads, combined with quicker transportation, make it impossible for the waterways to compete. On the other hand, those who foresee a great future for inland water-borne traffic point to its growth in Europe in recent years, and assert that it has been retarded by insufficient development of the waterways and the nullification of the economy of water transportation by inadequate terminal facilities for handling freight, and has been strangled by the unfair competition methods of the railroads.

Be that as it may, a movement is now on foot to develop water-borne traffic in certain commodities which is not open to most of the objections urged by its opponents, the success of which would mean a revolution in one of the most important phases of traffic between the Northwest and the Atlantic seaboard.

WHEAT AND FLOUR SHIPMENTS

While the time will come when the United States will consume every bushel of wheat grown within its borders and every barrel of flour made by its mills, and while the export demand for flour is growing less and less, the annual exports of wheat and flour from this country still amount to a great tonnage. On an average crop the United States exports about 50,000,000 bushels of wheat, in 1908 we exported nearly 100,000,000 bushels, and the average annual exports of flour by the Minneapolis mills alone for the last five years were over 2,000,000 barrels. The wheat of Minnesota and the Dakotas and the flour made in their mills which goes abroad are now carried during the season of navigation down the Great Lakes and then by railroad or canal to seaboard. The freight from Minneapolis to New York per one hundred pounds on export shipments is 19.50 cents lake and rail and two cents higher all rail.

An enterprise backed by some of the most experienced men in the country in inland water transportation proposes on the completion of the six-foot channel to carry wheat and flour by river from Minneapolis to shipside at New Orleans for export at a rate of ten cents per one hundred pounds, or about one-half the cost of present transportation to the Atlantic seaboard. Coal has for many years been transported by water from Pittsburgh to New Orleans, practically the same



SUGGESTION FOR RIVER BARGE TERMINAL AT MINNEAPOLIS

distance as from Minneapolis to that port, at five cents per one hundred pounds. At the proposed rate to New Orleans they can compete, of course, with the present rate and they believe that they can also compete with any rate which can be made on the completion of the new Erie Canal on wheat shipments via the Great Lakes and canal on account of the necessity of breaking bulk, with an extra elevation charge, on transshipment to the canal carriers, while on flour shipments the rail haul from mill to lake port of departure would be eliminated. Compared with the saving in the river rates to seaboard over the present routes, the greater sea carriage from New Orleans to European ports would be negligible. The river route would, moreover, be open for a longer period of the year and the time in reaching seaboard, about eleven days, would be no longer if as long.

A TYPICAL MISSISSIPPI RIVER STEAMBOAT

MODERN TERMINALS AND LABOR-SAVING APPLIANCES

The antiquated and expensive methods of loading freight at our inland ports are to give place to the labor-saving devices in use on European rivers. There municipalities and private corporations have built modern terminals at the river towns and cities, equipped with every known device for expediting and cheapening the handling of freight. Such terminals are now maintained at New Orleans, where the handling charges approximate fifteen cents a ton, and, being publicly owned, they invite competition in river traffic. At Davenport, Rock Island, Burlington, Muscatine, and other Mississippi River ports such terminals are now practically assured and will also undoubtedly be established at Minneapolis. The old-style Mississippi River steamboat will be dis-

THE NEW ERA IN RIVER TRANSPORTATION: BARGES PROPELLED BY POWER BOATS FROM MINNEAPOLIS TO NEW ORLEANS

(Old-style freighters to be replaced by barge fleets—shown in foreground—of five 1,000-ton barges operated by 125-foot power boats. Barges 152 feet long, thirty-nine feet beam, eight feet molded depth and four feet minimum loaded draft)

carded and the freight carried as on continental waterways in fleets of barges, of about one thousand tons burden each, propelled by a power boat.

In a few years, therefore, it is not improbable that part of the commerce of the Great Lakes will be diverted to a new channel and that the upper Mississippi now only occasionally traveled by some old side-wheeler or still more antiquated stern-wheeler, will be alive with modern transports bearing the wheat of the prairies and the products of the mills to the south and the coal of Illinois to the Twin Cities.

A FAMILIAR MISSISSIPPI RIVER SCENE OF YESTERDAY

THE HUDSON BAY ROUTE—TRANS-CONTINENTAL AND TRANS-OCEANIC

BY P. T. McGRATH

THE approaching completion of the Panama Canal and the enactment by the American Congress of a measure discriminating against foreign ships plying therein, have greatly strengthened Canada's determination to provide a railway to the shore of Hudson Bay and steamers across the Atlantic. When Sir William Van Horne some years ago declared that "Canada's hopper was too large for the spout," he doubtless foresaw what has since come to pass,—the gradual increase of business by the St. Lawrence route until an almost unbearable congestion has made some alternative outlet inevitable; with the need for this alternative becoming rapidly intensified as the Northwest grows in population and importance.

For Newfoundland this problem is of special moment as Terranovan (Nfld.) sealing ships have been chosen for the exploratory work because of the ice packs that are met, and Terranovan sailors for pilots and crews because of their expertness in coping with ice conditions; and as the steamship route is inaugurated it will likely be vessels in the Terranovan trade and specially built for northern navigation that will be employed in the service.

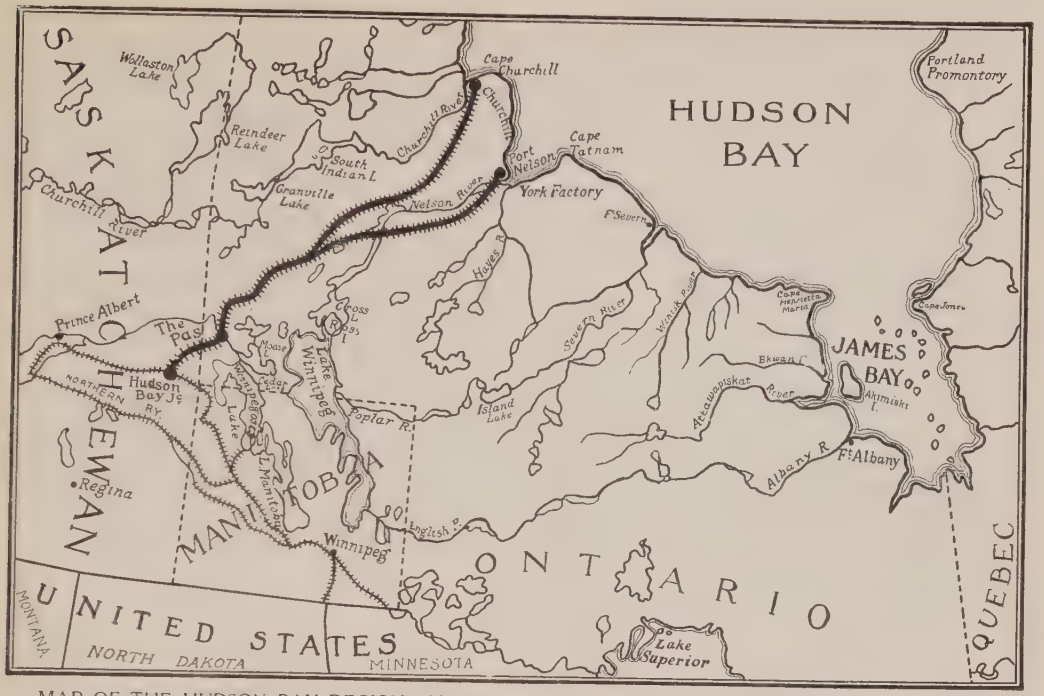
So prominent an issue in Canadian affairs has this problem of the Hudson Bay Railway become that in the summer of 1910 the Governor-General of that period, Earl Grey, made an overland journey from Winnipeg to the shores of Hudson Bay and there joining the Canadian Government ice-breaking steamer *Earl Grey*, passed out through Hudson Bay and Strait, then southward along Labrador and Newfoundland and across to Nova Scotia, where he joined the Intercolonial Railway and returned to Ottawa, his journey being undertaken "to explode the theory that the region was barren and treeless and covered with snow, and that the bay and strait were impassable nearly always because of ice." The past summer, again, the Hon. Frank Cochrane, Minister of Railways in the Canadian cabinet, repeated this trip, to familiarize himself with the actual conditions regarding the proposed railway line, so that the relative merits of Port Nelson and Fort Churchill on the shores of Hudson Bay as the terminal might be the better determined. Discussing the subject very fully with both these gentlemen after their return, the writer found them enthusiastic for the project and Mr. Cochrane intimated that he and his colleagues would decide the terminal matter for submission to the Ottawa Parliament at the session now in progress.

"THE MEDITERRANEAN OF THE NORTH"

The reason why this Hudson Bay project is advocated so warmly is that this bay itself, described by some as "the Mediterranean of the North," is the third largest "sea" in the world and gives access to a region that promises to rival in the future the group of Northwestern States of the American Union. The area of the Mediterranean is 977,000 square miles; of the Baltic 580,000; of Hudson Bay 355,000. Its length is 800 miles and breadth 500, and, compared with the Great Lakes, it is a veritable ocean, for Lake Superior's area is only 31,000 square miles; Lake Huron's but 23,000; Lake Michigan's a scant 22,500; Lake Erie's merely 9960 and Lake Ontario's barely 7240. The outlet of Hudson Bay to the Atlantic is Hudson Strait, nearly 500 miles long; with an average breadth of 100 miles, its narrowest width being sixty miles, so that this whole marine waste is a great land-locked sea, susceptible of development into a magnificent commercial waterway. The far-stretching expanse of continent which drains into it, formerly known as Rupert's Land, after Prince Rupert, the famous cavalry general and first governor of the Hudson Bay Company, has become the seat of what may far outstrip the empires of old and become the homes of peaceful and prosperous millions.

NATURAL RESOURCES OF THE HUDSON BAY REGION

Indeed, Canada's public men are only now awakening to the value of the fishery, peltry,



MAP OF THE HUDSON BAY REGION, SHOWING THE RAIL ROUTES CONNECTING THE WHEAT FIELDS OF MANITOBA AND SASKATCHEWAN WITH TIDEWATER

forest, mineral, and agricultural wealth of the Hudson Bay district, the area of which is estimated at 1,500,000 square miles, comprehending every variety of soil and climate. The bay itself yields the northern whale, so prized for its "whalebone," a single adult specimen being now worth $15,000; the white whale, or grampus; the narwhal or sea-unicorn; the walrus; five species of seals; and thirty kinds of edible fishes. The peltries of the sea and shore have remained undiminished after nearly three centuries of slaughter, and the "Company" spends $2,000,000 there every year in the purchase of fur alone—the most famous being the bear, fox, wolf, moose, caribou, wolverine, lynx, sable, ermine, marten, mink, otter, and the renowned beaver.

In the southern section husbandry is practised, in the west lies the fertile belt, with its teeming grain-fields, from which Canada has carved the three provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta; and where latterly, through the introduction of ranching, products are being created which promise to greatly stimulate transportation agencies ere long. The forest products include three varieties of pine and spruce, two of elm, ash, poplar, and birch, and one of aspen, tamarack, and fir. Smaller growths, suitable for pulp-making, abound also, and as the woodlands available in more southern latitudes become depleted these must be levied upon. The existence of such minerals as hematite and pyrite iron, copper, silver, gold, mica, gypsum, antimony, asbestos and coal has been determined, and if the precious metal should be found in workable quantity there is likely to be an eastern Klondike established on these lonely shores with such a rush of settlers there as follows every new discovery of auriferous areas anywhere in the world.

LONG REIGN OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

The history of Hudson Bay is a remarkable one. Discovered by Henry Hudson in 1610, it was explored during the next half-century by many English voyagers seeking a Northwest Passage, and in 1670 King Charles II granted the whole territory draining into it, with absolute rights, to a company consisting of his cousin, Prince Rupert, and a number of Englishmen, to exploit its wealth of fish, furs, and peltries, and its supposed minerals, for their own advantage. Thus was formed the Hudson's Bay Company, which controlled the region almost down to the present time. During the wars, in the succeeding centuries, France repudiated this company's claim to the vast northwestern wilderness and

the renowned D'Iberville, in 1681 with a small French flotilla, captured Fort Nelson, while in 1782 La Pérouse swept the principal stronghold,—Fort Prince of Wales, at Fort Churchill,—one of the strongest fortified places in the world at the time, the walls being thirty-four feet thick.

During the Revolution the harrying of fur ships from Hudson Bay was practised and this process was repeated in the War of 1812, but since then British rule over that region has not been disputed by outsiders. Of internal dissension there has, however, been no small share. Shortly after this period the "Northwest" and other fur companies were formed to compete against the Hudson's Bay Company and not till after years of bitter rivalry and many bloody encounters were these concerns absorbed by the parent organization. Until fifty years ago the company actually governed the whole of Northwestern Canada and governed it with such a disregard for the rights of the settlers that a rebellion ensued, as a result of which the Canadian Government, in 1869, purchased all the territory which the company possessed there, except the forts actually occupied by it; and this extinguished its territorial authority. This area included what are now the three western provinces of Canada and the territories of Ungava, Mackenzie, and Franklin, embracing the less fertile regions north of those provinces, which are so sparsely settled and so little developed that they have not yet secured provincial administration.

MODERATE TEMPERATURES

The impression which generally prevails that Hudson Bay and its surrounding lands are completely enshrouded by ice and snow is altogether erroneous. Sir Sandford Flemming, the distinguished engineer who built the Canadian Pacific Railway, in advocating a branch line to that bay, says:

> Moose Factory, on the margin of Hudson Bay, has a winter and summer temperature the same as Winnipeg, and the average snow fall is less than half that of Montreal and Quebec. . . . Looking forward but a few years the Dominion may come to possess in it a new sea-port. Archangel, the Russian port, is on a parallel of latitude of 13½ degrees or more than 900 miles further north than Moose Factory. Archangel is a seaport of importance, with dockyard and a prosperous shipping trade. Its population is not inferior to some of our Canadian cities, and, before the founding of St. Petersburg, it was long the only seaport within the limits of Russia. Can any person now living foretell what Moose Factory may yet become?

Assuming Canada's western provinces to be her wheat belt, at any rate for exporting purposes, the center of the eastern section of this area would be Winnipeg, grain tributary to which might be most profitably forwarded *via* Fort William and the Great Lakes; and the center of the western section would be Saskatoon, the grain products of which could be most profitably shipped *via* Hudson Bay. Mr. M. J. Mutler, C. M. G., Deputy Minister of Railways for Canada, in a report in 1909 on the Hudson Bay Railway, observes:

> This immense district is equal in area to the States of North and South Dakota, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Nebraska, and Iowa, where there is a population of about 10,000,000, and a railway mileage of about 50,000; and I think that, square mile to square mile, the fertility of the Northwest is at least equal to that of the States named.

AS A TRADE ROUTE

In considering this Hudson Bay project more or less academically, as it has been viewed for many years past, all attention has been devoted to its use as an avenue for moving grain from Western Canada to tidewater, for conveyance to foreign markets, while little notice has been given to an equally important phase of the problem,—the utilization of the route as an outlet for imports for western commerce. In the great wheat-growing belt all the immense prairies are being covered with settlers at the rate of hundreds of thousands annually, the whole of whose requirements, except what they raise from the land, will have to be conveyed to them by railroads. The establishing of a Hudson Bay route will ensure to these growing communities and to others yet unborn, an alternative such as, for instance, the Mississippi River affords to the communities which can be reached by water carriage along its banks; and even with the handicap of the ice pack for some months, there ought to be possibilities of enormous expansion in this region. The manufacturers in the Maritime Provinces should be able to place their products in Western Canada by this means at rates at present unapproachable. Mr. Butler already quoted, calculates that coal from Cape Breton can be conveyed to Port Nelson for $3.75 a ton and hauled by rail to Saskatoon for $4 more, whereas coal costs quite $9 there now. An immense trade in fish from Nova Scotia and Newfoundland could be built up in the great West with steamers plying there every summer, and when we cross the

A SEALING STEAMER BOUND FOR HUDSON BAY

Atlantic and consider the proposition in relation to British and European manufactures generally, it will be at once apparent that enormous quantities of articles destined for the Western Provinces could be more profitably conveyed there by way of Hudson Bay than otherwise.

The advantages of the Hudson Bay route, as stated in discussions thereon, are many. From Liverpool to Fort Churchill *via* Hudson Bay is only 2946 nautical miles, or but nineteen more than from Liverpool to Montreal, *via* Belle Isle Strait, and as the rail haul between Winnipeg and Montreal is 1494 miles, while that between Churchill and Saskatoon is only 580 miles, this route will effect an average shortening of the distance from the western wheat fields to the Atlantic seaboard of 914 miles. It has been calculated by Mr. Butler that the Hudson Bay route will mean a saving of about five cents a bushel over wheat going to the Atlantic seaboard, or $3,000,000 annually on an export trade of 25,000,000 bushels *via* this route; provided insurance rates are the same. In cattle shipments there would be effected, it has been said, a saving in freight of 20 cents per 100 pounds, as well as a lessening in deterioration; because with colder weather in the more northern latitude, it should be possible to carry cattle, meats, butter, eggs, etc., under much more advantageous conditions than *via* Montreal.

PRESENT INABILITY OF RAILROADS TO HANDLE GRAIN TRAFFIC

Yet another fact in favor of this route is the inability of the Canadian railroads, even at the rate they are progressing, to handle the annual output of the West in farm products. Every fall for the past twenty years, there has been, according to western authorities, a grain blockade, that of the past year having been perhaps the worst on record, and there is no immediate prospect of any decided improvement, because the area under cultivation is being enlarged even more rapidly than increased railroad facilities are being provided. It is declared by capable students of the problem that even with the double-tracking of the western railroads it will be impossible for them to move the annual grain crops henceforth and it is pointed out that in the autumn of 1911 and again in 1912, the Canadian authorities had to apply to the American government for permission to forward train loads of wheat through American territory. It is likewise questioned whether, when the Panama Canal is opened, it will be profitable to haul western grain across the Rocky Mountains and ship it to Europe *via* San Francisco; and it is argued that the obvious way for it to go would be *via* Hudson Bay if that route was feasible; so that the whole issue turns on that point: "Is it feasible and can the railroad and steamships be made self-supporting?"

AS AN ENGINEERING PROPOSITION

With regard to the railroad there is, admittedly, no dispute as to its being a fairly simple engineering project. Construction work is already under way. The line will run from The Pas, the farthest point on the Canadian Northern Railway, and contracts for the first 255 miles of the line were awarded in August, 1911, to the J. D. McArthur Company, while in July, 1912, a contract for the second section, seventy miles, was awarded to the same company. The whole line to Fort Churchill will be 477 miles and to Port Nelson 410, and the third contract has to await the decision of the Canadian cabinet as to the terminal, which will likely be Fort Nelson, because of the shorter rail haul and cheaper harbor works. The report of the engineer who surveyed the route showed that the railroad could be built cheaply but effectively and a "four-tenths" grade secured, but that expensive harbor improvements would be necessary at either point. The estimates were:

	Fort Churchill	Port Nelson
Construction of railway	$11,351,000	$8,982,000
Buildings, power plant, etc.	1,700,000	1,648,000
Two elevators (each four million bushels)	4,000,000	4,000,000
Terminals	320,000	320,000
Engineering and contingencies	1,737,000	1,477,000
Harbor works and dredging	6,675,000	5,065,000
	$25,783,000	$21,492,000

Mr. Butler, recognizing that the period of navigation would be short, estimated that by working sixteen trains a day, each carrying 4,000 tons, there could be moved to tidewater at Nelson in thirty working days, allowing for accidents and delays, 64,000,000 bushels of wheat, or about one-fifth of Canada's western crops in 1914 or 1915, when the route is expected to be in operation. The reason he allows only thirty days is that grain cannot be moved till the harvest time, and for the same reason he says: "I assume that ships can be secured wherever there is sufficient business offered. It is apparent that at least nine per day would need to be loaded, or say 135 to 140, to do the business—allowing two trips to each ship. Any additional business taken to the bay would have to be stored until the following August—nine months."

The only remaining questions, then, are, whether Hudson Bay and Strait can be navigated for a sufficiently long period each year to insure the removal of this grain or the greater portion of it; whether the risks of the route through ice, fog, and compass variations are such as to discourage shipping, and whether the insurance rates over such a route can be kept at least as low as those on the St. Lawrence. These questions are still unanswered after thirty years of discussion and inquiry.

PROBLEMS OF NAVIGATION

In the early '80's the agitation for a Hudson Bay route first developed in Manitoba and in 1885–6 the Newfoundland sealing steamer *Neptune*, with Commander Gordon, R. N., in charge and Capt. Wm. Sopp, of St. John's as ice pilot, was sent to the region to determine, if possible, the period of navigability. It is admitted that Hudson Bay itself is not ice-bound at any period of the year except along shore and the difficulty is entirely in Hudson Strait which is choked for seven or eight months with ice from the Arctic archipelago north of Canada's mainland. Commander Gordon, after two seasons, reported Hudson Strait navigable from July 15 to October 15, by specially built steamers of about two thousand tons gross, fortified for combating ice and so constructed as to be fair freight carriers.

After this report the project languished until 1896, when the Canadian Liberal party, in the campaign which saw Laurier first elected Premier, promised a Hudson Bay railroad and the next year the Newfoundland sealer *Diana*, a consort of the *Neptune*, was sent to the region in charge of Commander Wakeham, with Capt. James Joy, of St. John's, as ice master, and a representative of the Manitoba Government, Mr. James Fisher, K. C., on board. Wakeham's report concurred substantially with Gordon's, fixing the opening of navigation early in July and stating October 20 to be "the extreme limit of safe navigation in the fall."

Again nothing was done until 1903–04, when a revival of the western agitation obliged the Laurier Government to despatch a third expedition, this time in the sealer *Neptune* again, with Professor Low, the Dominion geologist, in command and Capt. Samuel Bartlett, of St. John's, as ice pilot. Low's report fixed "the period of safe navigation for ordinary iron steamships through Hudson Strait and across Hudson Bay to the port of Churchill, at from July 20 to Novem-

THE STEAMSHIP "ALGERINE" WORKING THROUGH THE ICE

ber 1, which period might be increased without much risk by a week earlier in the season and by perhaps two weeks at the close." Once more nothing was done until 1910, when American activity in Panama Canal construction coupled with the growing inrush to the west, made some action by Canada inevitable and Earl Grey undertook his journey to Hudson Bay and returned to Ottawa to vigorously advocate this project. To-day the railway is partly constructed and soon steps to improve the steamship route will be necessary.

All the foregoing authorities combined in declaring that under any circumstances, in order to make the route safely navigable, it would be necessary thoroughly to equip it with lighthouses, fog-alarms, and other coast aids; while a hydrographic survey of the strait, the eastern section of the bay, which contains many islands, and the approaches to Churchill and Nelson would be indispensable also; and they laid stress, likewise, upon the difficulties which existed with regard to the unreliability of the compass, the uncertainty of the tides and currents, and the prevalence of what is known as "frozen fog," experienced there late in the autumn.

The photographs herewith show what the Newfoundland sealing steamers have to contend with in northern waters every spring and what steamers plying on the Hudson Bay route may also expect later in the season.

These sealers were formerly,—like the whalers of Dundee, New Bedford and San Francisco,—wooden ships of small tonnage, scarcely any exceeding 700 tons, comparatively short, so that they could thread the torturous ice passages more easily, and constructed of oak and greenheart, the most effective materials for resisting ice pressure or contact with the jagged particles of the crystal plains. Of such a class were the steamers *Neptune* and *Diana*, employed in the investigating cruises in Hudson Bay, and the *Arctic*, that won more notice by her expeditions to northern waters under Captain Bernier. Fifteen years ago the Reid Company operating the railroad and steamboat transport systems of Newfoundland, constructed a steel steamer, the *Bruce*, for ice fighting in Cabot Strait every winter, and she proved so successful that in 1905 the experiment of building a steel ship for the seal fishery was tried by a firm at St. John's, which put out one, appropriately named the *Adventure*. She was also a great success, so much so that since then a whole flotilla has been built of these ships to replace the wooden vessels formerly in the business, as these have been reduced by loss during the sealing season, for scarcely a year passes without some vessel going to bottom. Although these steel boats range from 1000 to 4000 tons and some are used as passenger liners between New York, Halifax and St. John's

every summer, it was found during the sealing season last spring that every one of them sustained serious injuries to their propellers, which severely hampered them in their operations, and in two cases compelled them to return to St. John's because they were so crippled that they could not further cruise. It is by no means unreasonable to conclude that similar trouble will have to be faced even by steamers operating in Hudson Bay, if they should prove to be of the same class as the Newfoundland sealers, which admittedly are the best suited of any vessels afloat to undertake that service if it should be inaugurated to-morrow.

Difficulties in other directions must always attend the navigation of Hudson Bay. The most serious of these is the unreliability of the compass in these waters, that used on ships often failing them on occasions. This unreliability of the compass forms a serious menace to the possibility of safely navigating those waters, unless in the meantime the cause of this disturbance can be discovered and its influence set at nought.

Another difficulty is that there are no charts of these waters and that very thorough and costly hydrographic surveys will have to be made of the whole region from the Atlantic through Hudson Strait and across Hudson Bay to whatever point is chosen as the railway terminal; and that very costly equipments of light-houses, fog alarms, and Marconi stations will need to be provided if the route is ever to be successfully operated. When one reflects, therefore, on the frequency of shipping mishaps in the St. Lawrence, in spite of all that Canada has spent in improving the navigational aids of the Gulf and river, one begins to realize the difficulties which will beset the navigation of Hudson Bay, and how much more costly it may prove to utilize it as a shipping route than the routes which are now employed, namely, the St. Lawrence and the Atlantic coast ports.

Finally, it is important to remember that while Hudson Bay itself is never closed, the navigation of the strait is the real problem, not alone from the ordinary obstacles to navigation, but from what is described as frozen fog, a form of gelid vapor that is common as winter approaches and that practically denies all attempt to navigate through it. In view of all these circumstances, then, it is quite apparent that the navigation of Hudson Strait will prove by no means easy and that the problem of making the route commercially possible will call for Canada's best efforts for a long time.

SCENE AT THE ENTRANCE TO HUDSON STRAIT

THE HIMALAYAN TERMINUS OF THE DARJEELING RAILWAY, THE CROOKEDEST LINE IN THE WORLD

HOW THE RAILROAD IS MODERNIZING ASIA

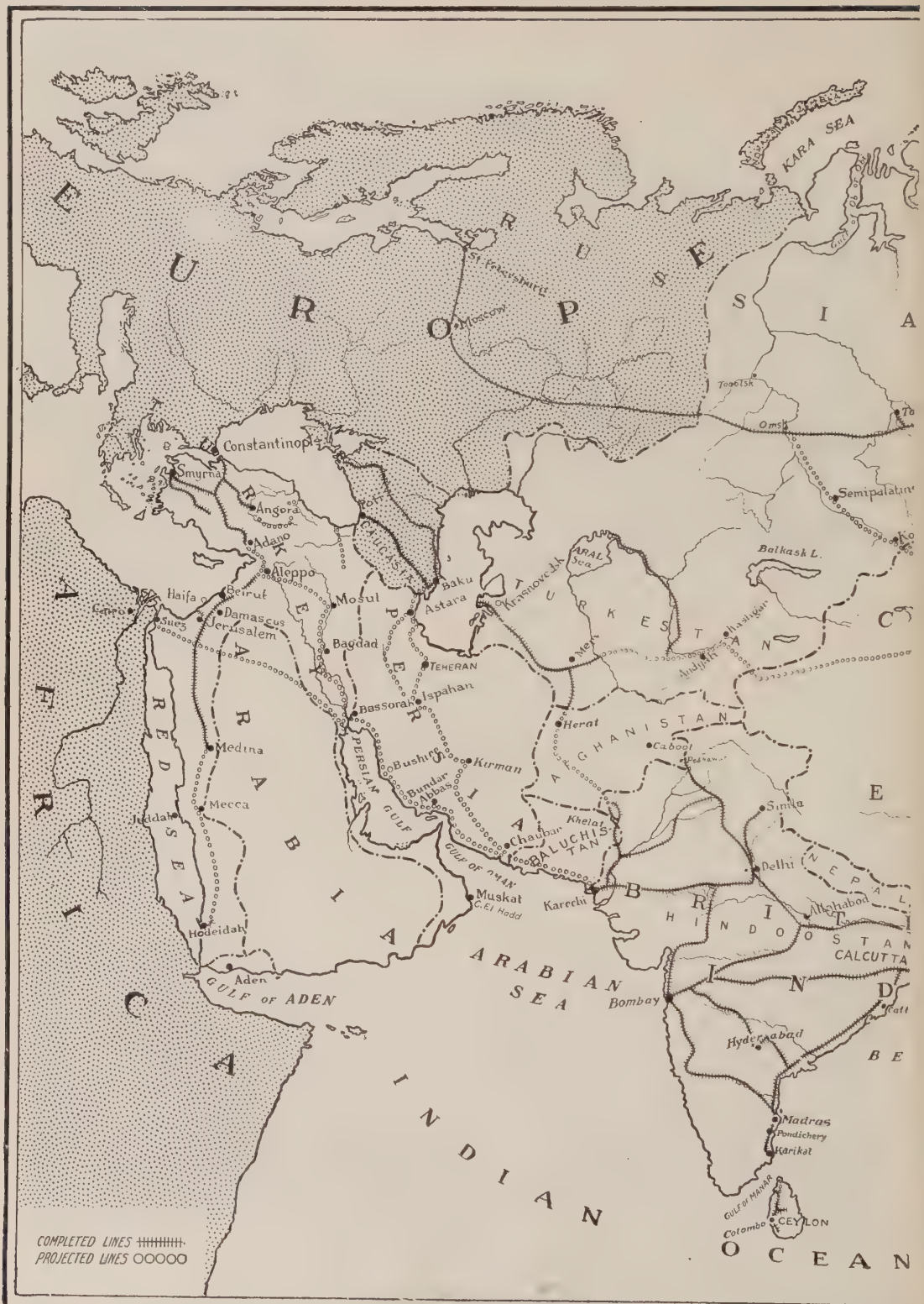
BY LEWIS R. FREEMAN

THE question that a railway company in Europe or the Americas asks itself when considering the construction of a new line is, "Will it pay? Will the ultimate returns from freight and passenger traffic be equal to a fair interest on the money invested?" If this question is answered in the negative, unless there is a bonus or guarantee of some sort forthcoming, the line will not be built.

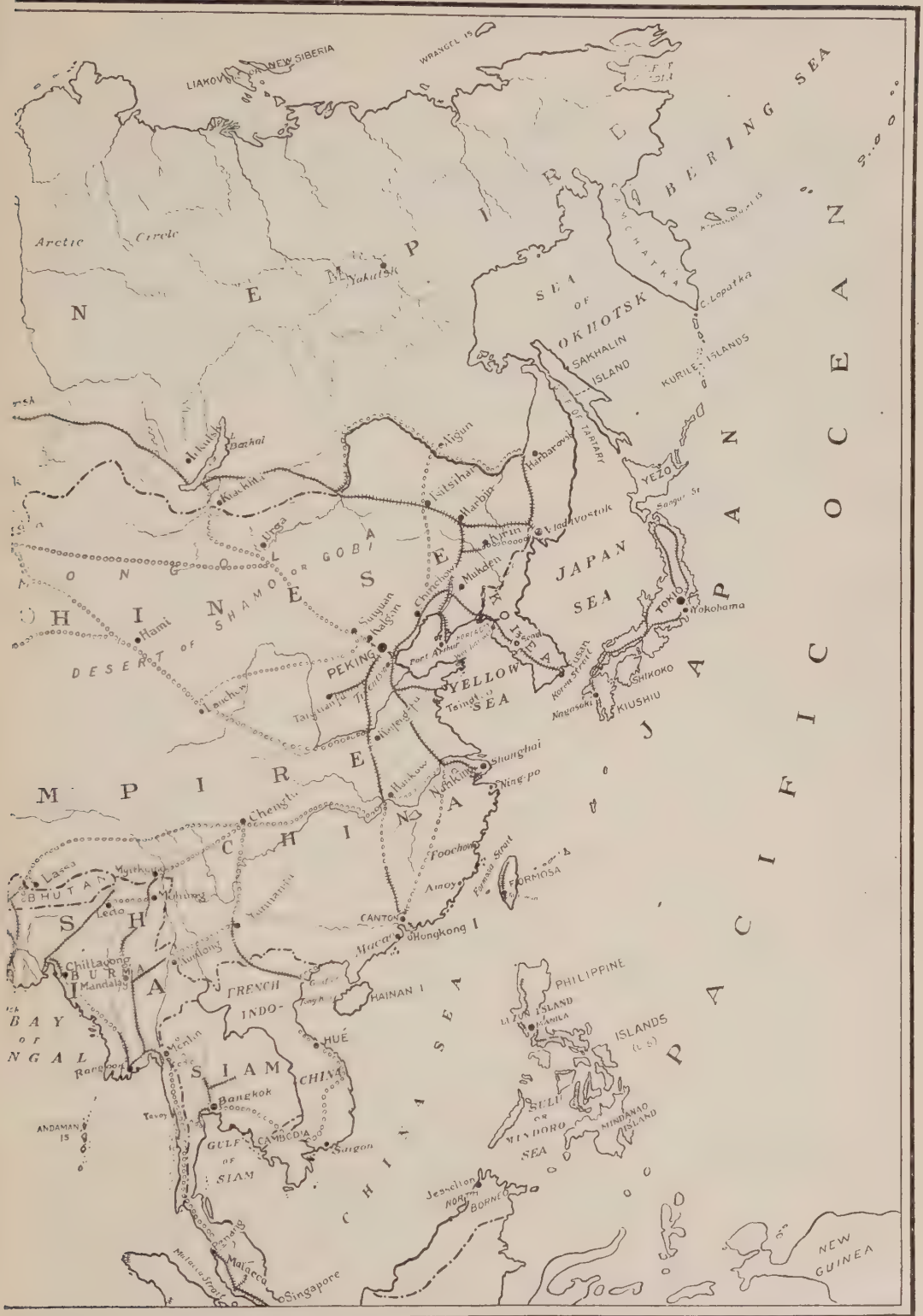
If this same test had been applied in Asia, 50 per cent. of that great continent's present railway mileage would be non-existent. Asia is—and will be for many years—in a formative state politically. Frontiers and spheres of influence are being advanced and pushed back, and the ability or inability of a power speedily to place an army at some remote point of vantage may mean the difference between winning or losing a province, or even a kingdom. Railways have been built, therefore, regardless of their promise, remotely or ever, to pay adequate financial returns. It is these strategic and semi-strategic considerations which principally differentiate Asiatic—and to a lesser degree African—railway development from that of the more settled occidental continents.

Russia had more in mind the winning of Manchuria, Port Arthur, and the long-striven-for ice-free port at Dalny than the development of the thousands of miles of intervening steppes when she embarked on the Titanic task of constructing the Trans-Siberian Railway. The branches of that line toward the borders of Chinese Turkestan, and the line from the Caspian to the Oxus and the Persian borders, were only stepping-stones to the realization of Russia's supreme ambition, the conquest of India. That all of these schemes were given an indefinite setback in the defeat of Russia by Japan was no fault of the railways.

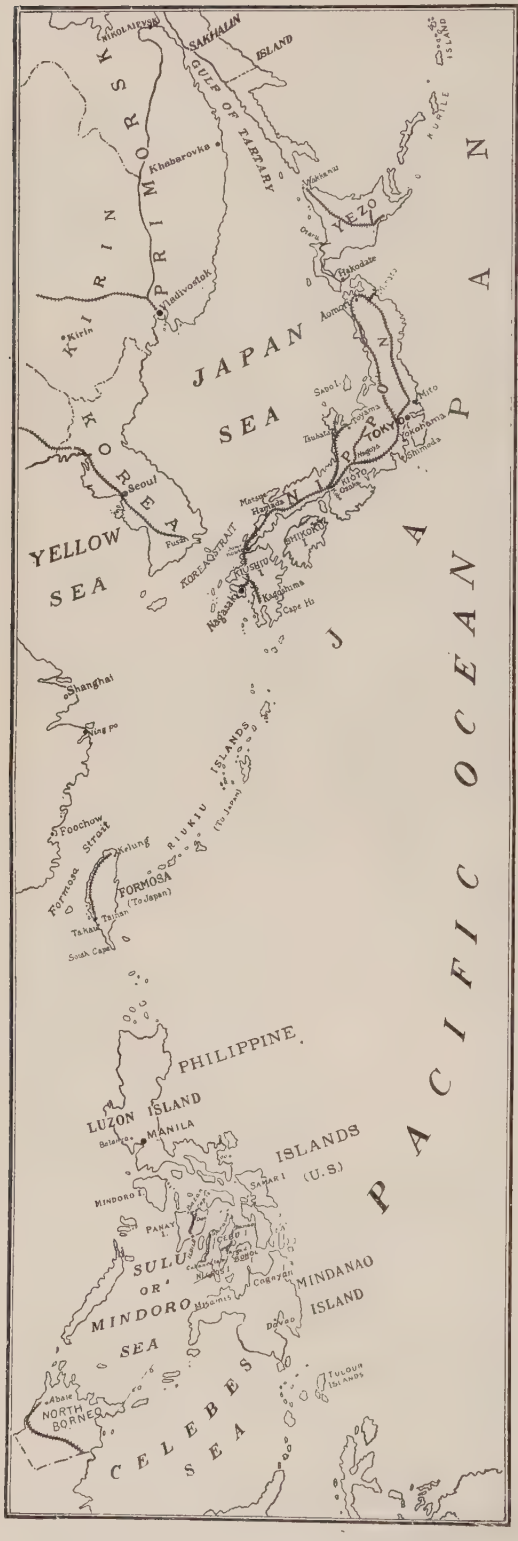
Japan is constantly strengthening her position in Korea and Manchuria by the construction of lines not warranted commercially, and India has gridironed with rails the



THE PRINCIPAL RAILWAY LINES, COMPLETED AND



PROJECTED, OF CONTINENTAL AND INSULAR ASIA



RAILROADS OF JAPAN AND THE PHILIPPINES

bleak deserts of her vulnerable northwest frontier. Strategic considerations, too, will outweigh all others in determining by what route, and by what powers, the long-talked-of Europe-to-India railway will finally be built. It should be borne in mind, however, that many lines or sections of lines built primarily for strategic purposes have, later, yielded considerable returns through the channels of regular business, thus quickening into life great sections which must otherwise have lain dormant. In the long run, therefore, there has been real economic benefit from this construction apparently abnormal from an economic point of view.

INDIA'S ADVANCED SYSTEM

In any general survey of the existing railways of Asia, India is entitled to first consideration, not only because she has the greatest mileage and the best-built and best-managed lines, but also because, through well-devised laws of control, she is getting the best results from them. For these very reasons, however, —because the Indian railway system is already so far advanced—only the briefest attention to it is possible in an article which, from the present nature of Asiatic railway development, is to be largely devoted to the discussion of plans and projects.

Railway construction was inaugurated in India in the early '50's by the commencement of short lines running out of Calcutta and Bombay. It was not, however, until the end of the '60's that the connection between these two cities was established. Meanwhile, once it had been demonstrated that the Indian coolie would lay aside caste prejudices and patronize the railway, lines were started in many other parts of the empire, and it has been the steady extension of these that has brought the present mileage of India up to nearly 36,000, half of which is of the very useful 5-ft. 6-in. gauge. These lines may be roughly divided into three classes: Government owned and operated, government owned and operated by a private company, and privately owned and operated. The tendency is strongly toward bringing all but the strictly strategic lines into the second class. Only three great systems are now operated by the government, with the probabilities strong that two of these will shortly be turned over to private companies to run, leaving only the great 4000-mile Northwestern Railway to be kept tuned up by state management for the ever-imminent frontier war.

Government regulation of railways is car-

EFFECTS OF INDIAN SUMMER HEAT ON THE RAILS OF THE SOUTHERN MAHRATTA

ried on in India, under a system of laws which has been the outgrowth of a half-century of experience. One of the most important benefits directly traceable to this regulation is the almost complete freedom from serious accidents due to a rigid insistence on safety devices. Out of 371,580,000 passengers carried in the year 1910, but three lost their lives from causes beyond their own control — one fatality for every 4,478,000,000 miles traveled. The incentive for cut-throat competition between roads is eliminated by confining each system, as far as possible, to its own territory, while the establishment of minimum rates, which cannot be cut under, makes such competition almost impossible. The public is protected by the establishment of maximum rates which may not be exceeded.

The steadfast endeavor of the Indian Railway Board has been to make third-class fares so low that for even the poorest coolie it will be cheaper to ride than to walk, and the present ruling fares of from one-third to five-twelfths of a cent per mile have accomplished that desideratum. A man can ride twenty-five miles in an hour for less than even his pitifully small daily wage amounts to. Specially drawn freight tariffs are also in force for the benefit of the millions of small farmers and merchants who make up the bulk of India's population.

How well the railways themselves have thriven under a system which, at a cursory glance, might appear to be devised entirely in the interest of the public may best be shown by pointing out that, with the exception of several insignificant lines in native states, there is not a single one of the hundred and more lines in India that has not paid from 4 to 10 per cent. from the year it was opened.

India's existing railways might be described as a complete and comprehensive system of trunks, reaching from the seas to the outermost frontiers, from and between which the increasingly closer mesh of the network of the future is to be woven. It is a magnificent beginning, and the peace and prosperity it has brought to India should be a striking object lesson to the rest of Asia. What the rest of Asia has done, is doing, and hopes to do in railway development, with the motives underlying it all, we have now to see.

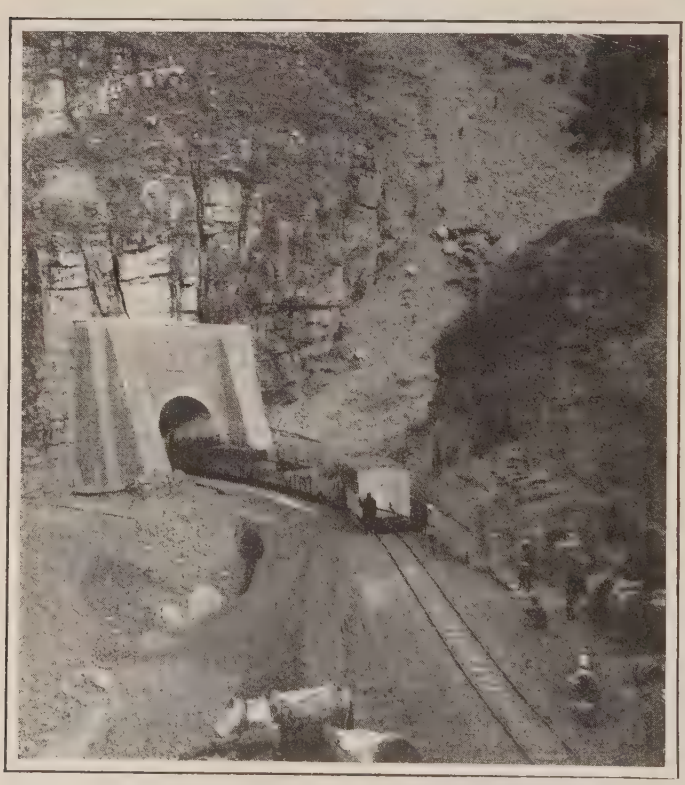
JOINING INDIA AND BURMA

Although there is still a considerable distance to be spanned before there is rail connection between India and Burma, the roads of the latter country are under the control of the Railway Board of the Delhi Government and the general system of operation is patterned closely upon that of India. The main trunk line—725 miles in length—runs northward from Rangoon to Mandalay, and on to Myitkyina at the border of the Chinese province of Yunnan, following the rich and populous valley of the Irrawadi most of the way. From Rangoon one branch runs west to Bassein and Prome and another in an easterly direction to Moulmein, beyond the Salween. The latter line will ultimately be extended south, down the Burmese "panhandle," to Tavoy and Mergui, and, when the railway from the Federated Malay States is pushed up to meet it, on to the Siamese

border. There are no insuperable engineering difficulties to be encountered at any point between Moulmein and Penang, but, as the population is light, the jungles dense and the river crossings numerous, there is nothing in the present promise of either local or through traffic to warrant the heavy expenditure that would be necessary to build such a line. Similar difficulties make a connection between Moulmein and Bangkok unlikely, though the distance to be bridged is less than 150 miles.

India and Burma will be brought into rail connection in less than two years by a line projected to cross from Mogaung, by the Huking Valley, to join the Assam-Bengal Railway at Ledo. The more direct connection between Prome and Chittagong may not be an accomplished fact within five years. Neither of these routes, however, is likely to prove of more than local importance, for, on account of the several ferryings incident to crossing the broad Bramaputra-Ganges Delta, it is improbable that even mail can be carried more quickly than by the present fast steamer service between Rangoon and Calcutta.

The 180-mile branch of the Burma Railways running easterly from Rangoon to Lashio was planned at a time when Europe had come to consider the breaking up of China as a matter almost of months, a time when British ambitions were fixed upon staking off the best part of Central China for herself by means of a great railway from Shanghai to Rangoon. This branch from Mandalay was to furnish the Burmese link in what would have been the first of Asia's great international sea-to-sea railways, but, before it had reached its goal—Kunlong Ferry, on the Salween—things had eventuated calculated to give China promise of a new lease on life and Britain's interest in the development of her "sphere of influence" fell from a political to a commercial plane. She trimmed her ambitions to meet the changed conditions, gave up the plan of throwing a British railway across China, thereby displaying both tact and common sense. How France has harvested "Dead Sea Fruit" in persisting in carrying out a railway project originally contingent on the dismemberment of China will be shown presently.



PART OF AN INDIAN FRONTIER LINE THAT MAY ULTIMATELY BE PART OF THE TRANS-PERSIAN LINE

(Heavy rock cutting and tunneling on most of the Indian mountain lines have made construction very expensive)

The successful construction by an American firm of the remarkable Gokteik Viaduct over the chasm of the Nam-Hpa-Se on the Lashio Branch of the Burma Railways proved to be an entering wedge for American competition in a field hitherto practically closed to non-British bidders. This curved steel trestle, which is itself built upon a natural bridge of basalt over a thousand feet above the river torrent, presented engineering features so unusual that tenders were called for from builders of all the world. The triumph of the American firm opened their way to other large contracts in India, and from what the present writer has observed in the last two years in Asia and Africa, it would seem safe to say that another ten years will place American steel bridge builders in a position of preëminence scarcely lower than that occupied by our manufacturers of mining and electrical machinery.

VIEW ON THE RAILWAY BETWEEN COLOMBO AND KANDY, CEYLON

(The great growth of this rich island's tea and rubber plantations is demanding a steady extension of transportation facilities)

THE FEDERATED MALAY STATES LINE

The connection between the British Straits Settlements colonies of Penang and Singapore is effected by 472 miles of railway along the east side of the Malay Peninsula, ferries from the mainland to each island, and twenty miles of line on the island of Singapore. The meter-gauge Federated Malay States Railway, which also manages the Johore State Railway through the independent state of that name, is one of the best built and best run tropical railways in the world.

Already very prosperous through their average annual production of $30,000,000 worth of tin—far more than half of the world's total output—the various units of the ably conceived and maintained Federation of Malay States were in a position to give ample business to a railroad long before the vigorous exploitation of their agricultural resources doubled and trebled that business. Now that they lead the world in plantation-grown rubber, with numerous other tropical products footing up increasingly higher totals annually, the Federated Malay States line has developed into one of the most prosperous concerns in the East. Besides paying for excellent and up-to-date improvements and several branches and extensions, it has proved the largest and steadiest source of revenue of the government.

Two important branches run from the main line to Malacca and Port Swettenham, while a number of motor lines serve districts not reached by rail. A branch is under construction from Bahau, half way between Penang and Singapore, in a northerly direction to Temarah, which would be the natural point of departure for a line up the fairly well populated east coast of the peninsula to Bangkok. A projected northerly extension from Prai (Penang Ferry) into the State of Kedah will be the first link in the Singapore-Rangoon line by the west coast of the peninsula, which has been referred to in the paragraphs on Burma.

JAVA'S PROFITABLE CARRIERS

The railways of the Dutch East Indies, like their population, are mostly crowded into the rich and beautiful island of Java. Out of a total of 1500 miles of line in the whole archipelago, with its total area of 587,000 square miles, 1400 have been laid in Java which, but a scant 48,000 square miles in extent, is but slightly larger than Luzon or Cuba. But for

TRAIN SHED OF THE KUALA LUMPUR STATION ON THE FEDERATED MALAY STATES RAILWAY (ONE OF THE BEST-BUILT AND BEST-PAYING LINES IN TROPICAL ASIA)

a short line from Batavia to Buitenzorg, the summer capital, all of this considerable mileage is state-owned and operated. On account of the extremely dense population of the island—600 to the square mile—and the absence of a great amount of water-borne competition, all lines have paid handsomely from the first, and but for the short-sighted policy of the home government in deflecting a considerable part of the earnings of the state railways for use in Holland, the Javan system would be even more extensive than it is. Generally speaking, the railways of Java are constructed with a thoroughness characteristic of the Hollandaise Dutchmen and run with a deliberation characteristic of the Dutch East Indian. There are no night trains between the large cities and but few suburban locals are run after sunset. Accidents are almost unknown.

Two short lines at Deli and Padang, on Sumatra, complete the list of the Dutch East Indian railways, but with a fuller pacification of the tribes of the interior and the incidental extension of agricultural activity, there will be a demand for improved transportation facilities in this the most favorably located of all the great Mayasian islands.

Dutch Borneo has no railways and, save in the vicinity of the rapidly growing oil fields, there is no immediate call for them. In non-Dutch Borneo, Sarawak and Brunei will probably be able to get along for a couple of more decades with such transportation facilities as are offered by the sea and their broad, deep rivers, but the great increases in rubber cultivation in British North Borneo will shortly make necessary a complete rebuilding of the present poorly constructed narrow-gauge line running west from Jesselton, and probably short lines running into the interior from Sandakan and one or two other coastal points. There is good business awaiting the 100 miles of railway that may shortly be built out from Makassar, the rapidly growing port of Southern Celebes, but in no part of British, Dutch or German New Guinea—the world's largest non-continental island—for all of its fertile valleys and good harbors, is there any likelihood that the whistle of the locomotive will awaken the echoes of the jungle for half a century.

TRUNK LINES AND BRANCHES IN THE PHILIPPINES

Most of the railway history of the Philippines has been made since the final pacification of the islands in 1902. In 1892 the Manila Railway Company, a British corporation, opened a line running north from that capital through the rich central valley of Luzon to the port of Dagupan, a distance of 120 miles. This line, much damaged by the incessant fighting which had waged about it for three years, was the beginning from which Luzon's present thoroughly up-to-date rail-

A PHILIPPINE TRAIN AND MODERN SIGNALING APPARATUS

way system was built. There are now over 600 miles of line in operation, with plans complete for a comprehensive network on the broad and populous plain of western Luzon, and branches penetrating some of the fertile mountain valleys, these, where practicable, going on to the rich but little developed east coast. Among other lines under construction is the urgently-needed branch from Aringay to Baguio, the lofty summer capital, at present served only by the enormously costly Benguet wagon road, large parts of which have been destroyed by flood nearly every season since it was built.

The Philippine Railway Company, an American corporation, was given the concession for building the lines of the Visayan or central islands of the archipelago, and to date a thirty-five mile trunk on the thickly populated island of Cebu and about the same mileage on the island of Panay have been completed. These lines have cost rather more than was originally estimated—the Cebu line ran to over $50,000 a mile—but they are most substantially built, with all bridges, culverts and stations of steel and concrete, and the good business they are doing will doubtless justify the outlay. Active work on the seventy-five-mile line projected for the island of Negros has not yet commenced.

It is estimated that by 1915 there will be nearly 1000 miles of railway in all the Philippines, and if the lines which are justified on the islands of Samar, Leyte, and Mindanao are constructed, the next decade may see that mileage doubled.

A COUNTRY STATION SCENE IN JAVA

A FRANCO-CHINESE VENTURE

The 300-mile French line from Hanoi to Yunnan-fu was projected, originally, about the time of the Boxer troubles, as an almost purely strategic venture—as a harpoon, so to speak, thrown into what had been picked out as France's fragment of dismembered China. Being put through in the face of China's growing evidences of vitality, it found itself, upon completion in 1910, forced to face the world on its merits, and its showing has been but a sorry one. Though of but meter gauge, it cost over $60,000 per mile, there being a total of 150 tunnels, an average of one to every two miles of line. The longest trains that can be operated consist of but

seventeen cars, and even these are able to average only fifteen miles an hour. Disasters from landslips have been appalling, one recent slide requiring a force of 1000 coolies three months to remove. Both freight and passenger traffic have been very light, and, in the face of a good deal of local prejudice, prospects for the future are anything but encouraging.

Under the circumstances, it is not surprising to learn that the French have quite abandoned their original plan of carrying their line a further 500 miles to the Yangtse, even could the concession be obtained. This latter line, which will run through a very rough and elevated country,—some of the passes are over 8000 feet high—is definitely projected by the Chinese, however, and it would not be surprising if the French line itself should pass under the control of the Imperial Government within the next five years. Under Chinese ownership, and as an outlet to the great province of Szechuan, the through line to the coast would become immensely profitable.

THE CHINESE ROUTE FROM INDIA TO EUROPE

Building from Yunnan-fu to the Burmese border there would be three possible objective points—Kunlong Ferry, to meet the Lashio branch of the Burma Railways to which allusion has been made; Bhamo, at the head of navigation on the Irrawadi, following the main caravan route; and Myitkyina, the terminus of the main trunk of the Burma lines. The writer has traversed a considerable part of this border country on foot and can testify to the serious obstacles the most favorable route would present to the engineer. From what was seen and heard on both sides of the line he is inclined to the belief that the Kunlong route—apparently the shortest and least difficult—will be the one decided upon. This line, then, with the one spoken of to Szechuan which would meet the Ichang extension from Hankow already under way, will establish the connection between Rangoon and Peking. It is a possible consummation in five years; a probable one in ten: which means that India's first rail connection with Europe may be over the sweeping circuit by North China and Siberia.

CHINA'S ACHIEVEMENTS IN TWELVE YEARS

Practically all of China's 5000 miles of railway have been built since the Boxer Rebellion in 1900,—a truly remarkable showing when we consider the handicap imposed by the superstition of her lower classes, the corruption of her officials, and the ruthless rivalries of foreign powers each working to serve its own selfish end. It has been made possible by the realization on the part of that Empire's real patriots, first, of China's really desperate need of swifter and surer means of moving goods and crops, and, second, of her equally great need of an influence to counteract that age-old spirit of sectionalism which prompted a man to say, "I am a Cantonese," or, "I am a Honanese," instead of, "I am a Chinese."

"The mountains are high and Peking is far distant," was the stock proverb of the old Chinese official in justifying some unusually flagrant piece of independent action. The realization that Peking—and punishment—was only two days distant by rail, instead of two weeks by litter has had a most salutary effect in raising the standard of official efficiency throughout the empire, while in the greater and greater intermingling of East and West, North and South, incident to cheap and swift means of communication, the sectional spirit of Old China is rapidly changing into the nationalism of New China. A centralized China, bound together with bands of steel rails, will form a united whole which not all the grand and petty jealousies of European powers can threaten with a "break-up."

With the disappearance of the fear and distrust which the Chinese once felt for the railroad the pendulum swung to the opposite extreme and a wave of promotion swept the country. Money was raised by private subscription, numerous companies were formed, and several lines of considerable length were actually constructed. They were cheaply if poorly built, and it is because of their low initial cost that they may be held chiefly responsible for the strong protests a certain faction among the Chinese is still making against foreign loans. "We admit that these lines of ours are not as well built as the foreign ones," they say; "but neither have they cost as much. We are a poor people and they are good enough for us."

With the increasing evidences given by China of her ability to work out her own salvation came demands on her part for more liberal terms in the matter of loans, with the result that she was ultimately able to secure complete freedom of control over the expenditure of the money borrowed for the construction of the Tientsin-Pukow Railway, and it is going to be very hard for any one to make her borrow money without that privilege in the future. The inflexible stand made by the

TANKS, SHOPS AND ROUNDHOUSE ON A NORTH CHINA RAILWAY

(There is not a wooden railway building in China)

so-called Six Power Group for retaining the right of control over expenditure of the $50,000,000 which they were endeavoring to loan to China was the one reason that they were, for a time, completely outmaneuvered and almost beaten by an independent syndicate, quite without political support, which was willing to waive that obnoxious right.

The plans recently put forward by Sun-Yat-Sen provide for the taking over by the Imperial Government and the standardization of all the existing railways in China to form the groundwork of a comprehensive system of 70,000 miles of new lines. This is a huge undertaking, but if any one believes that China will be "over-railroaded" when it is completed let him consider that if that country, which is of about the same size as the United States, had railway facilities equal to this country in proportion to population she would have close to 900,000 miles of steel rails.

ACTUAL AND PROJECTED CHINESE SYSTEMS

It will be possible to outline here only very briefly the most salient features of China's existing and projected railway systems. Peking is connected at present with the Yangtse by two routes: one by the Belgian-built line to Hankow and the other via Tientsin and the recently completed German-British-built line to Pukow, opposite Nanking. The approaching completion of the ill-starred Canton-Hankow line—it was the very handsome profit realized by a group of New York financiers in selling their concession to build this line back to the Chinese Government which precipitated the anti-American boycott of four years ago—will give rail communication between North and South China for the first time, while the projected line from Canton to Nanking will offer an alternative route and, incidentally, open up a very rich country. Hangchow and Shanghai are already in rail connection, and the gradual building of short lines serving the large coastal cities of Foochow, Amoy, and Swatow will ultimately bring Canton and Shanghai into direct communication.

If the Chinese do not succeed in getting hold of the French railway in Yunnan, they have a plan to furnish that province with an all-Chinese outlet by building a line from Yunnan-fu to the head of navigation on the West River, and on to Canton.

The British-built Shanghai-Nanking Railway furnishes communication between those two great cities, and the Chinese plan to extend the rails on up the Yangtse to Hankow, there to connect with the long-projected Hankow-Szechuan line, which is being built to wind above the famous Ichang gorges and on to Chengtu, the capital of the empire's richest and most populous province. Mention has already been made of the Chino-Burma connection, of which the line south from Chengtu to Yunnan-fu will probably be the last link completed.

From Peking the line of the Imperial Railways of North China runs northward to con-

nect with the South Manchurian Railway for the through service to Europe via Siberia. From the profits of this ably-managed line was built the famous Peking-Kalgan Railway over the Nankow Pass and under the Great Wall, the first line to be financed, engineered, and built exclusively by the Chinese. The earnings of the Imperial Railways of North China are also to be drawn on for a 230-mile extension from Kalgan to Suiyuan, in the northwest of Shanshi Province, near the Mongolian frontier. Suiyuan will be the junction of two lines of great importance. The first of these to be built will be an 800-mile extension across the Gobi Desert to Urga and on to Kiachta, on the Russian frontier, there to meet a 100-mile spur thrown off from the Trans-Siberian near Irkutsk. This cut-off, which will save at least three days on the running time between Peking and Europe, as well as incalculably strengthening China's weakened grip upon Mongolia, is likely to be completed at the end of five or six years, though the present friction between Russia and China may give it an indefinite setback.

The other line from Suiyuan is of especial interest as being the main link in a great Central Asian transcontinental railway. The projected line will proceed southwesterly to Langchow, thence northwesterly to Hami, and finally westerly to Kashgar, the capital of Chinese Turkestan. From Kashgar a 200-mile extension would unite this line with the Russian Central Asian Railway from Tashkent at its terminus at Andijah. China's principal interest in this line will be in getting into closer touch with her far-flung Turkestan outposts; the country traversed is too largely desert to yield much traffic, while as a means of reaching Europe this route could hardly hope to vie with the shortened Trans-Siberian.

THE JAPANESE SYSTEM

The Japanese railway system is like that of India in that the main trunks of it may be said to be complete, making the filling in between these with a network of branches the chief concern of the future. Railway construction was inaugurated with the building of the Yokohama-Tokyo line in 1870. This eighteen miles of line,—which is now being quadruple-tracked,—was opened in 1872, and two years later the Kobe-Osaka line of twenty miles was finished. In 1885 there were 225 miles of state lines and 135 miles of private, but the next fifteen years brought the private-built mileage up to nearly 3000, while the state lines just touched 950. In 1905 seventeen of the leading private lines—2823 miles—were bought by the government for $240,000,000, so that at the end of 1910 the mileage stood, state lines, 4863, private lines, 507, making a total of 5370, with 313 miles in course of construction.

The existing Japanese gauge is 3 ft. 6 in., but this having proved inadequate to the demands of the increasing traffic, a general broadening to 4 ft. 8½ in. is to be undertaken, that of the 700-mile trunk from Tokyo to Shimoneseki—a twelve-year task—being now under way. Out of a total of $114,000,000 to be spent for broad-gauging, it is estimated that $22,500,000 must be used for the purchase of materials from abroad, the principal items being rails and accessories, girders, machinery for machine shops, engines, wheels, cars, and machines for the generation of electricity. American firms, it is expected, will be awarded a good share of the contracts.

In the year 1910–11, 167,000,000 passengers and 32,000,000 tons of freight were carried on all Japanese lines, gross traffic receipts amounting to $55,000,000. The net profits of the 4863 miles of state lines aggregated $6,500,000,—not a very satisfactory figure.

The administrative organization of the Imperial Railways consists of a head office at Tokyo, with five district superintendent offices to supervise the lines under traffic. Special offices are opened to take charge of lines under construction. Generally speaking, Japanese railways reflect European rather than American influence, in spite of which the United States has been able to sell a considerable amount of materials and equipment. Japan is rapidly becoming more self-sufficient in the matter of railway supplies, however, and it is by no means improbable that the contracts referred to in connection with the broad-gauging undertaking will be the last really large orders to go abroad.

Japan's railway activity in Formosa has consisted principally of pushing a solidly-built main line down the fertile and well-populated west coast of the big island, from which branches will be thrown into the mountainous interior as fast as the war-like tribes are brought under control.

MANCHURIAN LINES, COMPLETED AND PROJECTED

Manchurian railway history is a record of Russian and Japanese rather than Chinese

TRAINS WORKING UP A SWITCHBACK ON CHINESE MOUNTAIN RAILWAY
(Both locomotives shown in the picture are of American make)

enterprise. By the Treaty of Portsmouth, Japan succeeded to the right to operate the railways which Russia had built in Southern Manchuria, and since the war the trunk line from Dalny to Mukden and beyond has been practically rebuilt, while both strategical and commercial considerations have been taken into account in constructing and projecting new extensions. Japan had full opportunity to learn of the disadvantage of a narrow-gauge road in handling rush traffic in war time, and not only is she broadening all of her main lines at home, but those on the mainland of Asia as well. Beginning at Fusan, opposite Shimonoseki, the 500-mile line across Korea to Wiju on the Manchurian border is being standardized. The 150-mile section to Mukden has already been broadened.

The great trunk line which the Chinese projected to run north from Chinchow through western Manchuria to Tsitsihar, on the Trans-Siberian, and on to Aigun on the Amur, was to have been financed by Americans and built by British contractors. Japan and Russia came to an agreement to see this project through according to their own notions about the same time that their curt refusal to consider Secretary Knox's proposal to neutralize the railways of Manchuria broke the news to the rest of the world that the Open Door in that part of China had been banged shut in its face.

Going through a 1911 file of a prominent railway periodcal the writer came across two brief items which throw an interesting side-light on the true status of the great Trans-Siberian Railway. One stated, in effect, that three bills had recently passed the Russian Duma authorizing work which, by 1915, will bring the total amount invested in that line up to $1,000,000,000. The second item stated that the through passengers on the Trans-Siberian in the year 1910 had numbered 5022, paying a total of $650,000 in fares,—an increase of 36 per cent. over 1909. "Local traffic," comments the editor, "must be the main support of this great road—as far as it is supported by traffic." Of course traffic, through and local, is alike incidental to the Trans-Siberian's influence as a possible mover of armies.

The work which was authorized for the Trans-Siberian in 1910 is being actively pushed at all points, and when completed will leave that line double-tracked throughout its whole length of 6844 miles and with double approaches at both the Pacific and European ends. The most important part of the new program is the building of a line, starting from Koinga, on the Trans-Siberian, and running 1300 miles down the Amur Valley to Khabarovsk at the junction of the latter river with the Ussuri, to where another line has already been built from Vladivostok. Russia speaks of it as an "economic" line, but its real purpose is to gain an all-Russian approach to the Pacific, where a new naval base may be expected to be under way before long. The cost of this 1300 miles of line will be over $150,000,000.

The several military railways which Russia flung out to the borders of Persia, Afghanistan, and Chinese Turkestan upward of fifteen years ago, cheaply built in the first place, have been allowed to fall into a bad state of disrepair. They will be allowed to remain in that condition just as long as Britain is able to maintain her present rather precarious entente with Russia. When that fails we may look for renewed railway activity all along the line.

GRIDIRONING ASIA MINOR,—"PILGRIM TRAFFIC" TO MECCA

Turkey-in-Asia has a very considerable railway mileage, the most and best of which is in the old and settled provinces of Asia Minor. These latter lines are mostly German built and are generally well run and fairly prosperous. Nearly every line has one or more extensions in hand, and another decade will find Asia Minor well covered with a network of rails. The curtailment of Turkey-in-Europe will undoubtedly greatly stimulate the development of the Ottoman Empire in Asia.

From Beirut, in Syria, a finely built French narrow-gauge line runs north, through the Lebanon mountains, 250 miles to Aleppo, with an easterly branch to Damascus on the edge of the desert. Damascus is the northern terminus of the much-talked-of Hedjaz, or Mecca, railway, which was planned to handle the pilgrim traffic. The Turks availed themselves of German help in the construction of this line, but, unfortunately, have tried to manage it themselves. The opposition of the tribesmen made it impossible to build beyond Medina, and the completed 800 miles is probably the worst run, and the worst run down, piece of railway in the world. The pilgrim traffic has also been most disappointing, fully 80 per cent. of the visitors to Mecca, according to statistics covering the last five years, having gone by the old sea route to Jedda. The short French line from Jaffa to Jerusalem has had a precarious existence for many years, principally on account of Jaffa's deficiencies as a port. Should the Turks carry out their project of a line from the harbor of Caifa, a little farther north, it would practically force the French road to suspend.

THE FAMOUS BAGDAD RAILWAY

But Turkey's biggest and most important railway project is the line which, starting from Konia, the terminus of the Anatolian Railway from Stamboul, is being carried 1250 miles in a southeasterly direction to Bussorah, at the head of the Persian Gulf, touching on the way Aleppo, the metropolis of Syria, Mosul, on the site of ancient Nineveh, and Bagdad, the one-time capital of the Kaliphs. The concession for building the 900 miles from Konia to Bagdad is in the hands of a German company, the general manager of which, Meissner Pasha, has an enviable record of twenty-eight years in railway construction in Turkey. The 350 miles from Bagdad to Bussorah, as a consequence of political jealousies, will probably be participated in equally by Germany, Russia, France, and Great Britain. The Germans have a very liberal kilometrage guarantee for their part of the line, which is being put through as a standard gauge of the most substantial description. There are no great engineering problems to be solved at any point, but the expense of transporting building materials and the absence of stone ballasting rock in all of lower Mesopotamia is going to make construction very expensive.

The writer recently traversed nearly the entire route of the Bagdad Railway by caravan, finding either active construction or the final surveys in progress at all points. Unless the Balkan war may encourage Arab uprisings through draining this part of the country of troops, it is very likely that the Bosphorus and the Persian Gulf will be in touch by rail by the beginning of 1917, at which time the completion of two of the great Mesopotamian irrigation projects will further open the way for this ancient cradle of civilization to come again to its own.

BY RAIL FROM EUROPE TO INDIA

To complete our survey of Asia we have now but to consider briefly the probable route of the long-clamored-for Europe-to-India railway. Both on the score of directness and the character of the country traversed, the ideal course for such a line would be from Constantinople to Bussorah by the Bagdad Railway as outlined above, and on to Karachi by an extension down the west side of the Persian Gulf and across Baluchistan. German control of the Bagdad Railway, however, makes this route irrevocably unacceptable to Britain.

A number of patriotic Britons are advocating an "All Red" route, cutting across to Bussorah from Suez, and from there to Karachi or Quetta. There are several objections to this, not the least of which is the fact

CONCRETE BRIDGE WITH CUT STONE ABUTMENTS ON PEKING-KALGAN RAILROAD

(The Great Wall of China forms the skyline)

that the Trans-Arabian section, far from being surveyed, has not even been explored. Neither is it certain that Turkey, in the face of German opposition, would grant the desired concession. Finally, a railway from India to Egypt, even if finished, would still be on the Oriental side of the Mediterranean; in short, could not fulfill the purpose of the desired Indo-European line.

This leaves only the Trans-Persian line, projected to be built by Russia and India in coöperation; the most salient facts in connection with which may be briefly stated. This line is planned to connect with the Russian railway from Baku at Aliat, the distances between the various points on the probable route to India being as follows:

In Russia, Aliat to Astara	129 miles
In Persia—	
Russian sphere, Astara to Yezd	683
Neutral sphere, Yezd to Kerman	218
British sphere, Kerman to Guatar	591
	1,492
In Baluchistan, Guatar to Karachi	373
	1,994 miles

Russia has been desirous that her regular 5-ft. gauge should be laid all the way to the border of Baluchistan, but will probably acquiesce in the British proposal to end it at Kerman, or wherever the line enters the British sphere. Indeed, it is not improbable that three different gauges may be stipulated for the line—5-ft. in Russia, the ordinary 4-ft., 8½ in. in Persia, and 5-ft., 6 in. in Baluchistan. The capital cost of the whole 2000 miles of line from Aliat to Karachi is estimated at $175,000,000, and it is figured that it would have to face an annual deficit of at least $2,500,000, to be made up by subsidies from India and Russia.

During the past year the British Foreign Office, which has shown for some time an apparently increasing pliancy in acceding to Russian proposals in the near East—we need go no further back than the Shuster incident for a case in point—has come very near to committing itself to the construction of the Trans-Persian line on some such terms as those I have outlined, though the opinion is very freely expressed, both in Europe and the East, that such a move would stultify the labors of half a century in baring India's all-too-weak northwestern flank to the Russian sword. The writer heard much outspoken criticism of the scheme from men of both parties in England last summer, and it would not be very surprising if popular opposition should

A COUNTRY STATION IN CHINA, SHOWING CONCRETE AND MACADAM PLATFORM AND OVERHEAD CROSSING

(The safety of passengers is better looked after than on the average American line)

increase to a point that would force the government to modify greatly, if not abandon entirely, a project that would so inevitably play into the hands of a power whose friendship to England hangs only by the tenuous thread of a very precarious entente. The time has not yet come in this part of Asia when strategic exigencies can be subordinated to commercial.

No one who has sounded beneath the surface eddies into the real undercurrents of Near Eastern politics will deny that there is much food for thought in the words of an old Turkish official whom I met one evening at the camp of some Bagdad Railway engineers near Babylon.

"Germany may build railways," he said; "and England may build railways, and France may build railways; and in the end the Great White Bear will come down to the Persian Gulf and take his drink. If the railways happen to lie in his way he will probably take them also."

It is a long distance from the mouth of the Amur to the head of the Persian Gulf; but one cannot take even a hurried survey of Asiatic railway development without noting that the unretreating shadow of the Russian Bear reaches all the way across.

The course of the future railway lines of Asia, like the course of the lines demarking the political boundaries, depends less upon what happens in that continent than on what happens in Europe. With peace between the great powers Asia's present mileage may easily be doubled in the next decade; with the prospect of a general war continuing to loom as darkly as during the past year the uncertainty cannot but retard all but strategic development.

TYPICAL STEEL BRIDGE ON THE HEDJAZ RAILROAD, BUILT BY TURKEY TO ASSIST IN CARRYING PILGRIMS FROM MECCA

(A line that is a monument to German engineering skill and to Turkish incompetence)

HOW THE IOWA STATE COLLEGES ARE GETTING TOGETHER

BY WILLIAM R. BOYD

(Chairman of Finance Committee, Iowa State Board of Education)

COINCIDENT with the development of State institutions of higher learning in recent years the question of the relation of these institutions to one another in a given State has become probably the most vital question with which any of them has had to deal. In all States where the agricultural colleges are organized as institutions apart from the State universities, institutional rivalry has tended to outweigh considerations looking toward a consistent system of education. In Michigan, for example, and in Indiana, Kansas, the Dakotas, Colorado, Texas, and other States, the agricultural colleges, designed under the Morrill Act to afford instruction in agriculture and the mechanic arts, have vigorously endeavored to become rival State universities.

In one instance an agricultural college even launched a college of medicine, although a struggling college of medicine existed at the university of that State; in another a State university to-day is planning extended courses in agriculture, although this institution is within a few hours' ride of the agricultural college of its State. With the possible exception of Michigan, this sort of rivalry has increased almost in proportion to the liberality with which these institutions have been supported by their respective commonwealths, resulting always in waste of money, confusion of purpose, and lowering of the standards of work. The State of Iowa, through its State Board of Education, has just enacted the most constructive legislation yet on record looking toward the betterment of these conditions. It is my purpose now to review briefly the action taken by this board and the reasons by which the board was guided.

LACK OF UNIFICATION

By way of introduction, let me say, first, that, for the most part, States such as Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, and Missouri, which elected to join their "land-grant colleges" with their universities possess to-day systems which have satisfied the people of these commonwealths and have made a favorable impression upon the country at large. However, not a few of the States, which elected to have their land-grant colleges separate from their universities have creditable universities and colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts. But under the latter conditions there are elements of weakness which are inherent. In Iowa this is what happened: The State has created three institutions of higher education, the State University at Iowa City, the College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts at Ames, and the State Teachers College at Cedar Falls, each organized as a separate institution. From the beginning each has developed with little reference to the others. This sequence was natural since no unifying principle existed as a basis for their growth. Neither was there adequate authority to compel the recognition of such a principle.

WASTEFUL RIVALRIES AND DUPLICATIONS

The result of this isolated growth is that, while the work at each institution has been, on the whole, creditable, the rivalry and competition among them have led to waste and useless duplication, lowering the standard which might have been attained. Session after session as these institutions urged their claims for support before the General Assembly of the State, the leaders of the two bodies of that Assembly recognized the evils of the situation. They felt that the State should have for its expenditure upon higher education three *coöperating* centers, each serving the interests of the State under a single defensible plan, and not three independent centers competing with one another.

But at each recurring session of the General Assembly the representatives of these institutions assembled at the capitol to press their claims, often asking for more money for a single institution than the General Assembly had at its command for all purposes. In the last analysis, the apportionment between

them was made in a haphazard fashion with little idea of the real merits of the respective askings. One of the ablest and most conscientious of the members of the General Assembly for many years, and a leader in the Senate, recently described the situation in these words:

> The members of the legislature could look on in a helpless sort of way and realize perfectly well that things were not as they should be in connection with the three institutions. They could see the wastefulness of rivalry that was unjustifiable and of duplications that were worse than folly; and yet they were powerless, in the brief period during which the sessions lasted, to bring about any betterment of conditions. There was not a member of the appropriations committee which listened to the hearings of the institutions but who knew these things and finally became convinced that the only way to remedy them was through one board with large power to act.

AUTHORITY CENTRALIZED

Guided by conviction such as this, the General Assembly six years ago appointed a joint committee to "investigate the system of management and affairs of the State's educational institutions." This committee made an exhaustive study of the educational institutions of this and other States, and reported unanimously in favor of a single governing board to take over the government of the State University, the State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, and the State Teachers College. The Thirty-third General Assembly then, in 1909, three years after the publication of this report, created such a form of government for these institutions by placing them under the control of the Iowa State Board of Education. This board was given large power and the three former boards which controlled the institutions were dissolved.

The new board consists of nine members who work in conjunction with a Finance Committee of three members. The members of the Finance Committee are appointed by the board, each member of the committee receiving an annual salary of $3,500. The board itself serves without remuneration except for a *per diem* to cover traveling expenses.

COÖRDINATION OF TEACHING CENTERS

Almost as soon as this board came into power it began to study its task of coördination. Within a short period it came to the conclusion that educational theory alone could not solve the problem before it. It recognized the sentimental and political history about each of the institutions as valuable assets; it wished to conserve these elements and to progress in so far as possible with the advice and good will of all concerned. But that there would be opposition to any plan of coördination which might be suggested was plain from the beginning. Institutions, developed as these have been, would not willingly cease to be independent centers, competing with one another, and become coöperating centers. The board realized both the difficulty and the delicacy of its task and took three years in which to study its problem and to obtain the best non-partisan expert advice obtainable.

Finally a majority of the board came to feel that two paramount duplications were without justification and positively harmful, not only from the standpoint of the useless expenditure of money, but also from the standpoint of inefficiency. These duplications grew out of the facts, first, that instruction in engineering existed at the University and at the State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts; and, second, that instruction in liberal arts was maintained at the University and also at the State Teachers College.

ENGINEERING TAUGHT IN TWO PLACES

It was found that the engineering department at the State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts was founded in 1869; that the value of its plant and equipment approximated $550,000. Its salary budget was $60,000; its number of professors 24; instructors 16; students 589. On the other hand the board found that the College of Applied Science at the University was created in 1905. The value of this plant and equipment is about $201,000; salary budget $36,000; number of professors 8; instructors 10; students 165. It should be stated in this connection that engineering had been taught in a meager fashion at the University for many years; but the College of Applied Science as now organized was established in 1905. The University budget in engineering prior to 1905 had never been as much as $6,000 per annum. Believing, therefore, that it was absolutely unjustifiable for the State to maintain within 125 miles of each other two engineering schools covering practically the same field, the board decided to discontinue the College of Applied Science at the University and to concentrate the engineering work at Ames.

TWO COLLEGES OF LIBERAL ARTS

The Iowa State Teachers College was established in the early '70's to train teachers for the common schools, and for many years it was, strictly speaking, a normal school. Latterly it became ambitious to extend its field to the granting of collegiate degrees, and it has gone even to the extent of offering graduate work. The board holds—and in this position it is sustained by educators generally—that the University is the natural center for a school of education of college grade. There exist at the University, and must always exist there, strong departments in modern and ancient languages, mathematics, history, philosophy, psychology and in all of the sciences, together with extensive libraries, laboratories, and museums. Why should the State duplicate this work within eighty miles of the University? As President Van Hise of the University of Wisconsin aptly puts it, "A college of education as a thing apart from a college of liberal arts is unthinkable. The only possible way by which the normal school at Cedar Falls could satisfactorily give the work of a college of education would be for it to become also a college of liberal arts, and thus duplicate the very central work of the University."

It was wrong, moreover, in the opinion of the board, for the Teachers College to take up this college work, because in thus developing itself into a college the institution could not but neglect the real work for which it was created. The facilities for the training of teachers for the rural and elementary schools of Iowa are inadequate, and the board has recommended to the legislature the establishment of additional normal schools to aid in this great work—perhaps the greatest which the State has to do.

Other changes which the board has effected looking toward right co-ordination are as follows: It discontinued the course known as the "General Science Course" at the State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. The reason for doing this is that this general science course is a direct duplication of work that already exists and properly belongs at the University. There has never been any large number of students in this course; the present number is about eighty.

The board also decided to transfer to the University the work in "Home Economics" now being carried on at the State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. This was done, first, to avoid duplications which must otherwise be created, and, second, because this subject ought to be pursued in connection with a wide range of subjects in liberal culture which already exist at the University, but which do not and cannot without further expensive duplication exist at the State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts.

It would, perhaps, be asking too much to expect the institutions to give up willingly anything they possess. But the board is confident that in the long run the new plan will work out to the increased advantage both of the institutions themselves and of the State as a whole. Under the plan as outlined, no opportunity now existing to secure an education in Iowa has been in any wise curtailed; on the contrary, the facilities for securing an education have been increased and the advantages which these institutions have to offer will be brought home to a larger number of people than ever before.

WHAT REORGANIZATION MEANS

Under the old plan Iowa had one State University and two other institutions of higher education struggling to become universities. Under the new plan Iowa has a strengthened University, a stronger agricultural college, and a stronger normal school, each with its scope defined as follows:

First, at the University is a College of Liberal Arts surrounded by a group of colleges which offer, in the main, professional training. These are a graduate college; a college of education for the training of high school teachers and school superintendents and principals; a college of fine arts; a college of medicine, and a college of homeopathic medicine equipped to give efficient training in medicine, the object being quality rather than quantity; and colleges of law, dentistry, and pharmacy.

Second, the scope of the Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts at Ames includes courses in professional engineering, a wide range of instruction in agriculture, and veterinary medicine. Supplementary to these it will offer work in agricultural extension and short courses and it will also develop along trade-school lines.

Third, a system of normal schools for the training of teachers for the rural and elementary schools of Iowa—institutions where there may be opportunity to work out some of the manifold educational and social problems incident to the symmetrical development of the State. The Iowa State Teachers College will lead in this field.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

AMERICAN REVIEWS, MONTHLY AND QUARTERLY

THE *North American Review*, now in its ninety-eighth year, is more concerned than ever with political and economic subjects. A series of articles on Socialism, by A. Maurice Low, was begun in January. At the same time Mr. Walter S. Allen, who has served as secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Electric Light Commissioners, presented in an article on "Some Problems of Public Ownership," the results of studies that he has recently conducted in this field both in this country and in Europe. The work of the Bureau of Railway Economics during the past two years is described by Mr. Logan G. McPherson, and in the same number of the *North American* appeared the first paper in a series by Albert Fink on "Trust Regulation."

Among the other articles in the *North American* are "Cabinet Officers in Congress" by Perry Belmont; "The Canal Diplomacy: A British View," by Leopold Grahame; "Our Policy in Nicaragua," by "A Friend of Justice;" and "Europe and the War," by Sydney Brooks.

The *Forum* for January opens with a discussion of the Balkan question by Edwin Maxey. Mr. Lewis R. Freeman's article on Turkey in Asia is summarized on page 227. In the February *Forum* Mr. E. E. Miller discusses "The Negro Problem as a Southerner Sees It." Walter Lippmann writes on "The Taboo in Politics," Cosmo Hamilton on "Empty Churches," and Marian Cox on "The Man-made Woman of Japan."

At present the closest approach to an American counterpart of the English quarterly is the *Yale Review*. From the current number of this interesting publication we have selected Professor Emery's article on "The Democrats and the Tariff" for more extended comment on page 215. The number contains several other articles of current interest, for example, the "Popular Election of Senators," by Max Farrand; "The Modern Newspaper," by A. Maurice Low; and "Results of Animal Experimentation," by Dr. Burnside Foster. The latter article is an able and well-considered defense of the practice of vivisection. Dr. Foster shows that experimentation on animals results in an advancement of medical and surgical knowledge that cannot be achieved in any other way, that such advancement directly benefits humanity and that, therefore, *in the interests of humanity*, animal experimentation should be both permitted and encouraged by every one who has human welfare earnestly at heart.

The scientific journals published by the political and economic departments of the universities contain in the course of the year not a few articles of general interest, such as the discussion of the legal minimum wage, by Sidney Webb, in the *Journal of Political Economy* (University of Chicago), an abstract of which appears on page 216.

The current number of the *American Economic Review* (Princeton, N. J.) contains articles on "Transportation and Competition in South American Markets," by H. Parker Willis, and "Agricultural Credit in the United States," by E. W. Kemmerer, not to speak of various documents, technical economic contributions, and reports on legislation, which go to make up an exceedingly "meaty" number of this publication.

The *Political Science Quarterly* (Columbia University, New York) covers such topics as "Recent Tax Reforms Abroad," (by E. R. A. Seligman); "Russian American Commercial Relations," (by J. V. Hogan); "Forestalling the Direct Primary in Oregon," (by J. D. Barnett); and "Political Parties in Japan," (by E. W. Clement).

One other American quarterly which should never be omitted from such a category as this is the *Sewanee Review*, published by the University of the South, at Sewanee, Tennessee. This admirable periodical is now in its twenty-first year and its contributors represent not the South alone, but practically every section of the country. In the current number Prof. R. D. O'Leary, of the University of Kansas, writes on "The Most Empirical of Professions"—teaching; Prof.

A. Marinoni, of the University of Arkansas, on "The Poetry of Charles Baudelaere;" Prof. Jared S. Moore, of the Western Reserve University, on "The Religious Significance of the Philosophy of William James;" Margaret Sherwood, the well-known novelist, on "A Day of Giorgine;" Prof. D. R. Anderson, of Richmond College, on "A Jeffersonian Leader: William Branch Giles;" and David Barton Key, of the Southern University, Greensboro, Alabama, on "The Dramatic Element in the Illiad."

THE POPULAR MONTHLIES

AFTER devoting, in its January number, a rather unusual amount of space to foreign politics, the *Atlantic* returns, in February, to American topics, largely social and economic. "The Farmer and Finance" is the title of an admirable survey, by the Hon. Myron T. Herrick, of agricultural banking and land-credit systems in Europe. Mr. Herrick sees no reason why the principle of debenture bonds, secured by long-time real estate loans, payable by amortization should not be successfully applied in this country. He believes that long-term farm mortgage loans—running fifty years or more—would be a decided stimulant to the development of efficient scientific farming.

Mr. Randolph S. Bourne offers a study of "The Social Order in an American Town." Some readers may be inclined to differ with Mr. Bourne in his assertion that the best and most typical qualities of American life are to be found in suburban towns. However, the fact that an increasing number of American families are yearly making their homes in surburban towns fully justifies the attention that Mr. Bourne devotes in his article to a representative community of this type.

A feature that no one would naturally look for in the *Atlantic* is a series of "Letters of a Down-and-Out." The author of these letters, which were written without thought of publication, is described as a young man, who, soon after leaving Harvard, achieved marked material success. While still in his early thirties he was making an income of $25,000 a year in a wholesale commission business; he was married, apparently happy, the father of two children, and, in the current phrase, "fixed for life." Then misfortune came. He lost his job, and at thirty-five he went without money, friends, or references to make a new start in the West. These letters take up the story at this point. They show that the term "down-and-out" is not misapplied in this case, but it is to be hoped that the remaining instalment of the letters, to be published in March, will disclose a change for the better in the writer's fortunes.

In the February *Atlantic* appears also the diary of a young Quaker, Cyrus Guernsey Pringle, who in 1863 was drafted for service in the Union army. Through religious scruples he refused, under any considerations, to bear arms, and although a well-to-do uncle offered to pay the price of a substitute, the young man's conscience would not permit him to tempt another to commit, in his place, what he believed to be a sin. The editors of the *Atlantic*, believing the diary to be remarkable, both as a study of character and as the record of an extraordinary experience, now give it to the public.

The January instalment of the *Century's* "After-the-War Series," which we briefly mentioned last month, consists of President Johnson's side of the impeachment case as presented in his correspondence, and summarized by Gaillard Hunt, together with entertaining anecdotes of the President related by Major Benjamin C. Truman, who was his Secretary.

Some of the striking contrasts between European and American waterways are pointed out in an article entitled "American Waterways and the 'Pork Barrel,'" by Hubert Bruce Fuller. In this connection Mr. Fuller shows that the waste resulting from our method of permitting politics to dictate appropriations has kept us far behind other countries in the matter of river transportation. The views of Mr. Gatti-Casazza on opera in New York are set forth in an article by Algernon St. John Brenon. "The Human Side of Joseph Jefferson" is the subject of an entertaining sketch by Mary Shaw.

Prof. William Lyon Phelps, of Yale, records an interesting talk with the late Barrett Browning, chiefly concerning personal traits of his father, the poet Robert Browning.

There is an important archæological article by A. L. Frothingham on "The Mystery of the Arch of Constantine Unveiled," and Mr. William T. Ellis sketches the remarkable but little-known personality of the Rev. Samuel M. Zwemer, an American whom Mr. Ellis characterizes as the champion of Christianity against Islam.

The leading feature of *Harper's* is explorer Stefánsson's account of his quest in the Arctic, illustrated with many photographs of eskimos and their snow houses taken by the author. Another travel article of interest is Stewart W. White's "On the Way to Africa." Archæology is represented by Mr. H. Newall Wardle's account of recent discoveries along the Red River in Arkansas. The article is aptly entitled "The People of the Flints." Professor J. Russell Smith's optimistic forecast of American agriculture, or rather horticulture, is summarized on page 219 of this number of the REVIEW.

We are indebted to Mr. Joseph B. Bishop, Secretary of the Isthmian Commission, for an excellent account in *Scribner's* of the French régime at Panama. The world has been fairly well informed about the methods employed in financing the Panama Canal enterprise, but little was known in this country at the time as to the way in which the money was spent on the isthmus. The story, as told by Mr. Bishop, is a tale of unparalleled waste and extravagance.

In "Germany and the Germans from an American Point of View," also in *Scribner's*, Mr. Price Collier's survey of the educational methods practised in the Kaiser's dominions is especially suggestive and informing. The writer concludes that in Germany education thus far has been in the direction of fitting each one into his place in a great machine, and less attention has been paid to the development to that elasticity of mind which makes for independence; but men educate themselves into independence, and that time is coming swiftly for Germany.

In "Some Early Memories" Senator Henry Cabot Lodge tells how, in the summer of 1873, he was offered by Henry Adams the assistant editorship of the *North American Review*, then an old and famous quarterly, and looked upon by the youthful Lodge as one of the most important publications in the world. "To be connected with it, to have a chance to write for it, was a dazzling prospect which I had never dreamed would open to me except possibly after long years. Now I was to be one of its editors. I trod on air as I walked, and the whole world was changed."

The fourth article in President John Finley's admirable series "The French in the Heart of America" is concerned with those cities which have developed from forts and on various river frontages in the interior of the United States.

In the fifteen-cent magazines, besides the usual proportion of more or less frivolous material, serious topics have a prominent place. Nothing, for example, could be more momentous than Mr. Burton J. Hendrick's contribution to *McClure's*, which he titles "On the Trail of Immortality," and in which he gives an authorized account of the wonderful experiments and revolutionary discoveries of Dr. Alexis Carrel, the winner of the Nobel Prize in medicine.

A thrilling story of adventure is that told by Wilbur Daniel Steele, also in *McClure's*, concerning "The Moving-Picture Machine in the Jungle." Hardly less exciting is "The Diary of a New York Policeman," as transliterated by Alfred Henry Lewis. The successive instalments of this story reveal the methods that have been employed to build up the metropolitan system of graft-collection. Oddly enough, a parallel series of revelations bearing the less dignified, if not less forceful title, "The Diary of a Cop," is appearing in the *American Magazine*. The reader may take his choice between these autobiographical records, and whatever his decision may be, he is quite likely to learn more about New York police methods than he was taught in Sunday-school.

The *American* has begun the publication of Brand Whitlock's autobiography under the title "Forty Years of It." The first instalment is devoted to an entertaining picture of Grandfather Brand.

In the same number of the *American* Albert J. Nock gives some of the results of Karl Pearson's investigation of the families of drunkards and moderate drinkers.

Recent significant changes in the personnel of American railroad management are set forth in *Munsey's* by Isaac F. Marcosson. The meaning of these changes is summed up in Mr. Marcosson's conclusion that the railroad presidents of to-day "represent a trusteeship of public properties, as opposed to the vanished notion of personal proprietorship and ambitious financial dictatorship." Some of the problems and perils of the new administration at Washington are outlined by Judson C. Welliver. The same writer describes the work of "Our National Board of Health"—the Public Health Service, formerly known as the Marine Hospital Service.

Next to Thomas W. Lawson's unfolding of his remedy for the financial evils of the day, the most sensational contribution to *Everybody's* is that by T. R. MacMechen and Carl Dienstbach, entitled "The Next War in the Air." In this well-informed article the writers point out the similarity between the navies of the air and of the sea. As cruisers

and torpedo-boats now serve dreadnoughts on the water, so it is predicted that swift aeroplanes will scout and perform other services for airships.

The immigrant's experience of "Going Through Ellis Island" is well told by Dr. Alfred C. Reed in the *Popular Science Monthly*. Other articles in this magazine of popular interest are "A Grain of Wheat," by Professor R. Chodat (announcing the discovery of a new species of wheat); "The Position of Women in China," by Dr. L. Boggs, and "The Socialization of the College," by Prof. Walter Libby.

THE DEMOCRATS AND THE TARIFF

PERHAPS the most significant contribution to the current number of the *Yale Review* is the article by Prof. Henry C. Emery, chairman of President Taft's Tariff Board, on the subject of "The Democrats and the Tariff." Beginning with a reference to the commonly accepted belief that a prompt settlement of the tariff question will prove an easy matter with the Democratic majority in Congress, since it has been positively asserted that the principle of protection has been discarded and that bills will be framed purely with the idea of raising revenue, Professor Emery, nevertheless, expresses his own conviction that where it is proposed to levy import duties on many hundreds of different articles even for the purpose of revenue only, a careful and unbiased investigation into costs and prices is just as necessary for wise action as it would be if such duties were to be levied for the purpose of combining protection with revenue. This opinion, however, as Professor Emery freely admits, is not generally shared by the legislators themselves.

Passing now to the record of the Democratic party in the extra session of 1911 and the regular session of 1911-12, Professor Emery considers whether the prompt action in those sessions is likely to be repeated by the next Congress. Since the Democratic leaders were ready to send the wool, cotton, and steel bills repeatedly to President Taft as often as he vetoed them, it might be supposed that such bills would be sent just as promptly to a Democratic President for his signature. But Professor Emery is not so sure of this. It is much easier, he says, to get men to vote without any consideration or debate on bills which they know cannot become laws than on bills which are likely to be enacted. One reason, he asserts, why the bills which were vetoed by President Taft were passed so easily through both houses was the certainty that they would be vetoed.

Professor Emery does not find it possible to acquit the leaders of either party of the charge of "playing politics." In fact, he maintains that on both sides it was not a matter of legislation for "protection only," or for "revenue only," but rather for "politics only." He does not believe that the Democrats really regretted President Taft's veto. The President took his stand distinctly on two points: First, that reports from the Tariff Board should be counted upon to furnish information as a basis for legislation, even if a slight delay were involved; second, he stood on his pledges as a moderate protectionist committed to a revision of the tariff which should remove all excesses, while at the same time maintaining the principle of protection as expressed in the declaration: That duties should be so levied as to offset the difference in cost and production here and abroad.

The present demand for tariff reform is based on the conviction that the tariff is largely responsible for the high cost of living. In the recent elections the people chose the Democratic method of tariff reform because they believed that under Democratic rule prices would be greatly reduced, and the consumer relieved of an oppressive burden. The public now looks to the Democratic party to make good its pledges and to bring the prices of the necessities of life down to their former level. As Professor Emery points out, no half-way measures will suffice. To make any appreciable cut in the prices paid for food and clothing by the consumer, very great reductions of the tariff will be required. As to the common assumption that the public is compelled to pay monopoly prices for most of the articles of daily use, Professor Emery maintains that in case of most staple goods of immediate consumption, such as food and wearing apparel, competitive prices do prevail at the present time. Manufacturers' prices in normal times are kept down pretty close to the domestic cost-of-production point. His general conclusion is that a reduction of the tariff will in some cases reduce prices, and in some cases it will not—that is, the effect

of the tariff on prices is a question of fact and not of theory. Furthermore, he shows that in the case of some particular commodity the reduction of 25 per cent. might have no effect at all on its price, while a reduction of 35 per cent. might have a marked effect if the greater reduction were necessary to admit foreign goods into the American market.

To put it in general terms, it may be said that where prices are competitive in the domestic field and goods are sold by manufacturers at a small margin above the cost of production, no reduction of the tariff will be of substantial benefit to the consumer unless it be sufficient to substitute a large quantity of lower-priced foreign goods for the higher-priced domestic goods, and if the conditions of competition assumed do actually exist, as they do in many fields, the benefit to the consumer is purchased by an injury to the producer.

As Professor Emery views it, the new party in power is compelled to choose between two policies: First, if it considers the only thing needed to be an immediate and substantial relief to the consumer, it must of necessity adopt a very radical policy of sweeping reduction, even though the effect of such reduction may be disastrous for the time being, at least on many branches of industry; or, secondly, it may decide that the maintenance of stable business conditions is even more important just now than the relief of the consumer. In that case the party will proceed cautiously by means of revision looking towards a much lower tariff in the future, to be accomplished by gradual stages.

Professor Emery, concludes, therefore, that whereas it is easy to pass hastily bills which are not likely to go into effect or which are based merely upon some general theory of taxation, it is a very difficult task to make a complete revision of a tariff which will give some promise of endurance and stand the test of experience.

THE SUCCESS OF A MINIMUM WAGE

SIXTEEN years is a reasonably long period for which to estimate the success or failure of any labor law. More than sixteen years have elapsed since the Australian state of Victoria largely out of humanitarian feeling for five specially "sweated" trades, provided for the enforcement in those trades of a legal minimum wage.

From time to time criticisms have been passed upon the working of the law, to the effect that it would restrict employment, would be cruel to the aged worker, would be found impracticable, and so forth. In May, 1912, the REVIEW published a protest from no less eminent a publicist than M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, who contended that "the little communities of the Antipodes had established a labor régime that was singularly artificial," and disputing the claim that the Legal Minimum Wage had worked satisfactorily in Victoria. One cannot help thinking that the distinguished editor of the *Economiste francais* would have changed his opinion, could he have read the able article by Mr. Sidney Webb in the *Journal of Political Economy* (Chicago), by far the most convincing exposition on the subject that we have seen. Mr. Webb gives results, and these results are as remarkable as they are conclusive.

In the five sweated trades to which the law was first applied "wages have gone up from 12 to 35 per cent., the hours of labor have invariably been reduced, and the actual number of persons employed, far from falling, has in all cases relatively to the total population, greatly increased." Thus the Legal Minimum Wage "does not necessarily spell ruin, either for the employers or for the operatives." The Act of 1896 was only a temporary one; but "during the past sixteen years it has been incessantly discussed, it has over and over again been made the subject of special inquiry; it has been repeatedly considered by the Legislature; and, as a result, it has been *five successive times renewed by consent of both houses.*" Mr. Webb pertinently asks: "Can it be that all this is a mistake?"

More conclusive still is the fact that when other trades saw the results of the Legal Minimum Wage, they asked to be brought under the same law. The first five trades to which it was applied were those of bootmaking, baking, clothing, shirts, underclothing and furniture. At various intervals other trades came in, until, in 1910, most, if not all, of them were subject to the Act; so that Mr. Webb writes: "What occupations are left to come in during 1911 and 1912 I do not yet know." The special features of this remarkable demonstration of the success of the Act, during a period extending over years of depression as well as of boom, to which the article calls attention are the following:

The extensions have usually taken place at the request, or with the willing acquiescence, of the *employers* in a trade, as well as of the wage-earners. The application of the law has been demanded by skilled trades as well as by unskilled; by men as well as by women; by highly paid craftsmen and by sweated workers; by strongly organized trades as well as by those having no unions at all. In the different industries the number of factories has increased in the past sixteen years 60 per cent. and the number of workers in them has more than doubled.

Turning from actual experience of the working of a Legal Minimum Wage to abstract economic theory, the principal question, says Mr. Webb, for the economist to consider is "how the adoption and enforcement of a definite minimum of wages in particular trades is likely to affect, both immediately and in the long run, the productivity of those trades, and of the nation's industry as a whole." Upon this point the verdict of economic theory is, Mr. Webb submits, emphatic and clear; and he establishes the following deductions:

That all experience as well as all theory seems to show that as compared with no regulation of wages, or with leaving the employer to deal individually with each operative, the legal minimum wage must tend actually to increase the productivity of the industry.

The universal enforcement of a legal minimum wage in no way abolishes competition for employment. If the conditions of employment are unregulated, it will frequently pay an employer to give the preference to an incompetent or infirm man, provided he can hire him at a sufficiently low wage. That is, he may make more profit, though less product, out of inefficient than out of good workmen. Thus a legal minimum wage increases the productivity of the nation's industry by insuring that all the situations shall be filled by the most efficient operatives available.

Under a legal minimum wage there is secured what under perfectly free competition is not secured, not only a constant selection of the most efficient but also a positive stimulus to the whole class to become more and more efficient.

Considering the probable effects of a legal minimum wage upon the brain-workers, including under this term all who are concerned in the direction of industry, it is found that "the enforcement of definite minimum conditions of employment, as compared with a state of absolute freedom to the employer to do as he likes, positively stimulates the invention and adoption of new processes of manufacture." Thus the invention of new methods of welding gun-barrels was caused by the demand for better conditions of employment by the workmen engaged in the old process; and the adoption of the self-acting mule was a direct result of the repeated strikes of the cotton-spinners between 1829 and 1836 to enforce their standard piecework lists.

Another and more important result on the efficiency of industry of a legal minimum wage is that "it tends steadily to drive business into those establishments which are most favorably situated, best equipped, and managed with the greatest ability, and to eliminate the incompetent or old-fashioned employer." Mr. Webb sums up the results of the adoption of the legal minimum wage thus:

Its effect on the organization is all in the direction of increasing efficiency. It in no way abolishes competition, or lessens its intensity. It stimulates the selection for the nation's business of the most efficient workmen, the best equipped employers, and the most advantageous forms of industry. It acts as a constant incentive to the improvement of the manual laborers, the machinery, and the organizing ability used in industry. . . . I do not see how any instructed economist can doubt, in the face of economic theory on the one hand, and of the ascertained experience of Victoria and Great Britain on the other, that the enactment and enforcement of a legal minimum wage, like that of an ordinary factory law, positively increases the productivity of industry.

Further, to the economist, "the enforcement of a legal minimum wage appears but as the latest of the long series of Common Rules which experience has proved to be (*a*) necessary to prevent national degradation, and (*b*) positively advantageous to industrial efficiency. It should be borne in mind that the adoption of the legal minimum wage would "in no way increase the amount of maintenance which has to be provided by the community, in one form or another, for persons incapable of producing their own keep." It would, on the contrary, diminish it.

Speaking of the Factory Acts, the late Duke of Argyll as long ago as 1867 said:

Instead of being excused as exceptional, and pleaded for as justified only under extraordinary conditions, they ought to be recognized as in truth the first legislative recognition of a great natural law . . . destined to claim for itself wider and wider application."

What the Duke predicted can now be seen to be imminent. "We may expect to find all the conditions of employment—wages not excluded—one by one authoritatively upheld by definite legal minima, not in this or that trade only, but in every industry; not in this or that country, but gradually throughout the civilized world."

This is Mr. Webb's confident prediction.

THE WISCONSIN INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION

IN the opinion of many students of legislation the State of Wisconsin is now taking the place so long held by Massachusetts in the front rank of the States of the Union as regards social and industrial progress. The latest stage in the development of public supervision of industrial conditions is represented by the Wisconsin Industrial Commission, which has now been in existence about a year and a half. The reason for the creation of such a commission in Wisconsin is succinctly stated by Prof. John R. Commons, one of its members, in the introductory paragraphs of an article contributed by him to the *Survey* (New York) of January 4.

In a single year employers in the State pay out to liability insurance companies more than $1,000,000, but scarcely $300,000 of this reaches the pockets of the employees or their families. Of the 10,000 industrial accidents that occur in Wisconsin each year 100 are fatal, while the others cause disability of seven days or more. But it appears that scarcely 10 per cent. of those injured receive any share of the $300,000.

As Professor Commons puts it, therefore, the big problem of the Industrial Commission is to reduce the million paid by employers and at the same time to increase the $300,000 received by employees and distribute the latter sum among 10,000 instead of 1,000. The commission can reduce the million dollars by reducing accidents and improving the health of the employees. At the same time it can increase the $300,000 and distribute it more equitably by fixing definitely the compensation for all employees.

In a general way these results have been sought by other States—that is, industrial compensation laws have been passed and commissions created to administer them, while it has been put up to the factory inspector to enforce the safety laws. The Wisconsin legislature, however, has entrusted both sets of functions to one body, the present Industrial Commission. Instead of specifying the many details of factory inspection, the law simply requires the employer to protect the life, safety, health, and welfare of his employees and authorizes the commission to draw up rules and orders specifying the details as to how this shall be done.

The feature that chiefly distinguishes the Industrial Commission from the other branches of the State government is its function of constructive investigation, as Professor Commons terms it. In this matter of workmen's compensation such investigation "will tell us whether the damage to the employee is public in its nature, requiring legislation, or private, requiring exhortation. It should reveal the nature and cause of the injury, its cure, and the practicability of its prevention. It should lead to such administration of the law that those enjoined to obey it will respect and support it."

Now let us see how the attempt to conduct this kind of investigation is working out in Wisconsin. The compensation law of that State applies, as broadly as possible, not to enumerated factories and shops, but to all "places of employment except agricultural and domestic employments not using mechanical power." In effect, all physical property used to furnish employment to labor is declared to be "affected by public use, and must be so managed as to promote the public welfare in the persons of those who come within its zone of danger."

The definition of safety is not that of the common law, but "such freedom from danger to the life, health, or safety of employees or frequenters as the nature of the employment will reasonably permit." The definition of welfare is "comfort, decency, and moral well being."

It is thus the business of the commission to call to its aid scientific experts in engineering and hygiene. "It must ascertain where danger lies and where life, health, safety, and welfare are menaced. It must discover the devices, processes, and management that will avoid these dangers, and must ascertain whether they are practicable."

The Wisconsin law authorizes the commission to appoint "advisors" without compensation. Acting on this authority the commission has secured the assistance of physicians, municipal sanitary officers, representatives of the Consumers' League and the State Federation of Women's Clubs, and many of the leading men of the State in their several lines of work. A list of the advisory committees included by Professor Commons in his article shows the wide range of representative and practical men to whom the commission and the State are indebted for this fundamental part of its work. These advisory committees proceed to make their investigations, to draw up tentative rules, and to submit them to the commission for public hearings. After the hearings the rules are referred back to the committee for further investigation, and finally, as rapidly as com-

pleted, are issued by the commission as "General Orders" applying to the entire State.

One thing that is very noticeable in Wisconsin's experience is the active coöperation of employers and employees in securing a code of rules that are not only reasonable in law, but reasonable in the minds of employers. In the matters of safety and sanitation the most progressive employers in the State have an important part in drawing up the law, and it is the duty of the commission to go out and bring the backward employers up to the level of the progressive ones. It is a noteworthy fact that the employers on the committees, according to Professor Commons, have been more exacting in their search for the highest practicable standards than the representatives of labor on the committees. As a consequence the commission has devoted its energies largely to a work of instruction and education, bringing to the attention of employers not only the rules as formulated, but the devices and methods which will comply with them. The men who have served as advisors for the commission have given much valuable time at their own expense, which, if paid for at commercial rates, would have required an expenditure far beyond the State appropriation. Such men, says Professor Commons, have looked upon their work not merely as a public service, but mainly as a vital matter in the future conduct of manufacturing in the State.

In concluding his article, Mr. Commons brings out the distinction between the Wisconsin Industrial Commission and those State commissions which regulate railroads and other public-service corporations. While those commissions regulate monopoly, the Industrial Commission regulates competition. It endeavors to enforce "reasonable" competition, in so far as dealings with employers are concerned, by raising the level of labor competition. This distinction, in Professor Commons' opinion, offers a practicable suggestion for a federal commission to regulate the trusts. He says:

> Such a commission need not have the power to regulate prices, as the Railroad Commission does, on the theory that monopoly is inevitable, nor to give special privileges to so-called "good" trusts that accept federal incorporation or federal license and agree to abide by the commission's orders. Rather should a federal commission be a "free-trade" commission, controlling all interstate trade, so far as necessary, for the purpose of investigating and prohibiting all kinds of "unfair competition." It would take the place which the federal courts now assume, of dissolving and regulating corporations. But instead of committing this power to lawyers it would be committed to a body of men representing the every-day life of all the people, equipped to conduct constructive investigations, to prosecute for violations of the anti-trust laws, to prescribe and enforce rules of reasonable competition and so to raise the level of business competition.

TREES INSTEAD OF GRAIN: THE AGRICULTURE OF THE FUTURE

AGRICULTURE of to-day, according to Professor J. Russell Smith of the University of Pennsylvania, depends chiefly upon the work of the primeval woman.

> The nomad wife had for thousands of years been feeding her family on walnuts, chestnuts, acorns, almonds, apples, and cherries. There they stood, these trees, then as now the great engines of nature, producing to-day as no grains produce. At their feet stood a few feeble plants with one or two fat seeds. These feeble ones have become the food and the agriculture of mankind, not because they were especially certain or especially productive or especially good or especially nutritious, but because being annuals, they appealed to the nomad's wife by giving quick return. Therefore we have improved them. Therefore we all eat bread made of grain. In depending upon these puny props we give ourselves great and often needless labor, and because of the weakness of our plant servants more than half the productive possibilities of the world are unattained.

Thus writes the Professor in *Harper's*, and he goes on to show that "the grains are weaklings all. They are so feeble that they must have the earth specially prepared for them." They have to be protected from weeds, and when the harvest comes it is often a mere handful compared with the yield of tree crops. In support of his claim that trees are more productive than grains Professor Smith cites the chestnut orchards of Italy, whose yield per acre in nuts equals approximately in value the per acre yield of wheat fields in the United States. Also that "while the wheat lands must be plowed for each crop, the chestnut orchards have not been plowed in ten thousand years."

The uses of land run through grades of intensity in utilization and value of output somewhat as follows:

First, the forest with its game, furs, and gums; second, the forest with its lumber; third, pasturage; fourth, tillage and grain; fifth, tree crops. Wherever we find agriculture going over from the annual grains to the perennial tree crops, we find an agriculture of increased output rivaled only by the market garden. Wheat, corn, and oats yield but poorly in comparison with the heavy harvest and large income furnished by the apple, peach, orange, date, olive, or Persian (so-called English) walnut. The agriculture of the tree crop is the agriculture of great yield, but here, too, we have followed methods which are identical with those of the nomad's wife in selecting grains for planting. We have depended for our varieties almost purely upon chance.

It appears that most of our fruit-trees that grow naturally are chance hybrids.

Mr. Luther Burbank has methodically used this method deliberately with results that are well known. His creations of flowers and plums and walnuts are wonderful segregations of the desirable qualities of various ancestors. Mr. Burbank, a pioneer, used the facts of science and got results before the scientists had worked out the law. Now, however, science has caught up. We need no longer depend upon chance, the well-tried method of the ancient nomad's wife.

Professor Smith believes that, the laws of plant-breeding being known, tree crops, the agriculture of great yield, will "come out of the corners where they now occupy so inconspicuous a place."

In the United States the cultivated fruiting trees of all sorts cover only 2.7 per cent. as much ground as is given over to the less productive grains and grasses. As agriculture adjusts itself decently and suitably to resource, the area of tree crops, with their great superiorities of yield and land-utilizing ability, will eventually outstrip the grain crops.

Scientific plant breeding is to be the agent that will transform agriculture, as the steam-engine has transformed transportation; for it will enable us to harness the trees, the great productive engines of the plant kingdom. For two centuries the white man has been felling the forests of America to make fields. Many an Eastern field, now of low fertility, has had upon it the acorn-bearing oak, the nut-bearing walnut, chestnut, and hickory (or shell-bark), the seedling apple, the seedling peach, the red-heart and black-heart cherry (wild mazzard), and the fruitful persimmon and papaw. Yet for three centuries all these astounding possibilities of crops have been negligently cut down and burned up to make room for wheat and corn.

In the matter of food values, too, it is claimed that the agriculture of the present is wasteful; for "analysis shows that the efforts of unaided nature have provided richer foods in the nuts of trees than in the kernels of grains." At the present time most of our Eastern nuts are allowed to grow, fall, and waste, "except such as may be claimed by the squirrel and our foraging friend the hog, who dearly loves to transform the fat of hickory-nuts into the fat of bacon." Says the Professor:

Last autumn fine black walnuts crunched beneath my buggy wheels in the country roads of northern Virginia and eastern Pennsylvania, while crops of English walnuts were being gathered in France, Spain, Italy, and California, and sold for more than $100 per acre. . . . In Spain thousands of acres are given over to acorn orchards. The fresh acorn is, except for some shortage of protein, surprisingly close to white bread in food content, and it fattens tens of thousands of Iberian hogs without the intervention of man in harvesting. We Americans are too industrious. We would rather carry starch from the corn-field to the piggery than turn the pig out into the oak orchard.

The difficulty with the breeding of crop-yielding trees is its slowness, which "removes the work from the list of gainful operations for individuals and throws it over into the class of works that are done for love, philanthropy, or by a government." Every State in the Union and the United States Government also should take this matter up. Professor Smith mentions a number of districts which might be utilized for tree crops, his observations concerning which we condense:

The Louisiana farmer turns his pigs into the mulberry orchard. A few years ago, when pork was cheaper, they were making $12 per acre, while the owner sat on the fence. . . . New England land is not exhausted. Its rocks have protected it from that. It is merely slightly fatigued, and resting. The deep plowing of the glacier has left a soil of much and enduring fertility, if we will use the right kind of plants and methods to convert this fertility into food. . . . Everywhere east of the Mississippi trees will grow wherever there is earth that stands above the water level. With the properly improved varieties of tree crops there is no reason why Massachusetts might not, square mile for square mile, produce as many fat pigs or fat sheep or fat turkeys as Kansas. . . . Hundreds of thousands of square miles of the Western plains are in most cases going from bad to worse from the overpasturing that is destroying the scanty stand of native grasses. Often twenty acres of land will not now support one ox.

The United States Government has seen the need of this great vacuum of the West and has appointed Mr. W. T. Zwingle Dry Land Arboriculturist. He "has in his hands the raw materials for the building of an empire, but the building will be slow, and he should have a regiment rather than a scant half-dozen to help him." We can convert hundreds of thousands of square miles of almost vacant range into fruitful orchards, and the tree crop will also yield a valuable by-product of wood. But, as stated above, the work must depend largely upon the Government.

ANIMAL PSYCHOLOGY AS A BASIS OF DOMESTICATION

THE spread of civilization, the wandering of tribes, the conquest of new territories by strong races, have always involved a corresponding migration of plant life.

But there has been nothing like so great a migration of animal life. Even the animals known as domestic have not always been able to follow the fortunes of their masters in new lands; if the initial difficulty of transportation has been met, they have often been prone to sicken or die under new conditions of climate and nutrition, or, worst of all, they have failed to reproduce their kind in profitable numbers.

And even less successful have been attempts to transplant wild animals from one region to another.

The difficulties have been assumed to be entirely those of acclimation and nutrition, yet these are successfully met as regards foreign flora, and often seem to be so in the case of foreign fauna, who yet fail to breed.

But there is a third factor in the existence of animals, which has been largely ignored until the last few years. This is the *psychology* of the animal, a subject which has claimed much attention of late from the directors of zoölogical gardens.

One of the ablest students of this new science is M. Hachet-Souplet, the Director of the Institute of Animal Psychology of Paris, who has given, in the *Revue Scientifique* (Paris), a remarkable exposition of its application to the domestication of new species. He declares that the would-be breeders of exotic animals have heretofore failed largely because of their neglect of this factor, and of their depending on time and "nature" instead of trying to so modify the "instincts" of the animal as to secure its rapid adaptation to new surroundings. They have had no idea of the definite and consecutive plan of treatment necessary in the taming of the individual and the domestication of the species.

"By surrounding an animal with 'calm and silence,'" he says, "and failing to subject it to a methodic training, it is simply left in a static state, or even a state of nervousness is induced; for an isolated animal is like a man without human society; he becomes singularly timid and melancholy."

It is now believed that laws for the domestication of new species may be found in the psychological laws governing the formation of associative complexes and the organization of habits.

A striking characteristic of the wild beast which has remained for some time in captivity and solitude is its *inertia*. The creature in a state of nature acts because it is stimulated by sensorial excitations produced by the environment in which its species has developed; if you put it in a cage or park where it finds nothing similar, it will remain inert for long periods, followed, (in most species), by moments of wild disturbance, during which the creature expends the unemployed energy in incoherent manifestations. There results a febrile existence which nearly always prevents normal reproduction. . .

Before having learned from actual experience what to expect from any new object, animals have a tendency to flee.

For the same reasons, the aspect of alimentary objects is important.

The "courtship" of the male and the "coquetry" of the female, each of which often comprises very complicated acts, are necessarily deranged, if not suppressed, in imported animals. While the couples are dominated by fear they do not accomplish those preparatory acts without which the final result is very problematic. . . . We have seen the immediate consequences of the timidity of the beast newly imported; we must now seek the best remedy.

It has long been an accepted custom in the importation of animals from remote environments to proceed by gradual changes of climate. The same care should be observed in changing the diet from the exotic to the domestic, proceeding by careful gradations from the familiar to the unfamiliar, even though the latter be equally nutritious. But, according to M. Hachet-Souplet, the psychologic gradations are likewise of immense importance, "since it is by means of the special senses and the brain that the animal must become *en rapport* with its new environment."

In the first place it is necessary to combat the tendency to inertia of which we have spoken above. This is an imperious necessity which has been lost sight of in *vivaria*. Movement, as indispensable to life as nourishment itself, must be *imposed* upon an animal recently imported.

The habit of daily exercise may be created by beginning with two inclosures and driving the animal from one to the other by a simple system of gates and barriers.

Secondly, wild creatures must be as thoroughly tamed as possible. The ordinary method of this is to reward the animal for obedience by some coveted food, and to accustom him to take this food from the hand of the tamer, or while in his vicinity. This is merely a process of *coaxing*, says this expert, and must be supplemented by a

methodic training in which new habits of thought lead to new habits of action, such habits being *imposed* upon the animal by the trainer.

If we compare the conduct of a wild animal placed in an inclosure containing an accustomed shelter with that of a domestic animal in the same situation, we note a marked difference of conduct when a man walks between the animal and the shelter.

The wild beast will fly to the boundary and seek in a sort of frenzy to leap over the fence. The other, if familiar, will approach the man; if little familiar, it will begin by making the same movement as the other, but will quickly make a curve and precipitate itself into the shelter. This is the curve of servitude.

An ingenious method of training is based on this fact. The animal is placed in a circular inclosure, or "rotunda," having a shelter in the exact center, and two barriers of the length of the radius of the circle. These are movable and may be used to divide the circle into halves or into two unequal sectors, or to form a narrow passage leading from the circumference to the shelter.

In the first lessons, the animal to be trained is confined within the narrow passage formed by the barriers placed nearly parallel. Suddenly confronted by a "scarecrow" (usually a man with a sack over his head), appearing at the fence, its only escape is into the shelter at the end of the passage, since all other doors of the shelter are closed. This lesson is repeated with the distance between the barriers gradually widened until finally they may be removed entirely and the animal will still seek refuge in the shelter he has come to associate with safety; and he will eventually do this even when the shelter lies between him and the object of alarm, so that he must approach the latter in seeking security from it.

The animal thus comes to associate personal safety with the limitations of the shelter, just as it did with its nest or hole in the wild state. "Little by little, it recovers its 'psychic equilibrium.' . . . Researches made with a sphygmograph show the different physiological conditions of a wild animal flying in maddened fright from the almost normal state of one in process of taming when he has just entered his shelter after the appearance of the 'scarecrow.' . . . Gradually this custom of seeking the familiar shelter will become an inveterate habit, a veritable instinct which will render possible the suppression of all confines."

But before being given entire freedom the second stage of training is undertaken. This consists merely in familiarizing the animal with such objects as it is likely to encounter, according to the law of the attenuation of affective sensations by repetition.

The method may be summarized as (1) The destruction of complexes of sensation and reactions by contradictory excitations, and (2) The creating of new associations and new reactions based on the law of associative recurrence.

A number of exotic animals, such as the great bustard, the red and the gray partridge, the fox, the jackal, etc., have already been successfully tamed by its use, and it is stated that by the mere loss of fear the animal nearly always becomes capable of reproduction in the vicinity of mankind.

It is claimed also that the training thus given is not ephemeral, but persists not only in the individuals, but in their descendants.

Consecutive experiments have left no doubt in this regard. Thus, an ape, which we had taught, not without some trouble, to chase rats, gave birth to young which chased rats marvelously well. Cats, habituated to respect mice, had kittens which never touched mice, even when their food was intentionally held back.

In conclusion, M. Hachet-Souplet calls attention to the enormous benefits that would accrue by the scientific domestication of many birds and beasts valuable for food or clothing, now found in the wild state only, and in too many cases rapidly disappearing before the snares and machine-guns of the ruthless pot-hunter. He urges the establishment of a central institution for the rearing and training of a certain number of paired animals and the spread of an active propaganda by public lectures and gifts to schools in agricultural communities. "Have not a few pairs of turkeys sufficed to endow all Europe with thousands of useful animals?" he cries. "It would be the same with the bustard; but this enormous bird, very easy to raise, would be a far more useful acquisition. Our farms might thus be repopulated . . . offering alimentary resources which the dearness of butcher's meat would render infinitely precious."

Likewise our forests might be repopulated with game specially reared to know and guard against common foes. "Thus a cock pheasant trained to know the beasts of prey of the locality, to guard against a fox, a marten, a skunk, a buzzard, etc., would be worth two ordinary cocks and more—for it would transmit its new instincts to all its progeny."

WHY THE BULGARIAN ARMY WON

SO much has been said and published about the success of the Bulgarians during the recent fighting being due to their French artillery and their French instructors, that the views and statements of a Bulgarian officer of reserves which appeared a short time ago in an English paper are of special interest. After referring to the discussions as to the cause of the Turkish defeats and the way in which attempts have been made to give credit to the alleged foreign training of the Bulgarian officers, he says that those who know the Turks find a sufficient explanation for their defeats without making them matter for comparison between French and German military art. "The arrogant assertions," as he calls them, that the Bulgarian army was formed under French influence he declares to be as ill-founded as similar statements about the Japanese army having been the result of other influences.

This Bulgarian officer points out that the number of the officers of his army who received their training in the French military schools is exceedingly small, and the highest rank attained by any of these was command of a battalion, except three or four who went into the commissary department. As to the statement about the French guns, he says people seem to be ignorant of the fact that about half the Bulgarian artillery was furnished by Krupp. It would be idle to ask whether results would have been any different if the Turks had been armed with Schneider-Creusot cannon. He asks if it has already been forgotten that the purchase of the Schneider guns was a peremptory condition of the last loans negotiated in France, and that their price is the subject of some very unedifying discussion, and says that Bulgarians cannot remain calm spectators of a discussion tending to envenom the relations of two great powers at a moment when the collaboration of all Europe is necessary to the restoration of peace as speedily as possible. At the same time he finds the unlucky subject offers a good opportunity to examine if and to what extent Bulgaria owes its military force to foreign influences.

To begin with [he shows that], during the past twenty-five years, no foreign officer has served in the Bulgarian army. During about seven years after the formation of Bulgaria, all the superior positions and some of the others were filled by Russian officers. For that period the Bulgarian army was in every way a reflection of the Russian; even the technical expressions were Russian. The military school at Sofia could not be distinguished from a similar Russian establishment. The teachers were Russians and the method of instruction was Russian. The Bulgarian officers sent elsewhere to complete their military training went without exception to St. Petersburg. Among them were the Generals Savov, Radko Dimitriev, and Ivanov, the three principal commanders in the war, and some other superior officers commanding divisions.

After the union of Bulgaria with East Rumelia in 1885 there was a sudden change and there commenced a new era for the Bulgarian army. On the eve of the Serbo-Bulgarian War the Russian government desiring to express its disapproval of the Bulgarian government recalled all its officers from Bulgaria, and the young captains and lieutenants of the Bulgarian army found themselves promoted to be generals. Many of those who attained high commands so unexpectedly find themselves still in the same positions they reached twenty-seven years ago. This recall of the Russian officers which was meant to be a punishment turned out to be a real benefit; it delivered the Bulgarian army from the Russian tutelage and taught it confidence supplemented by a victorious campaign. During the following years there was made a complete reorganization of the Bulgarian army which eliminated the last traces of Russian influence. The military school at Sofia became a true national institution and all the young generation of officers was formed exclusively at home.

During all that period the Russian military schools were closed to Bulgarians, and those who had to receive special training abroad (general staff, engineers, artillery) turned their steps toward western nations; the greater number followed courses at the Italian military academy at Turin. A certain number went to Austria and Belgium; on the other hand all requests made to Berlin were refused, so that not a single Bulgarian officer has received his instruction in the military state *par excellence*. France, which was struggling to obtain an alliance with Russia, refused similarly to admit Bulgarians to its military schools, and has only changed its attitude within the last few years. The officers who during this second period were trained abroad are nearly all colonels, and some have attained the highest and most responsible posts in the army. Three have become generals, of whom General Fitchev is the chief of the staff and the right-hand man of the commander-in-chief; a second, General Naslovitch, formerly chief of the staff, commands the cavalry division; and the third, General Yankov, is head of the engineer corps. All received their training at the Military Academy of Turin through which also passed Colonel Papadopov, chief of the staff of the Bulgarian army in the west; Colonel Kolov, commanding the Guard; Colonel Mitov, commanding the Philippopolis Brigade, Colonel Patov, commanding the Slivno Brigade; and Colonel Yekov, head of the Sofia Military School. All are considered the most capable officers in the Bulgarian army.

Since the year 1896 the Russian schools have been again opened to Bulgarians and several hundreds of Bulgarian officers have Russian certificates. The connection with the Italian schools continues, but of late years the numbers frequenting them are relatively few. The same may be said of those taking courses in Austria, Belgium

and France. Such in brief are the obligations the Bulgarian army is under to foreign countries. The total number of Bulgarian officers who after having passed through the military school at Sofia and after active service of six or seven years were sent abroad, do not exceed two hundred. That is about 7 per cent. of the corps of officers; the great majority of them have been educated exclusively in Bulgaria. They form the strength of the army and carry the impress of serious work. The manner in which the work has been done is significant of the value and the qualities of the nation whose principal characteristic is its thoroughness.

No attempt was made to obliterate the fundamental lines, but profit has been drawn from the experiences of all the military nations. The progress of the great European armies has been followed with attention, and hardly a day has passed without some improvement being introduced. The great principle has always been to adapt to the national life all that could be borrowed from abroad, not to imitate but to appropriate things, and in that sense it can be safely said that the Bulgarian army has always been what it will remain, a national army.

In the recent campaign the result of the training it underwent must be a warning to every army. The complete preparedness and the swiftness with which the blow was delivered by the Bulgarian army secured them the victory, for everything now known of the causes of the Turkish defeat goes to prove that the fighting qualities of the Turkish soldier have not deteriorated.

The reports of the shortcomings of the Turkish commissariat are almost incredible, while some of the statements circulating in the European press seem to point to something very like treason in high quarters. But great experience has been gained by the onlookers at the terrible drama that has been enacted during the past weeks in the country between the Maritza River and the Tchataldja lines. What the result might have been had the Turkish army been as well prepared as the Bulgarian is no doubt a problem occupying the Kriegspielers and the war departments of Europe; and the students of tactics are undoubtedly working out new methods of attack if an offensive war in the future is to be crowned with victory.

The Bulgarian success has been purchased at a terrible cost, some of their best regiments having been almost entirely wiped out, among them the First and Sixth Regiments, composed principally of the élite of Bulgarian society and a great number of officials.

As an object lesson in favor of the exercise of reason instead of arms in the disputes between nations, there can be none to compare with that of the recent war.

WHO ARE THE ALBANIANS AND WHAT DO THEY WANT?

THE question most difficult of definite settlement in the Balkan situation, as it presented itself in the deliberations of the peace negotiators at London in December and January, was what to do with the Albanians. It is probable that to-day the largest element in European Turkey is of native Albanian stock. This is undoubtedly true, although its truth may not be admitted by the Turks, the Greeks, the Italians, the Bulgarians, or the Servians.

Who are the Albanians, and what do they want? An Albanian exile in the United States, an educated man, and a student at Oberlin College, Mr. Kristo A. Anastas Dako, who is a member of the Albanian Nationalist Committee, furnishes some interesting data in answer to these questions. He says:

The name, "Albanians," was given first in the eleventh century by the Greeks of the lower empire to the tribe inhabiting Albasan (Elbasan). Later it was extended to all those who spoke the same language or dialects of the same language as that of the original inhabitants of Albasan, from whom the Italians derived the word "Albania," and gave it to the rest of Europe. These names "Albania" and "Albanians" are not known among the descendants of the early citizens of Albasan. Those whom the world calls Albanians know themselves as Shkipetar, and the country in which they live Shkiperia or Shkypnia. These people are generally and in all probability accurately identified as the result of the combination of the ancient Illyrians, Macedonians, and Epirotes, who were all the descendants of the more ancient Pelasgians. In 168 B.C. Illyria, Epirus, and Macedonia became provinces of the Roman Empire, but the Roman Conquest seems to have wrought little change in the social condition of the Albanians. They still retained their language, their national manners and usages, and still remained a distinct and peculiar people. At the end of the seventh century central and southern Albania were two provinces of the Byzantine Empire, and Nikopolis and Durazzo were their respective capitals.

The Albanians were later conquered by the Bulgarians, and still later by the Turks. After the Ottoman conquest of Byzantium, 1453, the Albanian kingdom was revived for a time by the national hero, Skanderbeg. This worthy abjured the Mohammedan faith and declared himself a champion of Christianity. In 1478 Albania became subject to the Turkish Sultan and has so remained ever since, although in recent years it has had a certain measure of autonomy. The centralizing

schemes of Sultan Mahmud II, in the early part of the past century, aroused Albanian patriotism.

In 1878, after the Russo-Turkish War, the Albanians formed a National League known under the name of the League of Prizrond, with the purpose of defending parts of their territory given by the treaties of San Stefano and Berlin to Montenegro, Servia, Bulgaria, and Greece. The whole of Albania for three years was ruled by this league and the territories which were assigned to Greece and Montenegro were saved to Albania.

According to Mr. Dako, the following, despite claims to the contrary, are accurate statistics as to the number of Albanians and the extent of territory populated by them.

Until the middle ages the Albanian nation occupied all the countries which form the Balkan Peninsula on the right side of the Danube. But in the seventh century, when the Servian and Bulgarian invasions took place, the Albanians were driven westward to the coast of the Adriatic Sea. Their present territory extends from Montenegro on the north to the Gulf of Arta on the south, and embraces the following four vilayets of the Turkish Empire: Scutari, Kossovo, Monastir, and Janina. No census of these has ever been taken, but the population is close to 3,000,000, with 800,000 additional in southern Italy, 900,000 in Greece, 40,000 to 50,000 in America—not counting those who

DR. MUSTAPHA HILMI, EDITOR OF "DER DRITA" ("THE LIGHT"), A WELL-KNOWN ALBANIAN NEWSPAPER

THREE LITTLE GIRLS FROM ELBASSAN IN THE AMERICAN COLLEGE AT CONSTANTINOPLE

emigrate from southern Italy and Greece, but only those who emigrate from Albania proper—30,000 in Rumania, and several thousand in Egypt, Bulgaria, and Russia. The Albanians who live now in Italy emigrated there after the Turks conquered Albania, but they kept their own language and social customs, and their own form of Christianity. They recognize as their religious head the pope instead of the Greek patriarch at Constantinople.

The feudal system still obtains in Albania. To a great extent the Albanians still live a patriarchal life.

Each tribe or clan has its own chief or "bairakdar," and a council of elders, which governs the tribe and to which they refer all quarrels and disputes. The decisions of the elders are final. As each clan has its bairakdar, so each family, which sometimes embraces from fifty to one hundred members living under the same roof, has its leader, the oldest member of the family, whose word is absolute. Although the majority of the Albanians nominally assumed the Mohammedan faith, they

have never become polygamous, for they have a great respect for womanhood and a deep love for home. In Albania the woman is the head of the house, the equal in all respects of her husband.

This Albanian student regards the question of the future fate of his people as of great European importance. He says on this point:

The significance of the Albanian in future European politics, in European political and economical development, cannot be overestimated, while the influence upon the continent at large of the restoration of the Christian faith at this strategic point will change the entire course of events east of European Turkey. Turkey, by granting certain demands made by the Albanian Nationalist Committee in 1911 and early in 1912, made the national existence of Albania a possibility, and this development meant a deadly blow to the furthering of the plans maturing in the several Balkan states. Hence their hurried alliance with the real view of crushing Albania before the Albanian people are fully prepared to check any attempt against the fatherland. The real cause of the present war is this: Greece wants southern Albania, Montenegro wants northwestern Albania, Servia wants the same territory, and Bulgaria wants Macedonia and a part of eastern Albania.

Speaking of the grievances the Albanians have against the Turks, and of the events which led up to the present Balkan war between the four allied nations and Turkey, Mr. Dako says: (We quote his words in the communication sent to this magazine and portions of an article appearing in the *Missionary Herald*).

At the outset of the Balkan War it was intimated that the Turks would be supported by the Albanians, although Albania had suffered severely at Mohammedan hands and had been grossly deceived by the leaders of the Young Turk Movement. Under Sultan Hamid II, the Albanians were forbidden to write or read their native tongue. They began to form political organizations which were invited by the Young Turks to unite in the revolution seeking to depose Sultan Hamid. Albania was promised full educational and religious freedom with assurance that the new Turkish government would construct roads throughout the provinces and would build schools and hospitals. It is not generally known that 100,000 Albanian tribesmen, summoned by the representatives of their political organizations, sent an ultimatum to Abdul Hamid saying: "We favor the constitution; if you don't grant it we shall march on Constantinople." Soon after the world learned that the Young Turks had succeeded, but the dispatches from Constantinople and Athens made no mention of those through whom success had really come. During the first ten months after the constitution four national conferences were held in Albania. The first and second discussed educational problems; the third, the most important, considered the political and religious situation and established a normal school in Scutari for the express purpose of educating native tribesmen for national leadership. The fourth congress met in Monastir in 1910. This was a purely political gathering and here was drawn up the program calling for home rule for Albania. During this ten-month period there were founded sixty-six national clubs, banded together to secure autonomy, thirty-four day and twenty-four night schools, and fifteen musical and literary societies. At this point the faithlessness of the Young Turks began to appear. In order to avoid fulfilling the pledges they had made to secure the aid of Albania in deposing Hamid II, the Young Turks sent Djevid Pasha to the Malissore, an Albanian tribe living in the mountains and noted for their independent spirit. In July, 1910, Djevid Pasha levied a tax on the sheep without parliamentary sanction. As the Young Turk leaders had anticipated, the Malissore tribesmen protested.

They were denied legal redress. A clash soon followed between the villagers and the soldiery, and Djevid Pasha scattered his troops broadcast throughout the province, pursuing a course so unwarranted and cruel that he sowed the seeds from which the present situation has grown. In 1911 the same tax was imposed upon the vilayet of Kossovo. Another protest followed, and Turgut Pasha was sent to the scene. For four months he ravaged the province and for the first time in the history of Albania, the bastinado was used. Turgut Pasha committed so many atrocities that the entire Albanian populace was stirred to revolt. Finally a member of the Albanian Nationalist Committee wrote a protest to the *Bashkim Kombit*, the leading Albanian paper. The article was reproduced in the German, French, and English papers. Turkish military attachés in Germany were sharply criticized and Turgut Pasha handed in his resignation. From such conditions—the faithlessness of the Young Turks in refusing the former pledges given for Albanian aid in securing the constitution, and the policy of inflicting indignities and outrages upon the native tribesmen—the present situation has developed.

The native Albanians themselves "take no stock" in the interest that Bulgarians, Servians, Greeks, and Montenegrins are showing in the autonomy of Albania and Macedonia and Old Servia. They insist that the real aim of the Balkan states is the securing of greater territory. The Albanian nationalists have a program which calls for the making of the four vilayets of Janina, Monastir, Scutari, and Kossovo into one vilayet to be known as the Albanian vilayet with absolute educational and religious liberty.

In November last the oldest and most important of the Albanian National Clubs met in Bucharest and elected Ismail Kemal of Valona, an Albanian Moslem, provisional head of the nation. Ismail Kemal was President of the Turkish Council of State under Sultan Hamid II. He is a very liberal statesman and an aggressive independent thinker. On November 28, there assembled at Valona the first meeting of the new Albanian Chamber of Deputies, composed of eighty-one Christian and Moslem Albanians, who chose Ismail Kemal Provisional President and Louis Gurakuqui Provisional Secretary. The conclave proclaimed independence.

POSSIBILITIES OF THE TURKEY OF THE FUTURE

AT the present time of writing the consensus of opinion in the newspaper and periodical press seems to be that except for the occupation of Constantinople and a small area contiguous thereto, the days of Turkey-in-Europe are numbered, and there is considerable speculation as to what chance the Turk, "who has been dragging out an unhappy existence as a half-healthy whole man, has of taking up the burden of life again as a wholly healthy half-man." In the January *Forum* Mr. Lewis R. Freeman, the traveler, who has just returned from an extended journey through Asia, discusses the Turkey of the future and describes the Asiatic possessions of which the newly constructed empire is likely to consist. "Let us," he says, "see what elements of empire are possessed by the hitherto all-too-loosely bound vilayets of Turkey-in-Asia." He proceeds:

> The Peninsula of Asia Minor—forming roughly a rectangle between the Mediterranean and Black Sea—is a country, both physically and climatically, not unlike what we have known as Turkey-in-Europe beyond the Dardanelles, a moderately well-watered land whose broad, fertile valleys alternate with ranges of rugged mountains. The very considerable population, largely Mohammedan, is fanatically attached to the Sultan as Khalif and dully resentful toward him as the head of a Government which has taxed it so mercilessly, leaving it, when the balance is struck, still incomparably the most loyal body of subjects in any part of the empire. A thoroughly up-to-date railway system connecting the best of the interior with Smyrna, Constantinople-in-Asia and other ports has given tremendous impetus to trade and agriculture in the last decade, while increasing intercourse with Europe has resulted in the introduction of Occidental business methods if not Occidental business ethics. Smyrna, with close to half a million people, one of the fastest growing and best equipped ports on the Mediterranean, is the main *entrepôt*, and it is interesting to note that the most striking feature of its recent customs reports has been the indicated increase of American trade, both export and import, with Asia Minor.

Asia Minor is well qualified to serve as the "head" of a regenerated Turkish empire, and Mr. Freeman considers that the outlook for the development of a strong, healthy "body" is still more encouraging. The triangle inclosed by lines drawn from Trebizond to Bassorah and from the latter point to Alexandretta includes "by far the largest undeveloped area of really first-grade agricultural land in the world to-day."

> The region of the Tigris and Euphrates, while not quite so extensive as our own Mississippi Valley, is, on account of its milder climate and the ease with which the best of it may be placed under a canal system, capable of supporting—in fact, in the days of Babylonia and Chaldea, has supported—a much larger population. . . . The great Mesopotamian reclamation scheme of Sir William Willcocks, the eminent Anglo-Egyptian engineer, . . . calls for the construction of dams, dykes, floodescapes, and canals, the completion of which, at a cost of from thirty to fifty million dollars, will make it possible to bring under intensive cultivation an area more than twice as large as all of irrigated Egypt.

North of the Tigris-Euphrates Valley Mr. Freeman saw many miles of grain, raised by the crude methods of the fellahin, "which would have been pointed to with pride in the Dakotas or California."

The Bagdad Railway, from Adana to Bassorah or Koweit, which, unless interrupted by a general European war, will be completed in 1916, will prove of great importance to the development and solidarity of an Asiatic Turkish empire. The chief problem in connection with the rehabilitation of the area including the traditional site of the Garden of Eden is that of population, and "this may be partially solved as the result of the Balkan War. Many thousands of Islamites from Bulgaria emigrated to Asiatic Turkey when that province gained its independence, and it is certain that a much greater movement in the same direction will take place following the realignment in the Balkans."

If the rest of the "sick man" were as healthy as his "head" and "trunk"—Asia and Mesopotamia—his convalescence and complete recovery in the absence of "complications," might, says Mr. Freeman, be a matter of but a few years; but his "extremes" are in a bad way indeed.

> The great desert peninsula of Arabia might be described as a leprous limb that must shortly fall away of its own weight and weakness, while Christian Syria and Jewish Palestine are old wounds that have been so often reopened that they can never heal. . . . The Armenians would far rather be Russian than Turkish subjects, and this is what will come to pass sooner or later, and probably for the good of all concerned. Kurdistan, in spite of its turbulence, Turkey should be able to handle. . . . The Persian Gulf Coast is divided up between a half dozen or more sheiks and petty sultans, the supreme and only real power in each of which capitals is the British military consul, who reports to the Indian Government.

Mr. Freeman thus sums up the situation:

> There cannot possibly be peace or prosperity in Armenia, Syria, and Palestine under Turkish gov-

ernment, and it can never be worth while for the Sultan to endeavor to extend his active authority over more than a small portion of the Arabian peninsula. With Armenia transferred—for a consideration—to Russia; with the non-Mohammedan peoples along the eastern end of the Mediterranean included in a protected state—possibly an extended Lebanon; and with Arabia—Turkey must of course be allowed a strip running down to Mecca—definitely reckoned as a British sphere of influence, the way would seem clear for a new Turkish Empire to begin to work out its own salvation in the broad belt of Mohammedan country commencing at the Dardanelles and bending down through Asia Minor, across Mesopotamia to the Persian gulf.

Two things may bring about a break-up of the new Turkish empire thus indicated—a general European war and the collapse of the Russo-British *entente*. Russia, by reason of her geographical position, is the natural heir to the best part of Asiatic Turkey. Down to half a decade ago Great Britain held her back; but "since the growth of what she calls the German menace, Britain has manœuvered to hold Russian friendship at almost any price, and as a consequence her Near-Eastern policy with regard to the latter has become one of conciliation. It is this policy that was responsible for Britain's failure to support Shuster in Persia, as well as for the indifference of the British Government to the fate of Turkey in the latter's war with Italy."

Just what Germany's ideas with regard to Turkish Asia are it is difficult to say. Mr. Freeman's opinion is that she is doing here just what she is in Southern Brazil—"establishing herself as quietly and peacefully as possible by developing the country in order that full advantage may be taken of a favorable turn of the political cards to enter into more tangible possession."

NICHOLAS, THE WARRIOR-POET KING OF MONTENEGRO

NICHOLAS OF MONTENEGRO

FIFTY-TWO years have passed since Nicholas—Nikita—in his native Montenegrin,—ascended the throne at Cettinje, but the fires of patriotism still burn feverishly within the bosom of this royal falcon of the Black Mountain. Nicholas celebrated his country's accession of a port on the Adriatic by a poem entitled "To the Sea." The French version of this and of two others of his poems, one on the assassination of his uncle and predecessor, Prince Danilo, and the other entitled "To my Country," together with a brief sketch of the royal writer's life, appears in a recent issue of *La Revue*, Paris. Unfortunately it is impossible to render adequately in English the sonorous phrases of the original. The writer says:

> To appreciate the character of the Montenegrins, it is necessary to comprehend the irreconcilable antagonism of races, which separates them from the Turks—hatred of race, hatred of religion, hate implacable, secular, hereditary, unassuaged, which smolders in the hearts of their intrepid and unvanquished warriors, and mists into sudden eruption like a volcanic force. The Montenegrins are a great little people: their soldiers, tall, lithe, and robust, are patriots to the bottoms of their souls and will fight till they win victory or death.

Nicholas was born in 1841 and succeeded his uncle, Danilo, in 1860, being called from Paris where he was studying at the Lycée-le-Grand. He at once turned his attention to extending those reforms begun by Danilo in a government previously characterized by a crude theocracy. He not only created schools, legal tribunals, and ministerial bureaus, but has recently, on his own initiative,

given his country a liberal constitution. His French biographer says further:

Besides his qualities as king-organizer, and as soldier, Nicholas is a writer and a poet of great merit. He has enriched the Servian language with a number of works of lofty poetic inspiration, most of which have been translated into the German, Slavic, and Scandinavian tongues. The "Queen of the Balkans," esteemed his most beautiful dramatic work, and "Prince Arnavit," have been much appreciated.

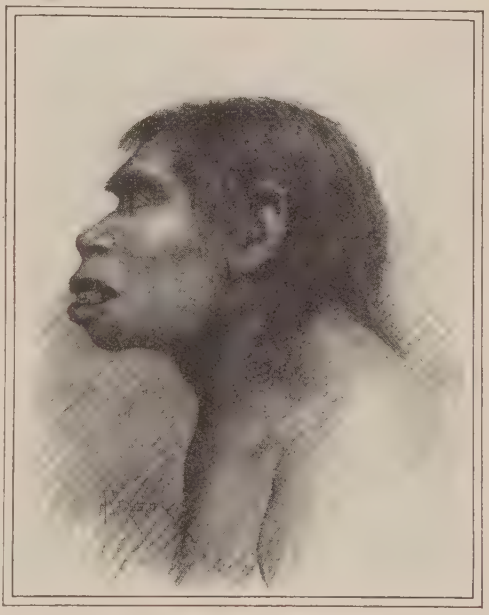
The poem "To the Sea," was written at the close of the war of 1877-79, in which Nicholas wrested from the Turks the ports of Dulcigno, and Antivari. Previously, Montenegro had been landlocked by the territory of Turkey, Austria, Bosnia, and Herzegovinia. Consequently there was great exultation over the "Marriage of the Black Mountain and the Sea."

Apropos of this an amusing anecdote is given: Some time previously the Emperor of Austria and Nicholas met on a visit to the Bouches de Cattaro.

"My good friend," the Emperor remarked playfully, "you inherit a lofty perch!" And the prince responded instantly, "Yes, Sire, the Turks have taken the earth from me; and the Austrians have taken the sea; and I am obliged to live with my falcons, near Heaven."

ENGLAND'S MOST ANCIENT INHABITANT

WEDNESDAY, December 18, 1912, is a new red-letter day for geologists in general and for the members of the Geological Society, London, in particular. On that date were displayed to an eager audience at a meeting of the Society, a part of the jaw and a portion of the skull of the most ancient inhabitant of England, perhaps of Europe. These remains were discovered last summer by Mr. Charles Dawson of Lewes in the dried-up bed of a pond near Uckfield in Sussex. Dr. Smith Woodward, Keeper of the Geological Department of the British Museum, exhibited to the meeting a beautiful restoration of the jaw, and also set forth the deductions made by scientists from the find: The *Illustrated London News* in its issue of December 28, 1912, gives illustrations of a full-length reconstruction and of a reconstruction of the head of what will now be known to scientists as "the Sussex man," accompanied by an interesting article from the pen of Mr. W. P. Pycraft. One notable feature in connection with this discovery is the assuredness with which the geologists announce their deductions.



"THE SUSSEX MAN"

The remains thus far recovered leave no possible doubt but that they represent not merely a fossil man, but a man who must be regarded as affording us a link with our remote ancestors, the apes, and hence their surpassing interest.

The evidence for the interpretation which has been placed on them is incontrovertible. In the first place, the lower jaw is unmistakably ape-like, while presenting other features indubitably human. It is ape-like in its massiveness, in the absence of a chin, and in the absence of a peculiar ridge along the inner surface which in the typical human jaw is extremely well marked, and serves for the attachment of muscles concerned with the act of swallowing. Another simian feature is the shortness and great breadth of the upper branch whereby the jaw is hinged to the skull. As to the teeth of this Ancient Briton, it will suffice to remark that they resemble those of the celebrated Heidelberg jaw, and in so far are of the human type; but they are ape-like in the greater length of their grinding-surfaces.

Evidence that the remains are those of a human is conclusive from the presence of the mastoid process, which in apes is wanting. Further, "the brain-capacity of this ancient man had just under two pints, which is nearly twice as much as that of the highest apes, though considerably less than that of the average European, which is, roughly,

"THE CEREBRAL FORMATION INSIGNIFICANT; THE JAW SUPERB"

PARTY POLITICIAN: "See how eve in this distant progenitor of ours we may trace those traits which, evolving through the ages, reach their almost divine development in us."

From the *Herald* (Swansea, Wales)

about two pints and a half." Nothing is at present known of the eye-sockets, nose, and upper jaw, and it is feared that all traces of the trunk and limbs have been lost beyond recall.

How long ago did this man live, and what did he look like when alive? To the first of these questions Mr. Pycraft can only say: "Several hundred thousand years, perhaps a million."

But this much is certain: he lived during the early part of what is known as the Pleistocene age, and near enough to the period known as the Pliocene to make it certain that his immediate forbears must have lived during that period; thus justifying the forecasts of Pliocene man which authorities from time to time have made. Indeed, the celebrated Heidelberg jaw is regarded by some as belonging to the Pliocene; and the jaw of the Sussex man now under discussion is of a still more primitive character.

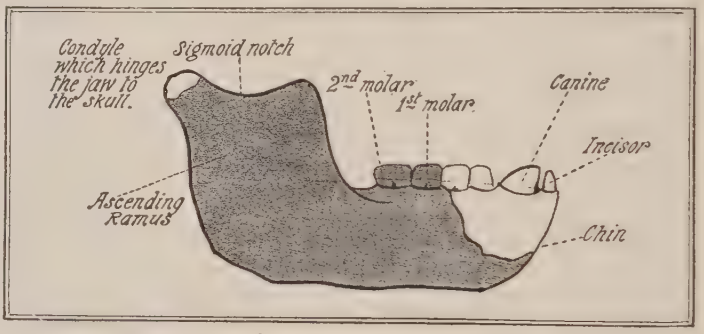
The Sussex man was "of low stature, very muscular, and by no means lacking in intelligence."

Living in a genial climate amid a luxurious vegetation, and surrounded by an abundance of game, he may be said to have led a life of comparative ease. Of clothing he had no need; nor was there any reason to bother much about housing accommodation; though, for safety's sake, he may have been forced to devise some kind of shelter by night. Elephants and rhinoceroses of species long since extinct roamed in herds all round him. These and the hippopotamus no doubt he killed for food, and, besides, he must have hunted a species of horse long since extinct, while the lion, bear, and saber-toothed tiger afforded him plenty of opportunities for hairbreadth escapes. . . . Finally, these fragments of man from the Sussex gravel tell us that already at this early period the human race had begun to split up into different peoples, which had spread far over the earth's surface, as is witnessed by the remains found in Java and at Heidelberg. And these three, we must point out, belong, roughly, to the same period of time in the world's history; these three, more than any others, bear witness to man's kinship with the apes.

Public Opinion (London) quotes "an eminent anthropologist, writing in the *Pall Mall*," to the following effect:

No event in the annals of the Society has created such a profound sensation among its members, and no discovery of human remains has equalled them in importance.

Dr. Smith Woodward seems to be of opinion that this ancient man of Sussex did not exceed five feet in height, and further, from the slight development of the brow-ridges and the slenderness of the jaw, it may prove that we shall have to regard this skull as that of a female. But this will not alter the value and importance of the discovery. . . . As with all the crania of fossil men, this skull is very long in proportion to its width, a feature more



THE RESTORED JAW OF THE SUSSEX MAN

(Shaded portion, actual discovery; outlined areas, restored parts)

marked in the monkeys than in the higher apes. But there are two points which definitely and positively mark this skull as human. These are found, first, in the nature of the hinge for the lower jaw, which agrees absolutely with that in modern man, and differs emphatically from that of the apes; and, second, in the presence of . . . the mastoid processes. These are peculiar to the human race, though, as in the Tasmanian and some other of the lower races of to-day, these bosses of bone in the Sussex man were smaller than in the higher race.

Dr. Woodward stated to the meeting that "while the brain case is emphatically human, the jaw is as emphatically apelike. Found by itself, it might, and would, have been regarded as that of an ape with many human features.

The most striking point of both is the extraordinarily receding chin, the jaw sloping backward sharply from the base of the teeth, which had a decided forward thrust.

RATS AND FLEAS AND THE BUBONIC PLAGUE IN CUBA

AMONG the secondary results of the Spanish-American war none is perhaps of greater importance than the progress in sanitation on the Island of Cuba, more especially in the city of Havana. A description of the conditions at the close of the war reads: "The American authorities found the city [Havana] in a woefully unsanitary condition. The streets were unswept, garbage was

THE FLEA THAT TRANSMITS BUBONIC PLAGUE

piled in heaps, and the pavements were in a miserable condition. The existing sewers were in some places completely clogged, and all of them leaked, contaminating the surrounding soil." How remarkably sanitary conditions have advanced since then is evident from a perusal of *Sanidad y Beneficencia*, the official bulletin issued monthly at Havana by the Health Department of the Cuban Republic. In this volume of more than 200 pages, large octavo, are given, besides the ordinary vital statistics, reports on analyses of milk, inspection of mosquito larvæ, bacteriological work, hygienic examination of pupils in the public schools, the extermination of rats, and the destruction of condemned foodstuffs. From yellow fever, that former scourge of Havana, not a single death has been recorded since 1908. That the Department is thoroughly alive to the importance of its duties, is shown by an article on *La Peste Bubonica* (The Bubonic Plague) from the pen of Dr. Juan Guiteras, the energetic Director of Health in Havana, who describes the vigorous measures taken by his department. The plague was introduced into Cuba during the past summer from Porto Rico, in consequence, as Dr. Guiteras believes, of "the delay of the United States authorities in recognizing the disease there." The presence of the plague in Havana was first conclusively noted on July 4, in a patient at No. 1 Hospital; and, writing on August 3, Dr. Guiteras states that "the disease has been confined to three individuals and three city blocks, and he has every reason to hope that it will end there." He bases this anticipation on the fact of the "early commencement of the campaign of "deratization" (*"desratizacion"*) and fumigation of buildings known to be infested with rats." That rats are frequent media of the transmission of the plague infection has long been known. In the present case Dr. Guiteras was informed "by an anonymous letter of the existence of an unusual mortality among the rats in a certain district of Havana" about the same time as the appearance of the bubonic plague. Investigation showed "that this mortality was not due to any organized attempt to destroy the rats; and it was also learned that two cases of 'violent sickness' had occurred among the employees of the provision warehouses in which the dead rats had been found." These two cases died at the hospital within a few days of admission. The mortality among the rats soon afterward ceased.

Rats are not the only sources or media of infection of the bubonic plague: fleas are found to be almost as dangerous. The English Commission which investigated the bubonic plague epidemic in India in 1902 reported that "experience points to the conclusion that the flea, particularly *Pulex cheopis*, transmits the plague infection." Dr. Guiteras in Havana is able to corroborate this. He says: "In the rats examined by me in Havana the *Pulex cheopis* has predominated in a remarkable degree over all the other kinds."

It has been mentioned above that the mortality among rats, noticed in the month of June in Havana, ceased shortly after that time. In this connection the following observation by Dr. Guiteras is interesting:

> In various tropical cities of importance there has been noticed a certain periodicity in the course of the epidemics of the bubonic plague. This periodicity has been characterized principally by a notable diminution of the disease in the months of June, July, and August. This may be referred to the considerable diminution of the number of fleas in man and the animals during this period.

ROMAIN ROLLAND'S LIFE OF MICHAEL ANGELO

IN a corner of the National Gallery of Scotland, in Edinburgh, half-forgotten and veiled in obscurity, rest the original wax models of three of the noblest of the sculptures of that great genius, Michael Angelo Buonarroti. The first of the trio is the seated figure of Guiliano de Medici, the second that of Lorenzo de Medici, and the third the Madonna and Child known as "Charity." These models were found at Sienna in 1844 and removed to Florence, where, before the discovery was made public, they were secured by Sir Hugh Hume Campbell and placed in the National Gallery. They are battered and incomplete, but the autograph of Michael Angelo is there, fervid, virile and ineffaceable.

George Grey Barnard, our American Rodin, tells us that any man with an active mind can learn by proper application to make a statue, just as he may learn to write a book or paint a picture, but only the artist, the God-endowed genius may create a work of art, may so pour himself, the greatness of his soul, into marble or pigment that it has a life of its own. The story of Pygmalion and Galatea means just this to the discerning. The artist gives life; he "makes what God makes —beauty."

Romain Rolland brings Michael Angelo very near to us. It is always open to question if the actual life of a great genius with all its contradictions that appear on close scrutiny, ever belongs to the public. Rolland conquers his doubts as to the wisdom of baring the whole of the sad life of Michael Angelo to the reader and cries: "Truth above all things—virile truth which fashions eternal souls. Its breath is rough, but it is pure. Let us bathe our anæmic hearts in it." With this foreword, the curtain rises upon Florence in the sixteenth century and enter—Michael Angelo Buonarroti.

Let us see him as Rolland sees him—in a mirror that reflects his character and personality, his origin, his associates—the city that he loved:

> He was a Florentine citizen—of that Florence with somber palaces, lanciform towers, dry, undulating hills sharply defined against a deep blue sky and covered with little, black fusiform cypresses and a silver scarf of olive trees which move like the waves of the sea—of that intensely elegant Florence where the pale, ironic face of Lorenzo de Medici and Machiavelli with his large cunning mouth used to meet "La Primavera" and the chlorotic, pale, golden-haired Venuses of Botticelli—of that feverish, proud and neurotic Florence which was the prey of every form of fanaticism, which was agitated by every form of social or religious hysteria, where everyone was a free man and where everyone was a tyrant, where it was so good to live, and where life was a hell—of that city of intelligent, intolerant, enthusiastic, and malignant citizens who possessed tongues that could sting and minds that were full of suspicion, who jealously spied one another and tore each other to pieces—that city where there was no room for the free mind of Leonardo, where Botticelli ended in the deluded mysticism of a Scotch Puritan; where the goat-visaged, ardent-eyed Savonarola ordered his monks to dance around a bonfire of works of art and where three years later the pile was raised to burn the prophet.

Such was the city to which Michael Angelo belonged—Angelo the passionate, frenzied, terrible genius, at once weak and mighty, the "colossal mountain which towered above the Italy of the Renaissance and whose tortured profile we see far away in the sky."

Of the outward man that sheathed this contradictory spirit, Rolland writes:

> He was of medium stature, broad-shouldered, strongly built, and muscular. He walked with raised head, hollowed-out back, and protruding stomach. So do we see him in a portrait by Francis of Holland—a portrait in which he is represented upright, in profile, and dressed in black: a Roman cloak over his shoulders, a piece of stuff on his head and on the top of it, well pulled down, a large black felt hat. He had a round skull, a square forehead, swollen over the eyes and lined with wrinkles. His hair was black, by no means thick, disheveled and becurled. His small, sad, strong eyes were horn-colored, variable, and speckled with yellow and blue. His big straight nose with a bump in the middle, had been broken by a blow from Torrigiani's fist. He had deep lines from the nostrils to the corners of the lips. His mouth was delicate, with the lower lip slightly protruding. Scanty side-whiskers and a somewhat thin, cloven, fawn-like beard, some four or five inches long, enframed his hollow cheeks and protruding cheekbones.

Such was the face, Rolland tells us, of the days of Tasso, the face of a man who experienced great glory and great misfortunes, the man who saw his beloved Italy delivered into the hands of barbarians, who lived to see all whom he loved pass away and who at the end of his life saw only failure, —his "uncompleted, destroyed and unaccomplished works." Necessity is sometimes the archangel of genius. If Julius II, that imperial and violent Pope, had not bent the genius of Michael Angelo to serve his own personal glorification, we should not

"ACTION"
(From the wax model in the National Gallery, Edinburgh)

have known the Sistine paintings nor the immortal Medici figures.

Forced into lying, reduced to flattering a Valori and to celebrating a Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino, he was consumed with sorrow and shame. He threw himself into his work, put into it all his useless rage. He did not carve the Medici but statues resembling his despair. When lack of resemblance in his portraits of Guiliano and Lorenzo de Medici was pointed out to him, he superbly replied, "Who will see it ten centuries hence?" One of them he called "Action"; The other, "Thought"; and the statues of the pedestals which formed a commentary—"Day" and "Night", "Dawn" and "Twilight"—express all the exhausting suffering of life and his disdain of all things.

"THOUGHT"
(Lorenzo de Medici)

He was so enslaved by himself and by others that death alone seemed desirable: "To die, to be no longer," he wrote, "No longer to be oneself. To break away from the tyranny of things. To escape from the hallucination of oneself"; and again, "Woe is me! In all my past I find not a single day which I can call my own." And yet again in his old age, "This is the end to which art, which promised me glory, has brought me—Fate has quartered, torn and broken me, and the hostelry which awaits me is—Death."

Rolland brings to light Michael Angelo's poems which he continued to write at intervals throughout his life. They were for the most part addressed to his friends—to Cavalieri, the "gentle and beloved lord" for whom Michael Angelo entertained a passionate and exaggerated friendship, to Cecchino dei Bracci and the intellectual Vittoria Colonna, and to others whom he honored with friendship. The sonnet on friendship dedicated to Cavalieri has been styled "the finest lyric poem that Italy produced in the sixteenth century:"

"With your beautiful eyes I see a gentle light, which my blind eyes see no longer. Your feet assist me to bear a load which my crippled feet can support no longer. I feel that, through your mind, I am raised to heaven. My will is centered in your will. My thoughts are formed in your heart and my words in your breath. Abandoned to myself I

"CHARITY"
(Madonna and child)

am like the moon, which is invisible in the sky as long as the sun shines."

Three of the funeral epigrams written in memory of Cecchino are of sublime beauty and particularly fitting to close these quotations:

"I who have been given to you only for an hour have been given over to death. The more my beauty has charmed the more tears it has left. It would have been better had I never been born."

"If ever I have lived, you alone, stone which encloses me here, know it. And if any one remember me, he seems to dream. Death is so rapid that that which has been seems as though it had never been."

"He who weeps for my death, bathing my bones and my tomb, hopes in vain that I shall flower again like a winter tree. Dead men do not come to life again in the spring."

RODIN, THE MICHAEL ANGELO OF OUR TIME

IT has been said that artists are the most partial judges on earth. Claiming to despise theories, as a rule it is they who uphold theory calculated to glorify and justify their own creations.

This frailty of the artistic mind is shown impressively in the observations of Auguste Rodin, the great French sculptor, set forth in the semi-biographical book which recently appeared in Paris under the comprehensive title "Art," and containing Rodin's views on sculpture and painting, particularly the former, set forth by Paul Gsell. The English version of this volume, translated by Mrs. Romilly Fedden,[1] with many illustrations in half tone and photogravure, has just been brought out in this country. M. Gsell tells in his preface about a conversation with Rodin in the spring of 1911. The French sculptor then gave it as his opinion that art was dead.

"You are interested in art?" he said. "You are an odd fellow. It is an interest that is quite out of date."

To-day artists and those who love artists seem like fossils. Imagine a megatherium or a diplodocus stalking the streets of Paris! There you have the impression that we must make upon our contemporaries. Ours is an epoch of engineers and of manufacturers, not one of artists. The search in modern life is for utility; the endeavor is to improve existence materially. Every day, science invents new processes for the feeding, clothing, or transportation of man; she manufactures cheaply inferior products in order to give adulterated luxuries to the greatest number—though it is true that she has also made real improvements in all that ministers to our daily wants. But it is no longer a question of spirit, of thought, of dreams. Art is dead. Art is contemplation. It is the pleasure of the mind that searches into nature and which there divines the spirit by which Nature herself is animated. It is the joy of the intellect which sees clearly into the Universe and which recreates it, with conscientious vision. Art is the most sublime mission of man, since it is the expression of thought seeking to understand the world and to make it understood. But to-day, mankind believes itself able to do without art. It does not wish to meditate, to contemplate, to dream; it wishes to enjoy physically. The heights and the depths of truth are indifferent to it; it is content to satisfy its bodily appetites. Mankind to-day is brutish—it is not the stuff of which artists are made. Art, moreover, is taste. It is the reflection of the artist's heart upon all the objects that he creates. It is the smile of the human soul upon the house and upon the furnishing. It is the charm of thought and of sentiment embodied in all that is of use to man. But how many of our contemporaries feel the necessity of taste in house or in furnishing? Formerly, in old France, Art was everywhere. The smallest bourgeois, even the peasant, made use only of articles which pleased the eye. Their chairs, their tables, their pitchers and their pots were beautiful. To-day Art is banished from daily life. People say that the useful need not be beautiful. All is ugly, all is made in haste and without grace by stupid machines. The artist is regarded as an antagonist. Ah, my dear Gsell, you wish to jot down an artist's musing. Let me look at you! You really are an extraordinary man!

An estimate of Rodin, apropos of the appearance of this book in the original French, appears in a recent issue of the *Osterreichische Rundschau*, Vienna, from the pen of Franz Serveas, the celebrated German litterateur, novelist, and dramatic critic. Herr Serveas has also evidently been talking with Rodin. He gathers that the theory of the French sculptor is briefly this:

He sees in art naught but a reproduction of nature, but how he perceives that reproduction! Therein lies his artistic gift. It is the part of the artist to discover beauty in the seemingly ugly and to reveal it in his work.

This German writer continues:

How earnestly he feels this is evidenced in his famous *Vieille Heaumière* (She who made the Helmet), based on a ballad of Villon. The decrepit, bent, nude figure of an old woman, yet a genuine, a lofty work of art—technically, by the wonderful symmetry of its parts, and spiritually by the appealing expression of truth with which he has molded a human being and its tragic destiny. With justice may Rodin insist that only that which possesses no character is ugly in art. An emaciated "John the Baptist" by Donatello, a deformed "Dwarf" by Velazquez, an old, worn-out peasant by Millet, are a thousand-fold finer as works of

[1] Art by Auguste Rodin Translated from the French of Paul Gsell by Mrs. Romilly Fedden. Small, Maynard & Co. 259 pp.

art than a vacant beauty vacantly painted by a fashionable artist. Outward knowledge is by no means rated low by Rodin. A perfect, a sovereign command of technique is with him an indispensable assumption and here his judgment is very rigorous. Nevertheless, he regards technique as merely means to an end. Just as far as it becomes an end in itself so far is it removed from the real aims of art; it leaves the beholder cold, because it springs from no depth of feeling. The treatment of form, therefore, must, with all its perfection of workmanship, to be characterized as art, be absolutely personal. Anatomical knowledge alone will serve as little as purely technical skill to endow a body with life. Whoever contemplates a torso of Rodin's will feel the distinctly personal note emanating from posture and composition in these technically admirable efforts. Rodin, who in the vaporous treatment of human flesh stands supreme to-day, is keenly appreciative of kindred advantages in other artists.

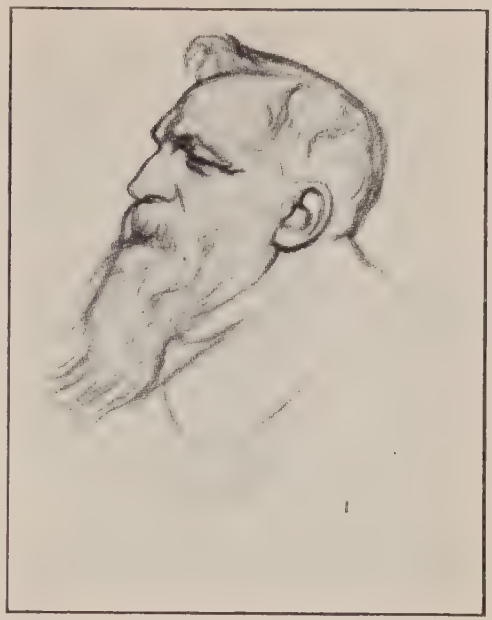
Rodin's aim is to reproduce nature faithfully but not mechanically. "In doing it he brings the whole glow and impetus of his being to bear."

We are confronted here by something that can neither be taught nor learned. All is genius, skill, mystery. To transform the fleeting into the enduring so that instead of being rigid it becomes instinct with life and motion, requires the wondrous intuition of a creative spirit. This artist is animated by a commanding impulse to spiritualize his works; conscious of his fidelity to Nature, he feels justified in following other, broader impulses as well, thus enriching his creations. This appears even more palpable in what he says about portraiture. "The sculptor or painter must seek the soul behind the likeness of the mask." A certain mystic trait, a leaving of hidden qualities to be divined, characterize him, it is true, as compared to Houdon's sharply illuminated clearness. Never, however, does Rodin bring out the spiritual at the expense or with a misapprehension of the outward semblance. "To produce a good bust," he confesses, "means waging a hard battle." And the narrowness and vanity of the patron are not the smallest factors in the conflict.

"Painting, sculpture, literature, music, are more closely allied than is generally believed." A critic objecting to Rodin's Victor Hugo that it was not sculpture but music, reminding one directly of a symphony of Beethoven, Rodin remarked with a sigh: "Would to Heaven he had spoken truly!"

One of Rodin's chiefest aims is to arouse the association of ideas in the beholder. And so in a portrait the face, so in the depiction of action the body should "express the spirit of which it is the cover." Take his "Centauress;" even technically it is a marvelous production; the vehemence of the rhythm thrills one. But solidity, motion, rhythm serve here to express the loftiest spirituality—the wailing, desperate effort to free the soul, as it were, from the bonds of bestiality. It is a symbol of mankind in general. And the artist speaks as its representative; it is his own passion and lament which so movingly reveals itself.

The writer adds that he is not blind to the fact that in his effort to express the spiritual



SKETCH OF RODIN REPRODUCED IN THE RECENTLY PUBLISHED WORK, "ART BY AUGUSTE RODIN"

Rodin goes too far at times, straying into subtleties. When, for example, he depicts "Contemplation" ("La pensée") by a sorrowing, pensive female head issuing from an unchiseled block of marble—explaining that this bodilessness is to suggest the incapacity of speculation for active, vivid life—we feel the chill of gay theory instead of a lively emotion. It is rarely, however, that Rodin resorts to such devices. The head itself, moreover, is appealingly beautiful and eloquently expresses in itself what the artist wished to convey. This meaning is thus set forth by the writer in the Austrian Review from which we have already quoted:

How little, in fact, he requires such affectation of mystery to express the *vita contemplativa* is evidenced by his monumental figure, "Le Penseur." The thorough transfusion of plastic art with fancy and emotion is what Rodin aims at and so often succeeds in, in a highly individual way. This it is that gives his work its incomparable character. And mingled with it is a kind of religious element, a touch of the inexpressible which hovers about his masterpieces. As he finely says: "Mystery is like an atmosphere in which the most beautiful works of art are bathed." It is the melting contours, the shy emergence of forms, which not rarely links his works with painting. One may doubt whether this mingling of two kinds of art would be enduringly beneficial; above all, whether it should be held up for imitation; but with Rodin the witching charm of such creations is irresistible. Here the spiritual is completely blended with the material—the spirit has become flesh.

SHALL WE CRUCIFY MUSIC?

UNDER this interrogative caption Mr. Arthur Farwell in *Musical America* discusses what he terms "the emotion superstition" concerning Music. A recent writer, he says, in trying to make out a good case for the advancement of public music, asserted that "the appeal of the best music, to be sure, is emotional rather than intellectual—as if it were necessarily and only in those two hopelessly insufficient and jaded terms musically considered, that the definition of music's appeal is to be looked for! These are the two arms of the cross upon which we are crucifying music today, in our failure to see the truth of what music is." Mr. Farwell is inclined to think that the emotion superstition arose through Richard Wagner, "the most emotional musician who ever lived," and who, "like all especially gifted people before the public, talked up the particular qualities of his own gifts." It is Mr. Farwell's opinion that:

> Wagner's was the emotional age of music, and we are just beginning to grope our way out of it. Wagner did precisely the right thing. He lived his own musical age more fully than any other man. But ours is a different musical age, just as Wagner's was a different musical age from Beethoven's.

Mr. Farwell is careful to say that he does not decry emotionalism in music "for the sake of an anæmic spiritually." He believes in "good red-blooded emotional expression as one of music's normal and healthy functions." He has "no use for 'intellectuality' in music, however much he may demand true intellect in a composer."

A few months ago Mr. Harry Porter Weld of Clark University sent Mr. Farwell a copy of his brochure "An Experimental Study in Musical Enjoyment," which the latter criticizes somewhat incisively. On this point he continues in these words:

> His [Mr. Weld's] method consisted in having a variety of compositions played before a number of persons, taken individually; in taking records of breathing and muscular reaction, and *in obtaining detailed introspective descriptions of their experience* from the persons experimented upon.
>
> In the nature of these "introspective descriptions" lies the pith of the whole matter. There is nothing unusual or novel about them—they are such as any of us would give in relating our own experiences in listening to music. The important matter is that we should take notice of them and open our minds, with simplicity, to what they mean. For they sound the death knell of the tenacious superstition that music is primarily emotional in its appeal . . . . Translated into human language, this means that music appeals to many totally different senses and faculties; the motion sense as well as the emotion sense; the sense of sight as well as the sense of hearing; to mental enjoyment of various sorts, irrespective of any emotional appeal.

Mr. Farwell believes that if there is any one message more clearly defined than another in the pages of this book it is that "music is no bondslave of emotion, but that it serves the human consciousness in an extraordinary variety of ways." Thus, to give illustration:

> One observer experiments upon "plays with his tonal imagery." Another sees changing scenes—a ball, a pageant, a stage-lady. One feels a strong tendency to move his head with the music, or to vocalize. Another finds his pleasure in calling up the scene in which he last heard the same composition. Still another sees the pitch outline in graphic form. Others alternate between excitement and repose. Some find a purely analytical enjoyment, and others again find a "symbolistic" interpretation of the music. These are but a few of a vast number of the results recorded, and which are given in great detail.
>
> Mr. Weld experimented only with isolated auditors, and therefore makes no contribution to the knowledge of the extraordinary qualities of the appeal of music to people in the mass, which often, far from arousing emotions, acts as a powerful solvent, reducing or equalizing the stress of emotions already present and producing a condition of repose or quiet exaltation. A woman who, with her little paralyzed daughter, has attended every Summer concert in Central Park for three years said to me last September, "When I hear this music I forget all my troubles."

In Mr. Farwell's opinion, the results which Mr. Weld obtained "only bear out what every one to-day must know if he will but look honestly into his own mind and heart," namely, "that music touches him, or may touch him, as broadly and variously as he himself touches Life." From this inclusiveness of appeal it is but a step to the sum total of music's effect upon the individual. Mr. Farwell concludes his paper with this appeal:

> Then let us, in America, take a step forward, and rid ourselves of this outworn, cramping and egregious falsehood, that music is fundamentally restricted to an emotional appeal. Let us prepare ourselves, by so doing, to accept music for what it is—a symbol of the whole of Life; an appeal to the whole Man, physical, mental, spiritual, real and ideal. Let us take music down from the cross. Let us strike the shackles from it, in our thought, and give it light and air and liberty, that it may stand forth, without apology, in its rightful majesty, all-human in its message—a mighty power for the interpretation and the upliftment of life.

WHAT DOES THE STRIKE SIGNIFY TO THE WORLD?

THE most significant event of recent times is the re-awakening of the labor movement in Russia, says G. Naumov in an article in the *Sovremenny Mir* (St. Petersburg):

It seemed it had been securely buried in the grave-like silence of "pacification," and that only the most incurable optimists could talk about its ever being resuscitated. Yet for some time past the labor movement has been again before us in all its immensity. The government statistics—alas! we have no other—furnishes this picture of the development of the strike movement:

Years	*Number of strikes*	*Strikers*
1895—1904 yearly	176	43,000
1905	13,995	2,863,000
1906	6,114	1,108,400
1907	3,573	740,000
1908	892	176,100
1909	340	64,100
1910	222	46,600
1911	422	256,300

Stating that the above figures are not absolutely correct, the government not having included great numbers of strikers in different trades, clerks, etc., the writer continues:

The rise of the strike movement coincided with the great drama in the English coal industry . . . . This gave the government newspapers reason to attribute the movement to English influence. . . . Not belittling the significance of the English strike, it can be conceded that it has exercised some influence, because conditions in Russia were ripe, because the same forces that were at work in England also affected Russia. And, really, the strike of the English coal miners is not an isolated fact. It is only a link in the chain of analogous events, which are so characteristic of this century. The economic struggle having affected all the states of Europe, one after another, must have inevitably reached Russia also. . . . Because the social conditions which determine these events are in general alike both in Russia and the rest of the world.

It is the writer's opinion that "we are living through a period of unusual intensification of the economic struggle" and he offers as proof "the direct testimony of statistical data compiled for the greatest European states."

Take Germany, the first country in point of economic progress. The number of strikes in Germany from 1,200 in 1899 rose to 2,113 in 1910, and the number of strikers from 99,300 to 155,600. But the economic struggle is not limited to strikes; there were also lock-outs, which having numbered only 28 in 1899 increased to 1,115 after 11 years. In Germany's neighbor, Austria-Hungary, the number of strikes has increased from 303 in 1900 (105,128 strikers) to 580 in 1909 (176,789 strikers). Even England which seemed congealed in her economic immobility roused herself and gave evidence of enormous growth. The most remarkable part, however, is not the increase in the number of strikes, but in the number of strikers. Evidently the strikes involve greater masses. Same is noticeable in other countries, particularly in France where the increase in the number of strikes is also very considerable: in the period of 1890-8 an average of 379 strikes, in 1899-1907—855. But more rapidly grew the number of strikers (from 71,961 to 214,660, and the average from 190 to 250). In little Belgium, Sweden, Switzerland, Italy, everywhere we meet with the same phenomenon, everywhere the same growth of strikes, their proportions, duration, everywhere we find the application of the newest weapon in the struggle, the lock-out. For the laws of capitalistic development act everywhere with a striking similarity. They create everywhere the same problems and the same methods of their solution.

According to Mr. Naumov, the high cost of living is one cause of the strike movement. He says:

There is no country that has not suffered within the last fifteen years from what is known as "the high cost of living." This is being felt most keenly by the workingmen. The wages during the past decade have hardly kept pace with the rise in the prices of the necessaries of life. In England, during the period from 1900-08, pay increased only 1.2 per cent., while the prices of commodities rose 2.8 per cent. . . . France furnishes a similar picture. . . . Germany and the United States, where industrial development is enormous and trade-unionism highly organized and very active, also present a conflict between the purchasing powers of the working class and the feverish rise of the cost of living. The workman cannot live on his old wage; he is forced to insist upon its increase, if he does not want to degrade still lower, to sink to the social bottom.

Another yet deeper cause of the movement, the writer thinks, is what he calls the growing intensity of labor. The workmen are being exploited to their utmost capacity, rapidly wear out and their places are taken by fresh, new hands.

Yet when visiting America, Sombart was astonished at the intensity of American labor which turns workmen into invalids at the age of 40-45. Now this becomes a general thing in Europe. And here it is to be noted that the largest concerns fix an age limit for their employee, taking him in his tender years and throwing him out like a torn rag at forty. Need we say what an immense change it produces in the life of the working class, how it changes all his family relations, how it promotes unemployment by prolonging it? Does not this partly explain the growing interest in insurance of workmen against invalidism and old age evinced by European bourgeoisie?

Still another cause of the movement the writer sees in the vast aggregation of indus-

trial capital in few hands. "Having buried the freedom of competition, the bourgeois introduces in its place industrial monopoly which makes the manufacturer the master of the situation."

Mr. Naumov concludes by saying that in Russia the fundamental causes of the strike movement are the same, aggravated by the efforts of the employers to "reduce the condition of the workingmen to the standard of the ante-revolution period, to re-establish the order of the 'dear old days.'"

MONGOLIA IN RUSSIA'S GRIP

AT this time of writing revolution is rampant in inner Mongolia. The homes of peace-loving people are being ruthlessly destroyed, peasants are being slaughtered by thousands, and prisoners of war are being decapitated by the score. In the opinion of those well qualified to judge correctly, these conditions are greatly to the liking of Russia. It is even asserted that that power, in order to further her own schemes of railway extension, fostered this counter-revolution. The *Far Eastern Review* (Shanghai and Manila), a generally well-informed and impartial publication, says, editorially, on this situation:

> The average unprejudiced observer, Chinese or foreign, believes that Russia, anxious to secure freedom to build the long-talked-of Kiakhta-Urga-Kalgan railway, encouraged the Mongols to proclaim their independence with the ultimate object of establishing herself as the paramount power in Mongolia.

In the same issue, under the caption "The Rape of Mongolia," a writer who apparently condemns the United States Government for its dealings with Colombia in the Panama Canal matter, suggested that Russia has taken a leaf out of the American book, and has even "gone the United States one better." We read:

> When the United States finally withdrew from the protracted and unsuccessful negotiations with the Republic of Colombia for the purchase of the Panama Canal strip, the state of Panama revolted and seceded from Colombia and declared its independence. America immediately recognized the new government, and then opened the negotiations resulting in the purchase of the present Canal Zone. America little thought that it had created a precedent, that might be invoked by other powers in other parts of the world, to justify the acquisition of concessions considered vital to their national expansion. It would seem that Russia, profiting by the lesson taught by America, has gone her one better, and when she found that it was impossible to obtain from the Chinese Government the coveted railway, mining and commercial rights in Mongolia, she availed herself of the situation caused by the general revolution by indirectly aiding a counter revolution in Mongolia, and recognizing the independence of the latter dependency. Russian newspapers are now publishing reports of negotiations with the new Mongolian government for railway and other concessions. Russia has served emphatic notice on the new Chinese Republican Government that she will not tolerate the dispatch of any armed force into Mongolia, to restore the dependency to its old allegiance. In other words, Mongolia is from now on to be considered as an independent state, and whatever concessions are secured from the Mongolian Government at Urga must therefore hold good.

The same writer maintains that, although Russia is the only power by which the independence of Mongolia is recognized, neither Japan nor any European power is in a position to protest seriously against this open attack upon the integrity of China, while, as for the United States, he says: "America, whose moral support might have benefited China, is debarred from protesting against a situation which had the Panama Canal episode as a precedent."

Russia now having a clear field for the prosecution of her policy of Mongolian expansion, public interest is anxiously awaiting the first fruits of the new conditions. The *Far Eastern Review* says:

> Russian newspapers are full of a great scheme to link Moscow with Peking by means of a new railway through Mongolian territory, and add that the Russian premier has promised to guarantee the interest on the capital needed for its construction. This, without consulting China's wishes, proclaims to the world that Russia now arrogates to herself the sole right to construct railways through Mongolia, and by the act of guaranteeing the interest on the cost of these lines foreshadows her ultimate annexation of the territory.

The anti-expansion element in Russia does not favor the construction of the proposed Mongolian lines; but American, French, and German financiers are said to have opened negotiations with the Russian Government for the work. Russia has evidently taken the first step towards the annexation of the territory.

SOME REPRESENTATIVE FICTION

THIS month the new novels fill our bookshelves—the novel with a purpose, the feminist novel, the socialistic brand, the novel whose artistry justifies its existence, the novel that is just a novel with no aims or pretensions, and, rather scatteringly, a new and distinctly American type,—the orchid-like society novel in which it is understood no realism is attempted. There is the Beautiful Princess and the Fairy Prince and the Villain all nestled in phrases as soft as cotton wool; there is the same dainty puppet show disguised and sweetened to taste that has lured the "Weary Giant" reader since books were made.

Now take the joyous adventures of Aristide Pujol, by William Locke (John Lane)—a book which, to fall back on the phrase of our beloved Pepys, is "mighty diverting,"—a quality not to be lightly considered in these days when gentle divertisements have been banished by noisy pleasures. Yet from one of our contemporaries comes the complaint that Aristide is "too joyous;" likewise a reproof to the author, that he has snatched Aristide from the monthly magazines and sent him forth to divert and amuse from the security of solid, board covers. Aristide is a lovable, cheerful vagabond who prances and ambles and gallops through amazing adventures and more than three hundred pages. He is a kind of straw man stuffed with airy imagination, as companionable as an amiable scare-crow, as improbable as the Arabian nights and because improbable no less delightful. He tells you how flowers sing and what color there is in the notes of birds and how a cornfield laughs and how the face of a woman who loves can outdazzle the sun. He brings you the charm of an impossible Bohemia; his follies recommend him to you and only when he tries an exit of propriety via a wife, an adopted child and a villa at Chislehurst, does he strain the leash of your credulity. Aristide must have disappeared and been hastily replaced by a conventional masquerader who (to serve the purposes of the author) ended Aristide's eventful career. We would like to ask Mr. Locke a searching question: Is he quite truthful when he brings the odor of domesticity to crown the sum of Aristide's ingenious and amazing adventures?

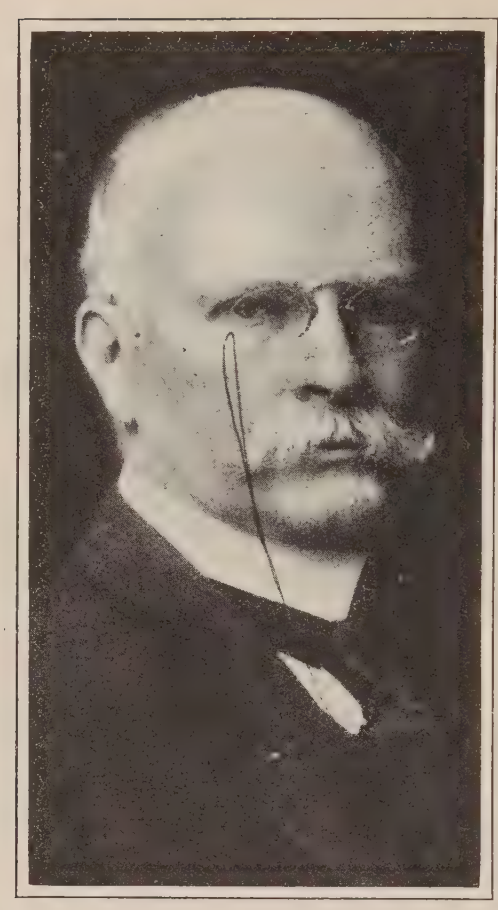
Among the current French novels in translation, quite the finest and most idyllic is René Bazin's "Davidée Birot," (Scribners) a powerful protest against the skepticism of the French bourgeoisie and the sordid, unromantic conception of the marriage bond. Mlle. Davidée, the young state-teacher of the Department of Maine et Loire, symbolizes the green herb of idealism that finds sustenance in the soil of religion in the country whose sun is still obscured by the shadow of Voltaire. Davidée has been educated without a religion and without a God. That which she cannot understand, she terms the "Unknowable." When she comes face to face with the actual experiences of life, sorrow teaches her of God, the children point their small hands unerringly toward Him, and at the last Love brings her to the realization that go whither we will, we cannot escape Him.

RENÉ BAZIN
(Whose "Davidée Birot" has been published in translation by the Scribners)

You cannot rescue a nation from its sins; you cannot breed a splendid race by teaching in the schools that we must dissociate our ethics from our metaphysics or that morality is simply a social phenomenon, or that the Nature of God is "an infinitely abstract question remote from human conduct." Bazin writes with extraordinary fluidity and great breadth of vision. The translation by Mary Frost is excellent; she preserves the delicacy and limpidness of phrase that is characteristic of Bazin's style.

Quite a different sort is Anatole France's "At The Sign of the Reine Pedauque," now offered in an English translation with an introduction by William Locke. It was published in 1893, the author's forty-ninth year, and "marks the floodtide of his genius when his imaginative power at its brightest came into conjunction with the full ripeness of his scholarship." After the manner of Rabelais, enlivened by the playful magic of spirits of fire and air, France relates episodes that are concerned with the education as a Latinist, of Elme-Laurent-Jacques, "whose father kept a cook shop in the Rue St. Jacques at the sign of the Reine Pedauque and whose feet as one knows were webbed after the fashion of ducks and geese."

No writer is at once so personal and so impersonal, at once human and super-human. He writes, as George Moore has said, with the "whole man," yet he is so much the artist and lover of beauty that he does not offend. Maître Jerome Coignard,



JAMES LANE ALLEN
(Author of "The Heroine in Bronze" and of many Kentucky stories)

a priest and a rascal, who falls from grace with adorable intention; an easy philosopher, in love with the eternal riddle of life, who mocks and worships with equal lustiness—who but Anatole France could have commended him to our affections? And who could have written with such delicious fancy of cabalism and Salamanders and Nymphs and Sylphs? "Happily," says Monsieur d'Astarac at the Reine Pedauque, "a great many are born from the union of men with the spirits of the air. And such are clever and beautiful. Thus were born the giants spoken of by Hesiod and Moses. Thus was born Pythagoras whom the Salamander, his mother, endowed with a golden thigh. Thus was born Alexander the Great, said to be the son of Olympias and a serpent. Scipio-Africanus, Aristomenes of Messenia, Julius Cæsar, Porphyry, the emperor Julian, who reëstablished the worship of fire, abolished by Constantine the Apostate, Merlin the Wizard, born of a Sylph and a nun, daughter of Charlemagne; St. Thomas Aquinas Paracelsus, and more recently Monsieur Van Helmont." Only the very wise may know Anatole France well. He is not food for babes, nor safe diversion for any save those who have come to a realization of the infinite spaciousness of life. To such he whispers (to use the words of Locke) that "there is mighty fine living in the world of toss-pots and trulls and rufflers" but this is only a literary adventure—prompting of the imps of unrest that trouble the brains of philosophers, "shining through all is the man himself, loving, merciful, tender, and warm."

Mr. James Lane Allen's latest story "The Heroine in Bronze" (Macmillan) is another of that author's delightful bits of description. It has to do with the love of Donald, a young author, for a girl whom he first admires as he hears her read her graduating essay at the college commencement. During his courtship, he writes a novel, and gives the girl to understand that she figures prominently in it. She is grieved and remonstrates with him, but he insists that he must remain master of his own work. And his firmness in this particular finally aids him in winning the girl's love. The story takes its name from a little bronze statuette belonging to Donald, which is the subject of a rather silly practical joke. It might be wished that Mr. Allen had devoted more attention to the central idea of the story—the conflict between Donald's love and his desire to write about the girl against her will—yet we cannot regret the space that he gives to descriptive writing; in particular, his little picture of New York in midsummer is excellent.

Miss Mary Johnston's "The Long Roll" was an important contribution to the literature of the Civil War; "Cease Firing" (Houghton Mifflin) is of even greater value. This is the second and final volume of Miss Johnston's great work, dealing with the siege of Vicksburg, the battles of Missionary Ridge, Wilderness, and Thunder Run, and ending with the entry of the Federal troops into Vicksburg. Beauregard, Lee, Sherman, and Grant are presented graphically and with scrupulous regard for historical accuracy. This accuracy is a distinguishing characteristic of Miss Johnston; she is strongly in sympathy with the South, but she never allows her partisanship to lead her into mis-statement. The love romances begun in the previous book are continued in this, and several interesting new historical characters are introduced. It seems unfair to call this work a "historical novel" for that term has been applied to the flimsiest of romances. "Cease Firing" takes its place with "The Long Roll" as the most vivid account of the Civil War in existence; it belongs to history and it belongs to literature.

The drama, instead of literature, is the career of the chief figure in Mrs. Mary Austin's "A Woman of Genius" (Doubleday). It may safely be said that had George Moore never written "The Mummer's Wife," this book would have taken a different form. Olivia Lattimore is convinced that she can act. Her theatrical efforts shock her neighbors in Taylorsville, Ohianna, but eventually give her great wealth and international fame. In the pursuit of this fame, she becomes "emancipated" of most conscientious scruples, and lives, the author would have us believe, a very gay life. The book is in part a criticism of the moral narrowness of the citizens of the Middle West, an exposition of Genius breaking the fetters of respectability. But it is interesting to note that the author's conception of an actress's career is deliciously provincial—she describes Olivia as living a life of wild riot, and yet gaining distinguished success in the most exacting and arduous of pro-

fessions. This naïveté gives an innocent charm to the book.

"Mastering Flame" (Kennerley), an anonymous novel which appeared last summer, received much favorable comment. A guess as to the authorship might assign the work to the author of "Margarita's Soul," Mrs. Josephine Daskam Bacon. Lilith Armistead in "Mastering Flame" is the twin-soul of Margarita. There is also great similarity of method; the minor characters play their parts intertwined as a background against which is thrown in high relief a central figure,—Lilith Armistead, with her jade-green eyes and flaming hair. Then there is the identical, abrupt, forced ending—the author can go no further with her characters; annihilation must overtake somebody or something. If Lilith Armistead had not died, sucked down by the fire on the deserted ship, the enigmatic, spiritual quality of "Mastering Flame" had been lost. The book is an intense gripping love story that quickens the heartbeats and stirs the mind. But for all its fine art and sympathetic characterization, it is futile save as "art for art's sake." The "God of To-morrow," Oriental, inscrutable, the symbol of an ancient mystery, propounds to us the unanswerable question upon the closing page—the "reason of the cause and wherefore of the why."

In Maurice Hewlett's "Mrs. Lancelot" (Century), the author has, we gratefully notice, forsaken the monotonous and loud-mouthed Senhouse. In this novel of Georgian days, the problem is the adjustment not of the usual triangle, but of a quadrangle. There is one woman—a pale, aristocratic lady, not sketched with Mr. Hewlett's old-time vigor, and three men. The husband, Charles Lancelot, is a starched and passionless government employee, who for the sake of advancement, subjects his wife to the dangers of

FRONTISPIECE (REDUCED) OF "MRS. LANCELOT"

MARY AUSTIN
(Whose latest book, "A Woman of Genius," is a novel of Stage life)

friendship with the great Duke of Devizes. But this Hewlettian Marquis of Steyne is less vicious and less successful than Thackeray's immortal villain, and so Mr. and Mrs. Lancelot enjoy the Duke's protection with some scandal but no real harm, until the third man appears—one Gervaise Poore. He is a poet, as hot-headed and absurd as his fellow craftsman in "The Song of Renny," and he finally captures Mrs. Lancelot and takes her off to listen to his poems (which, judging from the samples Mr. Hewlett gives, are hopelessly bad) in a cottage in Italy. Mr. Lancelot and the Duke follow but retire abashed after hearing Poore's four-page speech on the ethics of love. In this speech Poore delivers himself of what may be considered the book's moral,—if your husband neglects you, elope with a poet. This solution is interesting, but not always practicable.

"The Armchair at the Inn," (Scribners)—the best of all the F. Hopkinson Smith stories—brings us near to the green and sunny vines of Normandy. It is delightful and piquant, filled with gentle pleasures, kindly courtesies, and chivalrous deeds. The author has contributed several of the illustrations for the volume.

Ralph Connor's "Corporal Cameron" (Doran) shows that this popular writer has lost none of the rugged strength and intensity that characterized his early work. His craftsmanship is more polished; his character drawing more skillful; and the attention to detail carries the thread of his narrative in a convincing manner. The book is delightful reading; a book one wishes to read at a sitting. As a teller of stories that carry a thrill and certain dramatic intensity, Connor never disappoints his public.

A FEW THOUGHT-COMPELLING NOVELS

THE necessity of "art for art's sake" is by this season's fiction once more splendidly disproved. Apparently the novels that are most real, most stirring, most interesting, are those written not so much in response to the urge to create a thing of beauty as in response to the wish to advance an argument or to present a problem. Not that these authors are offering sugar-coated text-books or disguised sermons—it is simply that, beside being literary artists, they are also students of life. Having definite ideas, being troubled by definite questions, they give these ideas to the reader and ask him these questions. It is claimed by some critics that such a procedure mars the permanent value of a book. But the permanent value of a book is known only by the generations following its publication. And for the author's immediate public it is surely no defect that his scenes are those with which they are familiar, that the problems which his characters have to solve are natural and usual. The books which we are here considering are such as it was formerly the custom to call "problem novels," and they are, chiefly, studies of contemporary conditions,—sociological, political, economic or moral.

There is marital unhappiness in Maarten Maarten's "Eve" (Dutton) but the story is on the whole plausible and wholesome. Eve is brought up in a fantastic household from which all unpleasant realities are, so far as possible, deliberately excluded. She is not taught the meaning of sorrow. But after her marriage to the virtuous but prosaic Rutger Knoppe, who is obsessed with political ambitions, she finds sorrow enough. She falls in love with a young aviator. But this passion proves her salvation. For after temptations peculiarly difficult to resist, she resolves that it is her duty to confess to her husband this guilty affection, and, the aviator being dead, she does so. Then she leaves him, to seek in a convent "the peace we can regain." The dangers of an education which does not furnish knowledge of the difficulties and pitfalls of life is well brought out, and the necessity of confidence between husband and wife demonstrated. The development by suffering of the heroine's character from that of a frivolous girl to that of a courageous and sincere woman is skilfully shown. Incidentally there is given an excellent picture of modern Dutch life, and some convincing studies of religious psychology.

THEODORE DREISER
(Author of "The Financier")

Even the writer of a story of financial life finds it necessary to dwell on marital difficulties.

Mr. Theodore Dreiser shows admirable craftsmanship in "The Financier" (Harpers). This is the story of the career of Frank Cowperwood, who from small beginnings grows to be a commanding figure in the financial world. His sensational success, which comes after a failure and some months in prison, comes from his shrewdness in appreciating the significance of the failure of Jay Cooke and Company, which caused the panic of 1873, and speculating accordingly. As a picture of a certain type of strong-willed, able, brilliant, unscrupulous men of business, as a study of financial conditions during an interesting period and as a stirring narrative, "The Financier" deserves high praise. But Arnold Bennett has mentioned Mr. Dreiser as a writer, "whose work truly reflects current literary tendencies." And this comment is unfortunately true. This book shows the effect of deliberately reflecting "current literary tendencies," in its studied sordidness and highly artificial eroticism. There is a definite and unsuccessful attempt at realism in the description of Cowperwood's love-affairs, an attempt which in some places makes almost ridiculous what might have been an admirable piece of work.

A career of a somewhat similar sort is described by James Oppenheim in his "The Olympian" (Harpers). This book is a curious mixture; there are in it romance, realism, and keen satire. Kirby Trask comes from the Middle West to seek his fortune in New York. His impressions of boarding-house life, of the department store in which for a time he works, of employment agencies, vaudeville, saloons, and various other metropolitan phenomena are graphically set down and his love-story is told simply and convincingly. A large part of the book is devoted to a description of Trask's work as secretary to J. J. Harrington, the pub-

lisher of a large magazine. The methods of financing and editing some of the cheaper of our periodicals come in for well deserved and entertaining burlesque.

Trask's character has not the vicious qualities which mark that of Mr. Dreiser's hero, but his rise to a position of power in the steel industry is necessarily accompanied by the atrophy of his sense of pity and social justice. In this particular Mr. Oppenheim's financier is strikingly different from Mr. Dreiser's; Cowperwood appears to the reader as an exceptional character, a remarkably cruel, dishonest and lustful man of business; Kirby Trask is a type, a man whose private life is blameless and whose personality is not unattractive, in spite of the remorselessness of his industrial methods. "The Financier" belongs to pathology, "The Olympian" to sociology.

JAMES OPPENHEIM
(Author of "The Olympian")

William Dana Orcutt's "The Moth" (Harpers) is supposed to be a defense of convention, a demonstration of the danger which comes from the mere appearance of evil. The Moth is Lucy Spencer, a wealthy young matron with an innocent delight in masculine friendships. Her husband is a drunkard, and she seeks a refuge from her unpleasant home-life in dinner parties, motor-rides, cocktails and cigarettes. Her indiscretions nearly bring on a divorce suit, and endanger the good name of Cunningham, a lawyer who has, with his wife's aid, been endeavoring to teach Lucy the folly of deliberately antagonizing public opinion. She learns her lesson, and shows admirable courage and strength of mind. So far this is all very well, but the ultra-modern climax, makes Mr. Orcutt's story very funny indeed. In the old tales it was a marriage that repaid the heroine's patience and faithfulness—"they lived happily ever after" was the old tag. But Mr. Orcutt, after making his heroine demonstrate how very good she can be when she tries, gives her, as a reward of virtue, a divorce!

WILLIAM DANA ORCUTT
(Author of "The Moth")

A novel may be badly constructed, its characters clumsily drawn, its love-passages maudlin, and yet be a valuable piece of work. Samuel Merwin has proved this in his amateurish and admirable "The Citadel" (Century). For while this is a poorly written story, it is an excellent historical document, a photograph of the soul of a nation. This is the book of the Progressive party; more than that, it is the book of that passion for readjustment of social values, for freedom, for justice which during the last few years has been throbbing and stirring all over America. Mr. Merwin, a veteran newspaper man with an inside knowledge of practical politics and practical economics, has told how John Garwood broke with his bosses, tried to amend the Constitution, ran for Congressman on an independent ticket and was defeated. And John Garwood is more than a man, he is a type, a symbol, he is the embodiment of the progressive spirit. Mr. Merwin's political sympathies are by no means hidden, and he leaves his hero defeated momentarily but ready to carry on the fight anew. It was necessary for someone to write a novel like "The Citadel," for this new lust for change, whatever it is called, is a force to be reckoned with, a force which may be condemned, but cannot be ignored. And Mr. Merwin has the advantage of writing about a matter of tremendous importance, and of knowing what he is writing about.

It is possible to write about the "smart set" and not be sophomoric or flippant. Edith Wharton does this, and her new novel, "The Reef" (Appletons), is a serious and important criticism

ALBERT EDWARDS
(Author of "A Man's World")

of the aimless existence of the idle rich. Her criticism, however, is made subtly; it is a matter not of statement but of suggestion. George Darrow, a diplomatist, drifts into a foolish intrigue with Sophy Viner, a commonplace little person who has been making a dreary living as companion to a vulgar woman of wealth. After a Parisian sojourn they separate, and when next he meets her, after three years, she is acting as governess to the little daughter of Anna Leath, a widow whom he is courting. This is embarrassing enough, but worse is in store. Sophy, he finds, is affianced to Owen Leath, Mrs. Leath's stepson. There is something reminiscent of Pinero in Mrs. Wharton's method of juggling these troubled souls. "The Reef" could be made into an admirable drama. The plot comes to its climax naturally, in the manner of life, with that irony which is characteristic of the way of the gods with foolish people. For Mrs. Wharton's people are foolish—they are vain, selfish and flatly materialistic. She has knowledge of but not love for mankind. Perhaps it is fairer to say that she has no love for the class of which she writes with such cruel realism. It is certain that the future historian who wishes a clear idea of the thoughts and actions of the most worthless people of this generation will need but two books—"The House of Mirth" and "The Reef."

"A Man's World" (Macmillan), according to Albert Edwards, is not a pleasant place in which to live. It is full of prisons and ward-heelers and unpicturesque vagabonds. There are ugly sights in it, and ugly sounds and odors. But there is love in it, and that seems to make it all worth while. Arnold Whitman, who tells the story of his life, is a sort of probation officer in the Tombs. He works among the criminals from no definite religious motive, but because of a passion for humanity and a wholesome rage at injustice. He is by no means a saint, his amours are described with realism that is startling but essentially reverent. Mr. Edwards knows the underworld of New York thoroughly; there is not elsewhere in fiction a more accurate and vivid picture of the sordid misery of city streets. And Arnold Whitman, in his vices and in his virtues, is vitally human. There is a queer jumble of philosophies in the book—anarchism, socialism, opportunism, free love, feminism—all these are defended by Whitman or some of his friends. It is not as propaganda for any school of thought that "A Man's World" is to be valued, but as a study of life. There is no character in the story, from Nina, the street-walker, whom love makes a happy wife and mother, to Ann Barton, the anarchist nurse, who does not seem real. The reader may be pained by the book's cruel revelations, shocked by its frankness, wearied by the introduction of fantastic social theories, but he cannot deny its sincerity, strength and gripping interest.

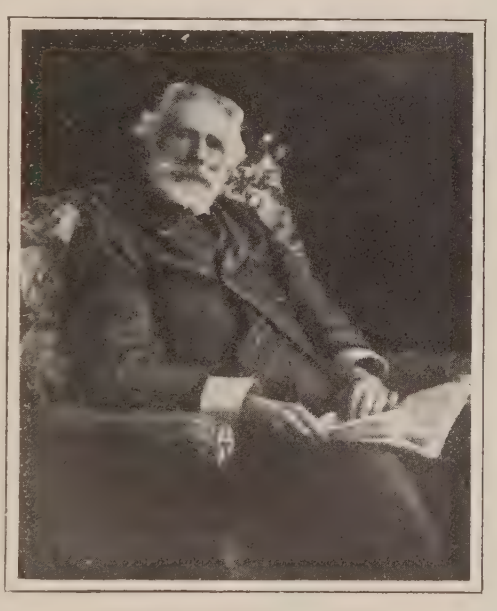
Of the numerous novels recently written on the subject of the relation of the sexes, Mr. H. G. Wells' "Marriage" (Duffield) is surely the most brilliant, and the least effective. As a picture, graphic though unsympathetic, of contemporary British middle-class life, as an exposition of human nature, as an entertaining narrative, it is excellent. But as propaganda for any belief, or as a study of social conditions, it is valueless. The heroine, who comes from a bourgeois family similar to that of Ann Veronica, but is inferior to her in intellect and training, marries a young scientist. His wife's extravagance hinders the young scientist's studies, and while making a fortune to satisfy her demands, he becomes estranged from her. Family peace is restored only after the unhappy couple have spent a winter in Labrador, away from all the worries of civilization,—including their children. Of course, a trip to Labrador is not a readily available cure for matrimonial difficulties. Mr. Wells has, for once, no remedy to offer, he is merely telling a story. And he does it very well. This is the best thing he has written since "Kipps."

And these are only a few of the host of "problem" novels, dealing with war, love, economics, medicine—with all the subjects to which people give serious thought. There is Beatrice Harraden's "Out of the Wreck I Rise" (Stokes), an interesting study of the tangled lives of a dishonest man and two passionate women. There is William Caine's story of a young musician's troublous career, to which he gives the name "Hoffman's Chance" (Lane). Charles Marriot, in "The Dewpond" (Lane), gives us another of his illuminating interpretations of feminine psychology. Louise Closser Hale's "Her Soul and Body," (Moffat, Yard) is not unlike it in spirit, although the subject is treated with less reserve and skill. In "Concerning Sally" (Houghton Mifflin), William T. Hopkins proves himself a close student of human nature and its reaction on environment. A novel is no longer a confection or a decoration. These are days of storm and stress, of questioning, of the readjustment of values. And to this spirit of unrest, of awakening social conscience, the novelists must make submission.

THE LETTERS OF GEORGE MEREDITH

THERE is a certain pride that is still burning in England despite all attempts to extinguish its flame, and a few borrowed coals are still glowing here in America,—the pride in that succession in literature from age to age of the qualities that are distinctly English, descended legitimately from Beowulf and Alfred and the Elizabethan masters down to the great Victorians, among whom George Meredith is a mighty landmark. This type of genius, born of health of body and of soul, is a noble blend, not fervid, nor frenzied, nor passionate without strength. It matters little whether all the individuals of this succession are of one particular blood, (Meredith was of mixed Welsh and Irish ancestry); we are concerned with a type, not the individual,—with a certain mold of genius, the archetypal pattern that is the quickening spirit of the English-speaking race.

It is good for us to read Meredith again and the collection of his letters comes at an opportune time, lest we forget that our progress must be one of strength and sanity, —"the speeding of us, compact of what we are, between the ascetic rocks and the sensual whirlpools to the creation of certain nobler races now very dimly imagined."



GEORGE MEREDITH AT EIGHTY

The letters of George Meredith, covering a period from 1844 to 1909, have been collected and edited by his son, William Meredith.[1] It is explained that they have been printed "first and foremost for his friends" and that this fact must explain whatsoever may appear illogical, superfluous, and maybe obscure in this book." Many letters have been destroyed, others are inaccessible, and others cannot be found, but enough exist and are included in this collection to form a sort of intimate biography—a running narrative of his life relieved here and there by explanatory notes and interpolations that add detail to the letters dealing with some significant event.

As biography this work cannot be likened to Boswell's "Life of Johnson," for it has none of the exactness of that photographic work, neither does it bear more than a flavor of the self-revelation of Pepys; rather, it is to be compared to the autobiography of Anthony Trollope. It reveals Meredith as critic, poet, philosopher, novelist, and friend. Often he comments upon his creations and playfully interrogates them and argues with them. Sometimes he complains that his characters elude his care and cut capers beyond his intention—to instance "Diana of the Crossways."

The introduction wisely sets forth his ancestry, the conditions surrounding his early life, and the manner of his education. From 1831 to 1842 many English boys were sent to a Moravian school at Neuwied on the Rhine near Cologne. George Meredith remained at Neuwied two years and its influence upon his mind seems to have been profound. At the age of sixteen he writes to a schoolfellow: "My Dear Hill: During the time that we have lived together, one feeling, whether in union, or shall I say enmity,—no, that is too harsh,—has agitated our respective bosoms. It is fellowship. O, may God grant that all may have the same feelings toward you to make your life happy. But true fellowship is not to be had without Christianity; not the name but the practise of it." With this letter begins the linked chain that covers the sixty-five years that "spanned Meredith's life in the world." The letters are scattered until his thirtieth year, then they flow a full stream, revealing beneath trivialities, his inspiration, the soundness of his philosophy, and his great powers of analysis.

On leaving the Moravian school at sixteen Meredith was apprenticed to a London solicitor, but it is recorded that for law he had no taste. He lived at this time on a single bowl of porridge a day, reading widely in the classics and giving himself to the study of English literature. "Richard Feverel" appeared in 1859, but there is scant allusion to this work in the "Letters." In 1861 he is writing to Captain Maxie from Venice, from Lucerne, and Shelley's "Eugeanan Hills,"—thence he journeys on to Munich and the Tyrol. The Alps gave him shudderings of delight; the "floats and splashes in the delicious Adriatic"; he finds the "spot Shelley speaks of in 'Julian and Maddalo,' where he saw the Vicenza hills in the sunset through the bell-tower where the lunatics abide on an island."

His comments upon fellow writers and upon friends flow freely. He writes to a friend about to be married, of the bride to be, that Rossetti admires her and that "I don't know any face the memory which leaves with me the unique impression of music so completely. There is that

[1] The Letters of George Meredith. Edited by his son. Scribners. Two vols., ill. $5.

softness of curves, and purity of look which move like music in her mind." In another letter—Swinburne read me the other day his French novel, "*La Fille du Policeman*"—the funniest, rampingest satire on French novelists dealing with English themes that you can imagine." "Les Miserables" he terms the "master-work of fiction of this century." His own "Modern Love" he terms "a dissection of the sentimental passion of these days, (1864) and only to be comprehended by the few who would read it many times. Why did I write it? Who can account for pressure?"

To writers he gives sound advice: "Between realism and idealism there is no natural conflict. This completes that. Realism is the basis of good composition: it implies study, observation, artistic power and (in those who can do more) humility. Little writers should be realistic. They would then at least do solid work. They afflict the world because they will attempt what it is given none but noble workmen to achieve. A great genius must necessarily employ ideal means for a vast conception cannot be placed bodily before the eye and remains to be suggested. Shakespeare, Goethe and, in their way, Moliére and Cervantes are realists *au fond*. But they have the broad arms of idealism at command. They give us earth but it is earth with an atmosphere."

Meredith's letters to John Morley, to Stevenson, and in later years to Edmund Gosse, show that the finest of Meredith's critical powers was revealed to his personal friends. To John Morley he writes from Box Hill in 1875 concerning Morley's Rousseau: "You have handled him with consummate mastery. I did not discredit you for style (excepting for a point or two) but exactly for that which I find in the book—mastery of every note of that evasive heart, and a power of showing the heroic coward complete in his contradictions. For such is the nature of Rousseau, that his notes are the deepest and highest within the scale of philosophy and the very lowest."

The last letter that Meredith wrote was a letter to Theodore Watts Dunton, written April 13, 1909, on the occasion of the death of Swinburne. "The blow was heavy on me. I had such confidence in his powers of recovery. The end has come. That brain of vivid illumination is extinct. I can hardly realize it when I revolve the many times when at the starting of an idea the whole town was instantly ablaze with electric light. Song was his natural voice. He was the greatest of our lyrical poets—of the world, I could say, considering what language he had to wield. But if I feel the loss of him as a part of our life torn away, how keenly must the stroke fall upon you—and at a time of prostration from illness."

These fragments are but glimpses of a noble collection of letters. The two volumes reveal not alone the workings of a mind that compassed genius; they breathe the essence of the English spirit that characterized the creative life of that great galaxy of Victorians of which Meredith was a glowing sun.

THE BRONTË FAMILY

MAY SINCLAIR makes apology for coming into the "open" with another book on the Brontës.[1] Mrs. Gaskell had written all there was to write about Charlotte, Madame Duclaux had performed the same service for Emily, and as for appreciations, why there were those of Theodore Watts-Dunton, Sir William Robertson Nicoll, Mr. Birrell, Mrs. Humphry Ward, Swinburne, and Maeterlinck. What more could one wish in the way of praise or appreciation? Yet one is glad of the Sinclair Brontës. They are alive and neither weird nor mysterious, but only a little sad and gifted and unfortunate. The book never drags; it is written with some of Charlotte Brontë's own fire and her curious faculty of getting feelings of others inside the skin of the reader. Emily Brontë is resurrected and her rare genius brought to light from out the shadow of Charlotte's fame. We are sent digging in dusty book shelves to rediscover Emily's one novel—"Wuthering Heights."

Miss Sinclair's book has a photogravure frontispiece of Haworth Parsonage, the home of the Brontës. She is as sensitive as Stevenson to the fact that genius is inseparable from the environment that forced it into being. She writes of Haworth:

"It is impossible to write of the three Brontës and forget the place they lived in, the black-grey, naked village, bristling like a rampart on the clean edge of the moor; the street, hard and steep as a gully, climbing the hill to the parsonage at the top; the small oblong house, naked and grey, hemmed in on two sides by the graveyard, its five windows flush with the wall, staring at the graveyard where the tombstones grey and naked are set so close that the grass hardly grows between. The church itself is a burying ground; its walls are tombstones and its floor roofs the forgotten and the unforgotten dead. It is the genius of the Brontës that made their place immortal; but it is the soul of the place that made their genius what it is. You cannot exaggerate its importance. They drank and were saturated with Haworth. When they left it they hungered and thirsted for it; they sickened till the hour of their return. They gave themselves to it with passion and their works ring with the shock and the interchange of two immortalities. Haworth is saturated with them. Their souls are henceforth no more to be disentangled from its soul than their bodies from its earth. All their poetry, their passion and their joy are there, in this place of their tragedy, visible, palpable, narrow as the grave and boundless."

But after much has been said of Charlotte and Anne Brontë and Bramwell (whose vices have been thrust upon us by his enemies) Miss Sinclair arrives at the raison d'être of her book, the genius of Emily Brontë. She has tried to reconstruct that splendid epic in which Emily Brontë lived for eleven years—the wild and fantastic epic of the "Gondal Chronicles." Of these little-read poems Miss Sinclair finds eighty she can be sure of and ten more that are doubtful. Emily Brontë, the obscure daughter of an obscure clergyman, lived in these curious poems a life of fantastic splendor. She was a Zenobia mourning over the

[1] Three Brontës. By May Sinclair. Houghton Mifflin 296 pp., ill. $3.

fall of her visioned Palmrya. "Sometimes she is the lonely spirit that looks on in immortal irony raised above good and evil. More often she is a happy god immanent in his restless and manifold creations rejoicing in this multiplication of himself. It is she who fights and rides, who loves and hates and suffers and defies. She heads one poem naïvely 'To the Horse Black Eagle that I rode at the Battle of Xamorna.' 'The horse *I* rode,'—if it were not glorious, it would be (when you think of what her life was in that parsonage) most mortally pathetic."

Miss Sinclair refutes the theories of others who have found strange fascination in dissecting the lives of the Brontës, only to arouse controversy over her own brilliant theorizing and discovery. G. K. Chesterton denies "Wuthering Heights" the human quality necessary to actual genius; Sir William Robertson Nicoll finds Emily "narrow intense, visionary," not the splendid self-sufficing soul of Miss Sinclair's conception. However we may regard her, it is good to listen to a forgotten voice that was as magical, as "filled with the vision of transcendent life," as Emily Brontë's.

NEW BOOKS OF PHILOSOPHY

THE Ingersoll Foundation Lecture on the "Immortality of Man," was delivered this year by Professor George Herbert Palmer of Harvard College. His digression from the beaten path of previous lectures gives a freshness and a literary interest to a theme that has, for the most part, been confined to theoretic, philosophic and metaphysical discussion. Professor Palmer chose for his theme—"Intimations of Immortality in the Sonnets of Shakespeare."[1] In his opinion just as no other body of poetry is so precious in its internal possessions, neither does any other hold so much intimation of a "promised eternitie." Three concepts of immortality are found in the sonnets—Natural Immortality, Ideal Immortality, and Spiritual Immortality, the last the perpetuation of an "imperial Self"—a spiritual everlastingness.

Immortality

James O. Fagan, author of the "Confessions of a Railroad Signalman," has given us a remarkable life-story in his latest book, "The Autobiography of an Individualist."[2] This history of a sturdy individualist begins on Moray Firth and leads to England, South America, Africa, and the United States. The chapters most pertinent to present needs are those on "The Riddle of the Railroads," "Conditions of the Railroads," and the "Individual in Industry." Mr. Fagan gave nearly twenty-five years to the keeping of a switch-tower at West Cambridge. While in the signal tower he devoted his spare time to good reading and the construction of sentences. In this way he succeeded in bringing his experience and knowledge to the public "not only in the measured ring of the words but also, as it were, in the sounding significance of thought." As a whole the book stands as a strong plea—for industrial liberty.

A Plea for Individualism

"Human Affection and Divine Love"[3] is a short essay by Swami Abhedananda which expounds the doctrine of human and divine love as taught in certain sacred books of India—the Vedas. The main argument of the essay is that the eastern spiritual teachings in regard to love are usually misunderstood. Contrary to general opinion, they do not deny the value of human relationships. They teach, rather, that divinity dwells in each individual soul and can be realized through any or all of these relations.

Love, Human and Divine

DR. SIGURD IBSEN

Dr. Sigurd Ibsen, only child of the great Norwegian dramatist, and son-in-law of Björnson, expounds a philosophy of his own in his work, "Human Quintessence,"[4] which has just appeared in English translation. This volume, which is a work of pure philosophy, is made up of four essays so grouped as to make a coherent whole. These are entitled: "Nature and Man," "Why Politics Lag Behind," "On Human Aptitudes and Human

A Norse Philosopher

[1] Intimations of Immortality. By George Herbert Palmer. Houghton, Mifflin Co. pp. 85 cents.

[2] Autobiography of an Individualist. By James O. Fagan. Houghton, Mifflin Co. pp. $1.25.

[3] Human Affection and Divine Love. By Swami Abhedananda. New York: The Vedanta Society.

[4] Human Quintessence. By Sigurd Ibsen. Translated by Marcia H. Janson. B. W. Huebsch. 303 pp. $1.50.

Art," and "On Great Men: An Essay in Valuations." In the essay entitled "Why Politics Lag Behind," Dr. Ibsen says: "While the arts and sciences are always far in advance of the average apprehension and appreciation, why is it that political practice is seldom on a level even with the most ordinary political thought of the time?" Even in the more advanced countries, he says, it is deemed all that can be expected if "sound common sense is the standard maintained in politics."

Those who have read Dr. Ibsen's papers in the original speak of the astonishing evidence in them of breadth of culture, amazing familiarity with men and things, the world over, rich experiences with life, and absolute clarity of style. Dr. Ibsen, it will be remembered, has traveled a great deal and lived in many lands. He has been secretary of the legations of his country at Washington and at Vienna, and at the time of the separation of Norway and Sweden, he was his country's representative in Stockholm. "Human Quintessence" (in the original "Menneskelig Kvintessens") has already reached its third edition in Norwegian, which is unusual for a work of its kind. It has also passed through three editions in German and French. Speaking of the original, Edwin Björkman, the translator of Strindberg, whose articles on literary topics have appeared in these pages, declared that the book has made life clearer to him. This writer goes on to speak of Ibsen's radicalism as set forth in the book, and of the perfectly logical power shown in the workmanship.

"A Valiant Woman,"[1] dedicated to the teachers of America by the anonymous author "M. F.," is a timely and valuable contribution to educational psychology. The first and the last chapters are devoted to the biography of a "valiant woman"—a teacher in whose soul burned the fire of a God-given enthusiasm for the work of arousing the latent energies of all who came in contact with her. The five remaining chapters are devoted to the teaching of English and foreign languages, science, history, methods and method-makers, and the teaching of ethics. They are filled with pertinent quotations from many great educators, ancient and modern, strung together by the easy epigrammatic style of the author. With words of strong condemnation the author strikes at the modern method of testing the pupil by frequent examinations, which method is characterized as "one of the most painful sores on our civilization," not a test of "intellectual ability but of physical endurance." There are many who will agree with this author that our schools are turning out weaklings instead of strong men—a creature that is an encyclopedic anomaly unable to concentrate his knowledge or focus his intelligence on work that is of value to himself or to the world. The sole business of the teacher should be to lay a safe and strong foundation for self-development, to train the mind to receptivity, and open out a way for the transcendent powers of the human mind. Every page is bright, readable, and full of thought, or, better still, full of subtle suggestion of undiscovered fields in which we may find the remedy for our educational follies.

An Appeal to Teachers

[1] A Valiant Woman. By M. F. T. Y. Crowell & Co. $1.

"The Culture of Personality,"[2] by J. Herman Randall, belongs to the "New Thought" classification and is one of the best books of its kind for the general reader. It emphasizes the ego embodied in man and clearly points out the road to development of personality. It lifts one out of the grossness of the material and sends us with a mighty sweep onto the high plains of spiritual vision. It shows that what appears to be decay of religious faith, is only the death of forms which the intensified personality of man has outgrown, and that this decay is really the forerunner of a spiritual renaissance too powerful to be bound by the old creeds. The spiritual vitality of mankind is overflowing, and must build for itself more "stately mansions" as time progresses. The personality of God is explained more clearly than in subtler metaphysical works, which oftentimes unsettle the mind. The author strives to make plain the pathway to the heaven within us, to show that the theory of freedom in church, state, and individual is not an idle dream, but is born of the intense longing of the inner man, the personality which controls all. He has with praiseworthy broadmindedness melted into one the vision of the seer and the saint, the freethinker and the orthodox, and formed from it all a glowing pathway to the Ultimate Good.

Personality

In the book, "Spiritual Surgery,"[3] by Oliver Huckel, the author institutes a comparison between the miracles of modern surgery as applied to the physical part of man and the work of the celestial surgeon who probes with the sword of truth into the festering impurities of the inner life. The striking analogy of the X-ray to the eye of God, from whom nothing is concealed, and the positive healing of the divine energy, if the human will be surrendered to the divine, are vividly impressed upon the reader. The chapters on "Spiritual Anesthesia" and "The Antiseptic Life" are powerful lessons in character building.

Surgery for the Spirit

"Light on Life's Difficulties,"[4] by James Allen, author of "As a Man Thinketh," will be welcomed by all seekers after spiritual growth and inspiration. It is written in a simple and luminous manner and is fully up to the high mark set by this author's former works. It will be of worth to those who, having read much but not wisely, are lost and bewildered in the fog of metaphysical speculation that usually abounds in "New Thought" literature. Mr. Allen says truly that the mass of humanity moves slowly along the evolutionary path urged by the blind impulse of its dominant thoughts as they are called forth by external things, but the sage travels swiftly and intelligently along a path of his own choosing. To aid and succor the masses of mankind, to assist them to enter the path of spiritual evolution, to outline progress which does not mean destructive revolution, is the main theme of this excellent book.

Pathway to Truth

[2] The Culture of Personality. By John Herman Randall. H. M. Caldwell. 501 pp. $1.50.

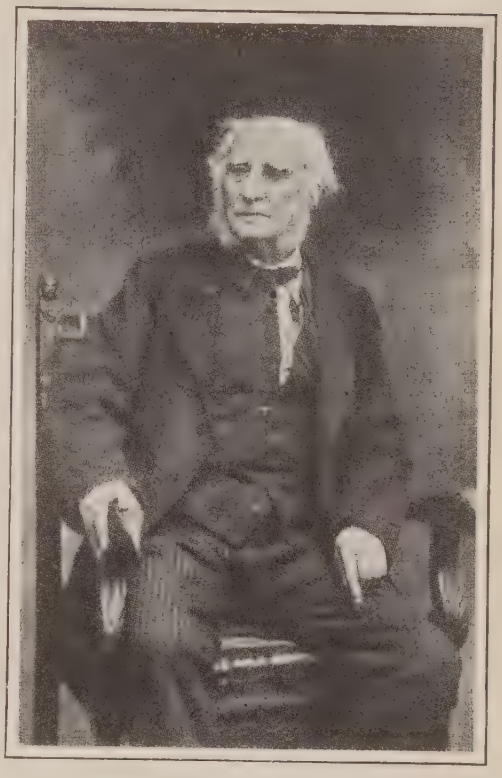
[3] Spiritual Surgery. By Oliver Huckel. Thomas Y. Crowell Co. 109 pp. 75 cents.

[4] Light on Life's Difficulties. By James Allen. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. 137 pp. 75 cents.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

French View of the Franco-Prussian War

OF all the leaders of French opinion during the terrible days of the summer of 1870, only two survive at this writing,—the Empress Eugènie and Émile Ollivier. The venerable statesman, now in his eighty-eighth year, has spent the past two decades of his life writing a monumental work of twenty volumes, which he entitles "L'Empire Liberal," in which he gives the inside history of the Second Empire. Fifteen of these volumes have already appeared, the material having first seen publication in a series in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. Ollivier was Premier under the government of the Third Napoleon in the latter part of 1869. He has always suffered under the obloquy of being mainly responsible for the War of 1870. It is chiefly to defend himself against this charge that the venerable statesman is writing his monumental history of the Second Empire. A summary of the volumes of this work already issued may be found in the volume "The Franco-Prussian War and Its Hidden Causes," which is an abridgment of the larger work, and which now appears in translation, with an introduction by George Burnham Ives.[1] M. Ollivier sets forth with absolutely convincing clearness in the letters and documents what is an already accepted fact of history that



ÉMILE OLLIVIER

Bismarck was bent upon provoking France to war as a necessary part of his plan for German unification. The methods of the relentless German statesman are set forth in this work, as well as the so-called liberal efforts of Ollivier to maintain.

A SKETCH BY ADOLPH MENZEL OF WAGNER AT BAYREUTH

Wagner's Bayreuth

The origin and development of the idea which has flowered into the Bayreuth Festival is traced in a new volume of Wagneriana,[2] which is composed almost exclusively of letters of the great composer on the subject of the musical festival. The English edition, which shows some careful editing, is by Caroline V. Kerr. The most minute directions for the production of the pieces of the festival are given in these letters, showing that Wagner had thought the great conception out to the finish before beginning its visible representation. Bayreuth, says the translator in the introduction, is not merely a local habitation that has furnished a name for the Wagnerian musical drama. "It is also the embodiment of an idea which reaches back more than a quarter of a century in the life of the composer."

[1] The Franco-Prussian War and Its Hidden Causes. By Émile Ollivier. Translated by George Burnham Ives. Little, Brown & Co. 520 pp., ill. $2.50.

[2] The Story of Bayreuth as Told in the Letters of Richard Wagner. Translated and edited by Caroline V. Kerr. Small, Maynard & Co. 364 pp., ill. $2.50.

"Browning," says Helen Archibald Clarke, in her new book "Browning and His Century,"[1] "is the nineteenth century heir of Chaucer; but it is doubtful whether Chaucer would recognize his own offspring, so remarkable has been the development in those five centuries." This characterization occurs in the chapter entitled "Classic Survival," one of the most stimulating in this volume, which, as the author herself says it has been her aim to do, "opens out a sufficient number of pathways into the fascinating vistas of the nineteenth century in relation to Browning to inspire others to make further excursions for themselves."

Browning and His Times

Miss Katharine Coman, Professor of Economics in Wellesley College, is enjoying a four-years' leave of absence for the prosecution of research in her chosen field. The first fruit of her labors is a two-volume account of "Economic Beginnings of the Far West."[2] The story of the winning by Americans of the land beyond the Mississippi has often been told. Most of the narrators have been concerned chiefly with the political and diplomatic aspects of the struggle for possession. Miss Coman, on the other hand, makes it her province "to suggest the underlying economic conditions that determine the outcome of war and treaty and race competition, and to reveal the bread-and-butter struggle that must ever result in the survival of the fittest,—the ablest to utilize the resources of a virgin territory." Her narrative covers, in chronological order, the Spanish occupation, the era of exploration and the fur trade, the advance of settlement, the transcontinental migration, the establishment of free land and free labor, the completion of the railroad to the Pacific, and the Homestead Act.

Pioneering in the Far West

The life of Hubert Howe Bancroft runs so nearly parallel with the life of the United States and he was so large a part of so much of the expansion movement that his reminiscences take on the character of a history of our national life. The Bancroft "Retrospections: Political and Personal"[3] have now appeared in book form. They tell the story of the Pacific coast for sixty years. Besides setting forth things of which he himself knew personally, Mr. Bancroft, in this work, sets forth in his own interesting style, his interpretations and opinions of passing events. He can talk with absolute fearlessness of the "graft" of our civilization, but his optimistic attitude of mind is shown in the last chapter on the "Significance of the Panama Canal." His work is really an analytical review of the "American Century."

Historian of the Pacific Coast

Mr. J. N. Larned's "Life and Work of William Pryor Letchworth"[4] commemorates the services of a well-known citizen of New York State, who for nearly forty years was a ceaseless worker in the cause of public philanthropy as Commissioner of the State Board of Charities. Mr. Letchworth devoted himself assiduously to improvement in the State's care for the homeless and delinquent child, for the insane and the epileptic, and for the conversion of juvenile reformatories of the old type into industrial schools. In recent years Mr. Letchworth has been gratefully acknowledged as the donor to the State of his beautiful country home on the Genesee River to be maintained forever as a public park under the care of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society. The arboretum which is projected as the central feature of this State park was fully described in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS for February, 1912, by the Hon. Charles M. Dow.

A Faithful Public Servant

Another venerable citizen of New York, whose life has been devoted to public philanthropy is Mr. Zebulon R. Brockway, who was superintendent of the Elmira Reformatory from the time of its opening in 1876 to the year 1900. Mr. Brockway's autobiography, entitled "Fifty Years of Prison Service,"[5] has recently been published by the Charities Publication Committee, under the auspices of the Russell Sage Foundation. No living American, at the present time, can write so authoritatively concerning the rise and development of the American reformatory system as can Mr. Brockway. For the entire latter half of the nineteenth century his life was identified with the prison reformatory movement, and there was little that had relation to this movement, whether by way of actual practice or merely proffered suggestion, that escaped him. It was the wide knowledge thus secured from experience that resulted in Mr. Brockway's call to Elmira, and the placing in his hands of the responsible and arduous task of building up the greatest penal reformatory institution in the country,—a task that he ably fulfilled.

Brockway of Elmira

ZEBULON R. BROCKWAY
(Author of "Fifty Years of Prison Service")

Following are the titles of some of the more recent volumes of biography and memoirs that have been received from the publishers:

[1] Browning and His Century. By Helen A. Clarke. Doubleday, Page & Co. 374 pp., ill. $1.50.
[2] Economic Beginnings of the Far West. By Katharine Coman. 2 vols. Macmillan. 868 pp., ill. $4.
[3] Retrospection: Political and Personal. By Hubert Howe Bancroft. New York: The Bancroft Company. 562 pp., por. $2.
[4] The Life and Work of William Pryor Letchworth. By J. N. Larned. Houghton Mifflin Company. 471 pp., ill. $2.
[5] Fifty Years of Prison Service. By Zebulon R. Brockway. New York: Charities Publication Committee. 500 pp., ill. $2.

Reminiscences of a Diplomatist's Wife. By Mrs. Hugh Fraser. Dodd, Mead & Co. 395 pp., ill. $3.

Life of Benjamin Disraeli. Vol. II. By William Flavelle Monypenny. The Macmillan Co. 421 pp. ill. $3.

Roger of Sicily and the Normans in Lower Italy. By Edmund Curtis. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 483 pp., ill. . $1.50.

Washington and Lincoln. By Robert W. McLaughlin. Putnam's. 278 pp., pors. $1.35.

The Story of Marie Antoinette. By Francis Bickley. Small, Maynard & Co. 104 pp., ill. $1.

The Story of Lady Hamilton. By E. Hallam Moorhouse. Small, Maynard. 130 pp., ill. $1.

The Story of Nell Gwyn. By Cecil Chesterton. Small, Maynard & Co. 142 pp., ill. $1.

BOOKS ABOUT THE CIVIL WAR

SEVERAL volumes relating, directly or indirectly, to the Civil War have come from the press during the past few months. One of the most important of these is the long awaited autobiography of General Jubal A. Early.[1] This narrative was left by the General in manuscript form at the time of his death, March 2, 1894. The General had labored conscientiously at this task for nearly thirty years, and we now have the complete story of the war from the viewpoint of one of the chief participants on the Confederate side.

A Confederate War Horse

Another well-known Confederate commander is commemorated in a volume entitled "General Joseph Wheeler and the Army of Tennessee,"[2] by John Witherspoon DuBose, who, himself a soldier, had a personal acquaintance with General Wheeler of forty years' standing. It happened that his part in events subsequent to 1865, notably his activities in the war with Spain, made General Wheeler known to a later generation of Northerners almost as well as he had been known to his fellow Southerners in the great conflict of the '60's. All friends of this plucky cavalry commander, North and South, will be interested in the authentic record of his achievements in the Civil War.

General "Joe" Wheeler

The war experience of the Confederate private is graphically told in "One of Jackson's Foot Cavalry,"[3] by John H. Worsham, of the famous old Richmond "F" Company. The humorous aspects of Civil War campaigning on the Confederate side are well brought out in this book.

Campaigning with Jackson

A memoir based on the journal of the late "Soldier-Bishop" Ellison Capers,[4] of South Carolina, presents still another side of life below Mason and Dixon's line in the '60's. After the war General Capers became Episcopal Bishop of South Carolina, and finally Chancellor of the University of the South, at Sewanee, Tenn.

The "Soldier-Bishop"

A companion volume to Grant's memoirs is supplied in the form of "Letters of Ulysses S. Grant to his Father and his Youngest Sister, 1857-78,"[5] edited by his nephew, Jesse Grant Cramer. While these letters are naturally concerned, to a considerable extent, with family matters, they make frequent and illuminating references to public affairs and notably to certain aspects of the conduct of the war.

Letters of General Grant

While not a Civil War book in a strict sense, the volume of letters and other documentary material collected and edited by Professor Walter L. Fleming, of Louisiana State University, and entitled "General Sherman as College President,"[6] has so direct a bearing on various developments of the war that it may fairly be regarded as a contribution to Civil War literature. It will be recalled that during the two years just preceding the outbreak of the war General Sherman was serving as President of the State Seminary of Louisiana, which, in after years, became the State University. His correspondence during that period included letters from Bragg, Beauregard, and other Southern military leaders and these materials not only showed the views of these men upon national problems, but throw new light upon the social and political conditions in the South upon the eve of the war as well as upon the opinions and actions of the Southern leaders.

Sherman as College President

The fourth series of "Personal Recollections of the War of the Rebellion"[7] consists of addresses delivered before the New York State Commandery, Military Order of the Loyal Legion. It comprises much interesting and valuable anecdotal material relating to the experiences of Northern officers and soldiers in that time of conflict. Following are the titles of some of the addresses: "Glimpses of Hospital Life in War Times," by Edward Curtis, Brevet-Major, late U. S. A.; "An Experience in Virginia Prisons During the Last Winter of the War," by Brevet-Major George Haven Putnam; "The Army Chaplain of 1863," by Chaplain William R. Eastman.

Recollections of Federal Soldiers

[1] General Jubal A. Early: Autobiographical Sketch and Narrative of the War Between the States. Edited by R. H. Early. J. B. Lippincott Co. 496 pp., ill. $3.50.

[2] General Joseph Wheeler and the Army of the Tennessee. By John Witherspoon DuBose. The Neale Publishing Co. 476 pp., ill. $3.

[3] One of Jackson's Foot Cavalry. By John H. Worsham. The Neale Publishing Co. 353 pp., ill. $2.

[4] The Soldier-Bishop Ellison Capers. By Walter B. Capers. The Neale Publishing Co. 367 pp., ill. $3.

[5] Letters of Ulysses S. Grant to his Father and his Youngest Sister 1857-78. Edited by Jesse Grant Cramer. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 182 pp., ill. $1.75.

[6] General W. T. Sherman as College President. Edited by Walter L. Fleming. Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Co. 399 pp., ill. $5.

[7] Personal Recollections of the War of the Rebellion. Edited by A. Noel Blakeman. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 380 pp., por. $2.50.

ESSAYS AND LITERARY STUDIES

When Admiral Alfred T. Mahan discusses "The Place of Force in the International Relations of States," the advocates of militarism and the agitators for universal peace alike do well to hearken. Professor Mahan (for he is scholar by the right of degrees conferred, as well as Admiral in the United States navy) bases his argument (in his latest book "Armaments and Arbitration"[1]) on the contention, "too frequently ignored, that neither arbitration in a general sense, nor arbitration in the more specific form of judicial decision based upon a code of law, can always take the place, either practically or beneficially, of the processes and results obtained by the free play of natural forces." Of these forces this naval writer would have us believe "national efficiency is a chief element and arbitration being the representative of the national strength is the exponent." Stated in other words, Admiral Mahan would have us believe that all civilization has to depend for its supremacy on its energy. When the two "essential elements"—international competition and armament—fail, the end of civilization is near at hand. Particularly stimulating is the Admiral's concluding chapter entitled "Was Panama a Chapter of National Dishonor?" It is his opinion that "not even the consummate results of the American occupation, in sanitation, in maintaining order, in advancing the canal, with its promise to the world's future, are so complete a justification for the action taken as is the miserable and barren record of the former owner, the Republic of Colombia."

Admiral Mahan on Arbitration

To Thomas Dwight Goodell of Yale University, whose monographs on classical subjects are widely known, in grateful acknowledgment of his contributions to metrical science, Professor John Williams White, of Harvard University, dedicates his monumental work "The Verse of Greek Comedy."[2] It would require much space to give any adequate exposition of the content of this volume. Briefly it investigates the origin, nature, relation, and development of the Greek poets and their remote and shadowy predecessors along the coast of Asia, the islands of the Agean and the Continent. The principles of this scientific investigation, Professor White states, must proceed in the main from Aristoxenus, Aristides, Heliodorus and Hepaestion. The application of certain laws of rhythm (laid down by these masters) to the comic poets, is recorded in the second and fourteenth chapters of this work. The fifteenth chapter treats of the origin of the forms of Greek poetry. The theories of ancient and modern Greek scholars and metricists are discussed with great simplicity and directness considering the amount of technique involved. While this book is primarily for the student who reads Greek with facility the student of rhythms who is unfamiliar with the dead languages, will find much to repay his study in this learned work.

A Study of Greek Poetry

[1]Armaments and Arbitration. By Admiral A. T. Mahan. Harper & Brothers. 260 pp. $1.40.

[2]Verse of Greek Comedy. By John Williams White. Macmillan Co. pp. $4.

Mr. Edmund Lester Pearson's papers that make up the volume, "The Librarian at Play,"[3] have, with two exceptions, been published in the Boston *Transcript*, where they found many admirers. They are gentle, leisurely skits that bring out certain foibles of human nature as a librarian sees them. Their humor is delightful. If you wish to woo a chuckle read "The Interest Gauge" and "The Crowded Hour."

A Librarian's Viewpoint

Edna Halleck offers an "Introduction to Browning,"[4]—an illustration of the way in which one teacher presented Browning's poems to her classes. It is a helpful volume for those who wish to study the works of that poet. Miss Halleck quotes Professor Corson's advice in regard to "The Ring and the Book" as a pointer in the right direction. "Read it through as swiftly as you can; read it again and again until you catch its spiritual message. Get that first and make it subservient to your own soul."

How to Study Browning

"Why Women Are So"[5] is not a fortunate choice of title for an excellent book on womankind by Mary Roberts Coolidge. The author calls her book a "first-hand study of the ordinary, orthodox, middle-class women who have constituted the domestic type for more than a century." There are no conclusions drawn. Miss Roberts considers conclusions about women a trifle premature. She follows the development of the woman of 1800 into the woman of to-day.

Woman's Development

Mrs. Jane Johnstone Christie traces the "rise of the feminine" in her recent book, "The Advance of Woman."[6] Contrary to what might be expected, it is not an argument for woman's rights nor a tract on suffrage. Mrs. Christie has in a most scholarly and conservative manner presented a picture of woman as a potent factor in the ancient and the modern world.

Dr. G. Frederick Wright's scholarly discussion of "The Origin and Antiquity of Man,"[7] published by the Bibliotheca Sacra Company, and Mr. Henry R. Knipe's "Evolution in the Past,"[8] published by the Lippincotts, and illustrated by Alice B. Woodhouse and Ernest Bucknall, are two recently notable publications of the story of man's early sojourn on the earth.

Man's Life on Earth

[3]The Librarian at Play. By Edmund Lester Pearson. Small, Maynard. 301 pp. $1.

[4]Introduction to Browning. By Edna Halleck. Macmillan. 131 pp. 75 cents.

[5]Why Women Are So. By Mary Roberts Coolidge. Henry Holt. 371 pp. $1.50.

[6]The Advance of Woman. By Jane Johnstone Christie. Lippincott. 333 pp. $1.50.

[7]The Origin and Antiquity of Man. By G. Frederick Wright. Oberlin, Ohio: Bibliotheca Sacra Company. 547 pp., ill. $2.

[8]Evolution in the Past. By Henry R. Knipe. J. B. Lippincott Co. 242 pp., ill. $3.50.

ART AND SCIENCE

IN Mr. Frank Weitenkampf's book on "American Graphic Art,"[1] a survey is made of the whole field of the reproductive graphic arts, etching, engraving on wood and metal, lithography, together with the application of such specialties as illustration, bookplates and posters. Mr. Weitenkampf, who is chief of the Arts and Prints Division of the New York Library, has already given us a comprehensive volume on "How to Appreciate Prints." In this work on graphic art he considers the accomplishment of individual artists chiefly in its relation to the general movement in art. There are many illustrations which really explain the text.

The Graphic Arts

FRANK WEITENKAMPF

Another useful book on "Prints and Their Makers,"[2] edited by Fitzroy Carrington, consists of a series of essays on engravers and etchers, old and modern. Mr. Carrington is editor of the Print Collector's Quarterly, and he has summoned to his aid in this volume a number of the best known authors on modern and ancient prints, including Lewis, R. Metcalfe, Charles H. Caffin, Royal Cortissoz, Frederick Keppel, Frank Weitenkampf, and J. Nilsen Laurvik. Mr. Weitenkampf's chapter in this volume is devoted to "Félix Bracquemond: An etcher of Birds." The illustrations are excellently chosen and splendidly reproduced.

It is said that there are 100,000 boys in the United States who are actively employed for at least a part of their time as amateur wireless operators. This is only one indication of the rapid advance that has been made in recent years in this new field of human activity. Many of the wonders of this fascinating business are graphically described by Francis A. Collins, in "The Wireless Man: His Work and Adventures on Land and Sea."[3] The every-day happenings in the great oversea wireless stations, as recorded by Mr. Collins, are quite as romantic as most of the incidents that we expect to find in fiction. Some of the stirring rescues at sea, accomplished through the aid of wireless, are described, and one chapter is devoted to "Three Heroes of the Wireless." The great value of the new service to the army and navy is outlined.

The Wonders of Wireless

A little book compiled by the editor of *Work* (London),[4] explains the principles and mechanism of wireless telegraphy and gives definite instructions for the assembling of the apparatus. Both text and illustrations are said to have resulted from the practical experience of men who thoroughly understand their subject.

"The Curtiss Aviation Book"[5] gives an account of the boyhood and early experiments of Glenn H. Curtiss, the aviator, together with the views of Mr. Curtiss, Captain Beck, Lieutenant Ellyson, and Augustus Post on the real future of the aeroplane, and a brief manual of "Aviation for Amateurs." Mr. Post also contributes a list of Curtiss pupils in aviation and a description of the Curtiss aeroplane motor and factory. It is a story of remarkable achievement on the part of an American boy growing up in typical village environment.

Glenn Curtiss, Aviator

The dramatic and mechanical perfection of the photo-play and the moving picture is one of the marvels of the hour. Doubtless the millions of people who crowd into the countless moving picture theatres have often wondered, while gazing at the fascinating films being unreeled before them, just how these entertaining effects were produced. What is back of the pictures—how are they made? A book published by the J. B. Lippincott Company of Philadelphia, entitled "Moving Pictures: How They Are Made and Worked"[6] answers the question in a most interesting and comprehensive manner. The subject is dealt with from the earliest experiments with "action photography" to the life-like perfection of the picture play of to-day. A fascinating section of the book explains in detail the production of "trick" pictures—the dancing furniture, the "fake" automobile accident, the making of apparitions, giants, and lilliputians, the rolling of a pumpkin uphill, and all the other grotesque happenings of the comic moving picture films. The volume is a veritable encyclopedia of the moving-picture art, and is liberally supplied with illustrations.

The "Movies"

[1] American Graphic Art. By Frank Weitenkampf. Henry Holt & Co. 372 pp., ill. $2.75.

[2] Prints and Their Makers. Edited by Fitzroy Carrington. The Century Company. 268 pp., ill. $3.50.

[3] The Wireless Man: His Work and Adventures on Land and Sea. By Francis A. Collins. The Century Company. 251 pp., ill. $1.20.

[4] Wireless Telegraphy. Compiled by the editor of Work (London). London: Cassell & Co. 150 pp., ill. 50 cents.

[5] The Curtiss Aviation Book. By Glenn H. Curtiss and Augustus Post. Frederick A. Stokes Co. 307 pp., ill. $1.35.

[6] Moving Pictures: How They Are Made and Worked. By Frederick A. Talbot. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 340 pp., ill. $1.50.

FINANCIAL NEWS FOR THE INVESTOR

AS in other fields of human activity, investment tendencies, highly beneficial up to a certain point, often threaten to go too far. Agitation in favor of splitting up bonds into one hundred dollar denominations is altogether wholesome until it reaches the point where savings-bank depositors are urged to withdraw their deposits and purchase small-sized bonds. This may prove dangerous advice.

Like the word "bond," the words "savings bank" have nothing essentially sacred in them. As we say of other things, "there are savings banks *and* savings banks." Their strength varies according to the laws of the States which create them. But in certain eastern States, chiefly in New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts, mutual institutions for savings have long existed which have no stock to pay dividends upon, which confer no fees upon their trustees, and which are operated solely for the benefit of the depositors,—in other words, are semi-public institutions. The laws governing the investment of funds by these banks are so strict as to form, without such being the intention, the standard of merit for all American investments.

These facts are probably well known to readers of this department but their brief repetition now may be not without timeliness. For the advice is being more and more frequently given to investors to buy the savings-bank type of bonds which often yield 4½ per cent., rather than to leave their money in the bank to draw only 3½ or 4 per cent. interest. With certain limitations, this is sound enough. The man or woman with several thousand dollars to invest may well place part of it in bonds of the savings-bank type, thus netting upwards of 4½ per cent. and if immediate marketability is not an all important factor, another part of the fund may be placed to great advantage in public utility securities which yield 5 per cent. or more. By sufficiently wide distribution, a high degree of safety may thus be attained.

But the difficulty arises when investors with only a few hundred dollars to turn over are given the same advice. The advantage of issuing bonds in small sums is not to be denied, but the man or woman with two or three hundred dollars to invest will be vastly better off as a depositor in a mutual savings bank than as the holder of two or three bonds. The most superficial reflection will prove this statement. The strength of the great savings banks of New York City, for example, does not depend solely upon the strict laws which govern their investments. Much of the safety is due to the enormously wide distribution of these investments. Strict as the laws are it is not an unheard of thing for savings-bank bonds to "go wrong." But little difference would it make to the Bowery Savings Bank with $100,000,000 of investments if one particular class of holdings should turn out badly. The individual with $300 to invest is in quite another position. Moreover, the savings bank is strong because the difference between what it receives on its investments and what it pays out on deposits is retained as a surplus for the protection of depositors,—a safeguard the bondholder does not have.

Then too the dealers in small bonds, in a commercial desire to sell their wares to persons who have hitherto purchased worthless mining shares and other "get-rich-quick" stocks, are naturally inclined to direct particular attention to bonds, which yield a high rate of interest and are not savings-bank bonds at all. These are often safe enough when combined with other more conservative securities, but the man with $300 is limited practically to one thing.

Usually the investor with a few hundreds is the one who can least afford to lose anything, yet he is the only investor who is denied this safety insurance of wide distribution. That is, he is denied this insurance unless he places his small sum with a savings bank of the type already described. He also is the one who most needs what the savings bank affords—the ability to draw his money out, and bonds are not always saleable.

Several of the mutual savings banks accept accounts opened by mail, and while the depositor receives about 1 per cent. less interest a year than from bonds, he has the satisfaction of knowing that practically no calamity can destroy his principal. After all, the difference between what is paid on $300 by one of the great semi-philanthropic mu-

tual savings banks and what is paid on three one hundred dollar bonds is only $3 a year. Is not this $3 a year worth the insurance of absolute safety? Surely the price is a small one for the beginning investor to pay. Then, as he saves more and as he learns something about bonds and gains investment knowledge and experience by reading or otherwise, he can try his hand at buying bonds. But it surely would be unfortunate if the tyro investor with his little hard-earned sum were persuaded that out of his inexperience he could chose bonds as well as the savings-bank president.

The fire of criticism recently directed against the New York Stock Exchange may serve the purpose of improving that institution and making it of greater service to the investment interests of the nation, for certainly there are few institutions as large which are not capable of betterment. There is steady improvement in the methods of dealing in securities not listed on the Stock Exchange and so it is only reasonable to expect a similar upward evolution on the "board." A new ticker service recently was installed by about sixty New York brokerage firms dealing in securities not listed on the Stock Exchange, by means of which dealers are brought into immediate touch with one another. This new service should make it easier for dealers to dispose of unlisted and inactive stocks with direct resulting benefit to investors obliged to sell securities of this class.

More bonds are sold off than on the Stock Exchange and the growth of the unlisted market bids fair to be stimulated by the formation of the Investment Bankers' Association of America and possibly also by the proposed formation of an international association of stock brokers, especially if brokers not connected with the exchanges are included. But all these activities, actual and potential, do not in the least lessen the function which the Stock Exchange does and must play. Close to two billions of stocks and bonds were added to the Stock Exchange list in 1912, and while the number of securities dealt in elsewhere increases rapidly, the increase in listed securities appears to keep pace.

Conspicuous among the new securities listed on the Exchange in 1912 were the shares of manufacturing and trading companies never before offered to the public. Investment funds are more and more going into the preferred shares of such companies. In this way the investor secures from 6 to 7 per cent. on his money. Many of these businesses, shoe-manufacturing, collar-manufacturing, dry-goods stores, and so on, originally grew and thrived because of the strong personality of the founder. Before placing his savings with them, it behooves the investor to inquire carefully into the management of such concerns to discover whether the personality that originally made them successful still exists, and, if not, whether an equal degree of managerial skill has taken its place.

The rugged old merchants who knew every process and detail of their business as well as every employee and customer are not all dead, but many of them are. Sometimes their places have been taken by weak, hesitant, second-generation owners who are only too glad to take the public in as their partners, not only because it makes them rich by creating a market for their stock, whereas they could never grow as opulent by their mere trading or manufacturing ability, but also because it somehow relieves them of responsibility. The old-style merchant would have regarded it as a weakness to have asked general investors to share the burdens of his business with him. The writer has no particular company in mind. He merely raises the point that investors contemplating the purchase of newly launched shares of old trading or manufacturing companies should inquire very carefully into the company's reasons for taking the public into its business.

TYPICAL INQUIRIES AND ANSWERS

No. 417. THE INVESTMENT MARKET OUTLOOK

Can I trouble you to give me some general advice with regard to the following situation? I am holding a considerable amount of real estate adjoining the business section of a certain city, which I can either sell immediately at a fair price, as there is a demand for it; or can hold without danger of loss. My object in selling would be to invest the proceeds in safe, long-term bonds that would insure me a steady income for the remainder of my life. I would like to know, therefore, whether, in your opinion, the present is a favorable time to purchase such bonds, or whether I can probably buy to better advantage later on? Or, in case I sell the property in a year or so, and deposit the cash in a bank at 4 per cent., is there any reason to believe, from present conditions throughout the country, that I shall then be able to invest in such bonds as I require at a price to net 6 per cent., on account of general financial stringency? There is no reason for selling the real estate at present, unless the bond market is now, or soon will be, favorable to my purpose. I am between the two horns of a dilemma, as it were, and should appreciate your views.

You raise a question that does not seem possible of definite answer at this time. As you may know,

standard investment bonds have suffered a protracted decline, and several times during the last few months have been adjudged by competent critics as standing close to "bottom" prices. Each time, however, some new uncertainty has appeared on the financial horizon, and it has been necessary for the critics to amend their views. To a large extent it is yet a matter of prophecy what course the investment markets may take during the coming months. Taking a broad view of the situation, however, we are inclined to believe that, unless something entirely unforeseen occurs during the next twelvemonth, we shall see higher prices throughout the whole list of the better classes of investments. In other words, we think it quite possible that you may find the investment opportunity for which you are looking sometime during 1913. It would be advisable for you to begin now to get in touch with a few reliable and experienced investment banking firms, with a view to having them submit their lists of offerings, which you could study at your leisure in preparedness for definite action later on. You might, also, find it interesting, as well as profitable to get the bankers' views of the situation direct.

No. 418. GETTING POSTED ON GOVERNMENT BONDS

I find it very hard to secure understandable information relative to Government bonds, especially to one not familiar with investments generally. I want to purchase from 10 to 20 thousand. In response to an inquiry to a banking house, I have received the following: What does it mean?

"Government 2's providing purchased when one quarter's interest is due, 101½, including commission, and interest, $10,212.50. Government 4's at 114¼ or $11,537.50."

I feel that I am taking advantage of your department with such elementary questions, but I find myself unable to get thoroughly posted from local bankers.

We are especially glad to furnish information on matters pertaining to investment, when the questions asked are on fundamentals. We should perhaps explain, first, that in the general market, bonds of all kinds are usually quoted at prices which do not take into account whatever interest may have accrued on them. Suppose, for example, the case of a 4 per cent. bond, whose interest is payable semi-annually on the first days of January and July, and whose market price, let us say, on the first of November is exactly par. According to the method of quoting such securities, that means that, if you were to purchase the bond on the latter date, you would be called upon to pay $1,000, plus the accrued interest from the date of the last interest payment (July 1) amounting to approximately $16.65, or a total of $1,016.65. This assumes, of course, that you would collect on the first day of January next the full six months interest, whereas you would have owned the bond but two months. Applying this illustration to the Government bonds, interest on which is payable quarterly, instead of semi-annually, as in the cases of practically all corporation bonds, the banker meant that, if you were to purchase the twos, say, just previous to the first of January, when a quarter's interest is due, it would be necessary for you to add to the quotation of 101½ (which, by the way means 101½ per cent. of $1,000, the par value of a bond, or $1,015) the three months' interest at the rate of 2 per cent., or $5.00, and also his commission, which is charged at the rate of one-eighth of one per cent., or $1.25 per $1,000. On this basis, the cost of one $1,000 bond would be $1,021.25, and of ten bonds $10,212.50. Similarly, in the case of the Government 4's, interest on which is payable quarterly on the first days of February, May, August and November, if you were to buy, say, just previous to the first of February, it would be necessary to add a quarter's interest at the rate of 4 per cent., or $10, which in addition to the eighth commission, would bring the total cost of one bond quoted at 114¼ ($1,142.50) up to $1,153.75, or of ten bonds up to $11,537.50. We are wondering, if you have taken into consideration the fact that the Government 4's mature and may be paid off at par in 1925, twelve years hence, and that on this account it is highly probable that there will be an automatic depreciation in their market value of slightly less than one point a year between now and then; and that, in order to provide against this shrinkage of principal, you ought to set up out of your income from the bonds a sinking fund of nearly ten dollars a year. This is something which, as a matter of fact, always has to be taken into account, when one is investing in securities of definite maturity dates that sell at high premiums. There are other things we might suggest in a discussion of Government bonds as investments for the individual, if we knew the circumstances under which you are making this investment. Chief among them is the fact that such securities possess qualities which are important factors in causing them to sell high, but which the individual investor really doesn't need.

No. 419. SAFEGUARDING A WOMAN'S FUNDS

A widow has between $3,000 and $4,000 that she wishes to invest conservatively for permanent income. I would be grateful for your opinion regarding Indiana Steel first mortgage 5 per cent. bonds as an investment for this fund. Personally, I know nothing of bonds, but I have read that this issue is desirable and considered a very good investment. Would you recommend them for the purpose? I do not want to hazard the safety of this fund, and must be reliably informed before placing it. What would a broker charge for purchasing bonds of this kind, and what is the usual charge for marketing bonds through a broker in case one should wish to realize cash upon them quickly?

The bonds you have under consideration for this investment are high grade industrial securities, which under any circumstances that can be foreseen, ought to give nothing but satisfaction in every respect, including breadth and activity of market. But, in making an investment under such circumstances as these, we believe it is always wise to diversify, not only as to types of securities, but also as to the geographical location of the enterprises upon which the securities are based. Only in this way may one divide the risk in such a manner as to make the investment as sure as it is humanly possible to make it. And it is probably needless for us to say that such assurance is particularly desirable in all cases where the funds involved are those of women with little or no investment experience. If, therefore, you were to add to a bond of the type and grade of the Indiana Steel issue, one high-grade public utility bond, one gilt-edged railroad bond, and possibly one carefully chosen municipal, it would be possible for you, under prevailing market conditions to keep the average of the income yield up to approximately 5 per cent., and at the same time surround the whole investment with a greater degree of safety than if you were to put the entire fund into one security, or one kind of securities. In the purchase and sale of general market securities, the usual brokerage charge is one-eighth of one per cent. each way—that is, one-eighth to buy, and one-eighth to sell—this commission being figured on the par value, not the market value, of the securities in the transaction.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

SEÑOR DON FRANCISCO I. MADERO, PRESIDENT OF MEXICO, AND SEÑORA MADERO

During the fifteen months of his presidency, between November 6, 1911, when he was inaugurated, and February 9, when Colonel Felix Diaz began a serious attack on his régime, Madero succeeded in getting under way a number of important reforms. His selection to office was the first expression of the people's free will for a chief magistrate. Señor Madero at once showed himself to be preëminently a man of peace and idealism. The Mexican people, however, at the present stage of their development, would seem to need a stronger executive. Señor Madero resigned on February 14. On another page this month late phases of the Mexican situation are considered.

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THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

Reform Measures at State Capitals

Last year's stirring up of political waters is not to be without some permanent results. Everywhere that legislatures are in session striking programs of reform are under discussion, and many States will have better government and better laws in consequence of the popular uprising and the progressive demands. Allusion was made in these pages last month to Governor Wilson's outline of advanced legislation for improving the government of New Jersey. His message was followed promptly by the introduction of bills providing for the sweeping reform of corporation laws, for reform of the State's revenue and tax system, and to meet other needs as set forth in his program. There was some prospect that the corporation bills might become laws before Governor Wilson's resignation, at the beginning of March, to take up his duties as President.

Forty Legislatures at Work

There were forty legislatures in session last month, much the greater number of which will continue their labors well into the spring. We shall in due time sum up for our readers the more important results of this year's legislative activity. For New York and New Jersey are not the only States where the doings of legislatures this year are of national significance. Our readers will remember that the Republicans of Pennsylvania, last spring, under progressive domination, adopted a platform containing specific and elaborate proposals for the most sweeping reforms in State affairs. The convention appointed a committee to keep close watch upon the work of the legislative session, and then adjourned subject to call in case of need.

Harrisburg as a Focus of Interest

It will be highly interesting to know to what extent the Pennsylvania legislature, which convened on January 7, will live up to the demands of the great radical convention of May, 1912, with its sweeping catalogue of necessary changes in State legislation. The chances appear favorable, although things seemed to be moving slowly during the first legislative month. A test of strength came when the reactionaries tried to pass a concurrent resolution that would end the session on April 15. A short session would have meant the sidetracking of many progressive bills. The legislature declined to fix a date for adjournment, and began to settle down to earnest work. The group of election-reform bills proposed by the Progressives were favorably reported early in February. The amendment providing for the popular election of United States Senators, on February 3, passed in the House of Representatives at Harrisburg by a vote of 193 to 3. Previous to last year's political revolution in Pennsylvania, it is hardly conceivable that a legislature at Harrisburg would even have entertained the idea of allowing the people of the State to vote directly for Mr. Penrose's successor. Among other questions pending is that of a constitutional convention to overhaul thoroughly the organic law of the State,—thus following Ohio in its great work last year and, as our readers will remember, falling into line with the urgent proposal of Governor Wilson that New Jersey call a convention and rewrite its constitution.

Ohio Under the New Constitution

The legislature of Ohio met at the beginning of the year, with exceptional duties devolving upon it by reason of the adoption of a new

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GOVERNOR COX AND THE OHIO LEGISLATURE ATTENDING STRICTLY TO BUSINESS
From the *Evening Dispatch* (Columbus)

constitution, full accounts of which were published in this magazine (see in particular Dr. Elson's article in the REVIEW for last July). The many constitutional changes require much legislation in order to give them due effect. While not of an extremely radical character, this new constitution was strongly progressive in its general tendency. There was earnest of serious work and fine achievement in the remarkable message to the legislature of the new Democratic Governor, James M. Cox, on January 14. We have in this message an interpretation of the progressive program that leaves nothing to be desired in its intelligence and its high sense of the duty of government to serve the new conditions of social and economic life. The Governor advocates the placing of experts on the State boards of administration; the efficient combination of competing or overlapping State departments; the fullest exercise of the State's police power in matters of health and human welfare; the enforcement of the same standards of economy and system in public business as in private. The Governor holds that the Democrats of Ohio are under specific covenant to adopt (1) the principle of the short ballot; (2) separate ballots for State and national offices; (3) home rule for cities; (4) the immediate valuation of the property of all public utilities; (5) home rule in taxation; (6) adoption of initiative and referendum amendments; (7) further reduction in hours of labor for women, and restriction on the right to employ children in factories; (8) adoption of the amendment for popular election of Senators; (9) legislation for State roads and highways; (10) further reform in penal institutions, and abandonment of the present prison system; (11) the licensing of the liquor traffic. All of these topics are discussed by the Governor with great ability and frankness. The remainder of the message deals with a variety of subjects requiring consideration by reason of amendments to the constitution. In short, the State of Ohio, as expressed by its Governor and its recent constitutional reforms, is now seriously proposing to become one of the truly modern and up-to-date communities of the civilized world.

Indiana's Advance

The adjacent State of Indiana, also under Democratic control, seems likely to keep pace with the progressive movement in legislation. Although the Democratic State platform in the last campaign was regarded as reactionary, the program already adopted by the majority party in the legislature embodies many of the measures advocated by progressives in all parties. Among these are workmen's compensation, an inheritance tax, a public utilities commission bill, commission government for cities, and a bill to provide for the calling of a constitutional convention. Although the Democratic party in the State was not committed to these bills, it would appear that the party leaders found them so popular that it now seems "good politics" to enact them into law. Whatever may be the outcome, the influence of the vigorous campaign waged last year by the Progressive party in the State remains potent.

The Situation in Illinois

For practically all of the month of January the Illinois lawmaking body was in a deadlock which was finally broken by a combination of Democrats and Republicans in the selection of

GOVERNOR COX TO THE LEGISLATURE: "NOW, SEE HERE, BOYS, NO FOOLING!"
From the *Leader* (Cleveland)

William McKinley (Dem.) as Speaker of the lower house. The organization of the legislature was followed, on February 3, by the inauguration of Governor Dunne, who recommended radical reform measures, including a constitutional amendment establishing the initiative and referendum, a public service commission with plenary powers, home rule for cities,—especially Chicago,—the abolition of the State Board of Equalization and the creation of a permanent State Tax Court, the short ballot, an effective corrupt practices act, and punishment for the violation of political pledges. The election of two United States Senators overshadowed all other matters of business before the legislature, and at a late date in February virtually nothing had been accomplished toward the enactment of new laws.

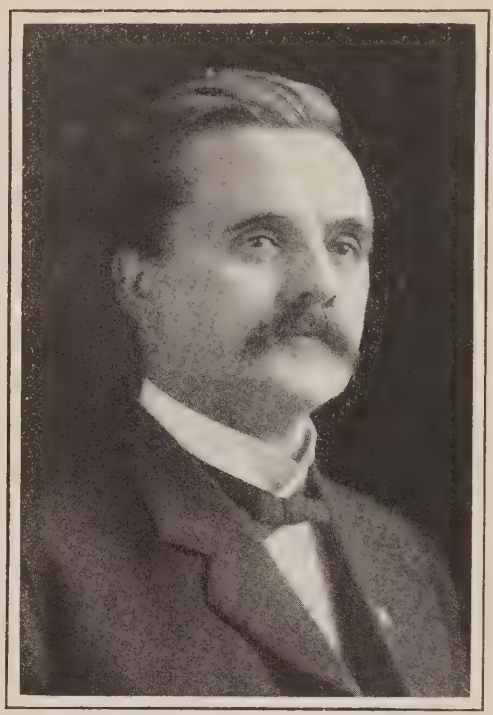
PROGRESSIVE BILLS IN FULL FLOWER ON THE LEGISLATIVE TREE
From the *North American* (Philadelphia)

Raising Standards of Legislation

In many States of the Union, until a comparatively recent date, laws have been passed in a haphazard manner, frequently without due consideration and almost always with an insufficient basis of knowledge. Some years ago the State of Wisconsin instituted a Legislative Reference Bureau which, under the able direction of Mr. Charles McCarthy, soon became a powerful agency for publicity and effectiveness in legislation, not only in Wisconsin, but in many of the neighboring States. This bureau undertook to gather information about State legislation throughout the country and to make this information available in the most direct and convenient way to members of the Wisconsin legislature. The resulting study of laws and bills on many subjects soon raised the standard of legislative enactments and made it possible for the expert in various fields of social reform to get a hearing in State capitols, and, in many instances, to impress his views on legislation. One effect of the excellent record that has been made by Mr. McCarthy's bureau was the introduction in Congress of a bill establishing a similar bureau for federal legislation. It has been made clear to legislators the country over that the people will no longer stand for the slipshod methods of the past.

Drafting Bills

Along the same line is the action of the Progressive party in several States in appointing committees whose business it is to draft legislation in fulfilment of the party pledges as given in the State platforms. This practice was begun in Pennsylvania by the Republican party in the spring of 1912, and has been adopted by the Progressive organization of New York. The work of the executive and legislative committee of the Pennsylvania Republican State Convention is embodied in the drafts of six important laws, which have been printed for the use of the legislature and all citizens interested. These proposed enactments include a comprehensive Public Service Commission law, an act establishing a State Department of Charities, laws regulating primary elections and campaign expenditures, and two laws dealing respectively with the employment of women and of minors. These drafts are offered by the committee to the public for criticism and suggestion. The Progressive party's legislative committee in New York State has prepared bills for primary and ballot reform and proposes to convert the entire party platform of 1912 into specific measures. Each bill is to be the work of experts. Nearly 200 men of recognized standing,—lawyers, labor leaders, social workers, farmers, business men,—are serving as volunteer assistants of the committee in this task. This important and heretofore neglected work of bill-drafting has also been taken up on an extensive scale by the National Civic Federation, which is now making an analysis and compilation of public utility regulation laws throughout the country. This work is under the immediate direction of Prof. John H. Gray, the economist. The result of this activity on the part of the Civic Federation will be a draft of a model public utility law, which will be of great service to legislators in every State and will include, in a compact form, the most important provisions of such laws now in force in various States.



Photograph by Harris & Ewing, Washington, D. C.
HON. GEORGE W. NORRIS (PROG. REP.), OF NEBRASKA

Photograph by the American Press Association, New York.
DR. HARRY LANE (DEM.), OF OREGON

TWO SENATORS-ELECT, EACH THE CHOICE OF A DIRECT PRIMARY AND SENT TO WASHINGTON BY A LEGISLATURE OF A POLITICAL FAITH OPPOSED TO HIS OWN

Popular Election of Senators

The national amendment providing for the popular election of Senators has been making its way at a winning pace among this year's legislatures. It did not leave Washington soon enough last year to catch many of the legislatures still in session, although two of them (those of Minnesota and Massachusetts) actually ratified it, voting upon it promptly after its adoption at Washington in May. Its ratification by the legislatures of thirty-six States (two-thirds of the total number) will make it a part of the Constitution of the United States. It is quite possible that it may carry the requisite number during the present season. It has met with few checks or rebuffs, almost the only legislature opposed to it being that of Utah. This attitude at Salt Lake City associates itself quite consistently with Utah's recent course in politics.

A Change Already Discounted

The direct election of Senators will be a radical innovation in States like Pennsylvania and New York. But it will make little practical difference in any State south of the Potomac or west of the Mississippi. In most of the Southern States the Senators are already chosen in Statewide Democratic primaries, the legislature merely giving legal validity to the people's preference. Most of the far Western and Northwestern States have adopted extra-constitutional arrangements, more or less similar to the Oregon plan, in accordance with which the legislatures accept the results of popular action in Senatorial primaries. We have now one Democratic Senator, Mr. Chamberlain, of Oregon, who was elected to his seat by a Republican legislature because he had won in a primary contest. Two more Senators will be sworn in on the 4th of March who, under similar circumstances, were chosen by legislatures of the opposite party. One of these is Dr. Lane, of Oregon, who will succeed Mr. Bourne and is a Democrat, though the legislature is Republican. The other is Mr. Norris, of Nebraska, a Progressive Republican, elected by a Democratic legislature in recognition of his popular victory in the Senatorial primaries.

Supported by Public Opinion

It should be borne in mind that the direct election of United States Senators by the people has had behind it an overwhelming public sentiment for many years. There is no argu-

ment for the direct election of a Governor which does not apply to the choice of a United States Senator. The plan of nominating either Governors or Senators in Statewide primaries may, indeed, have many objections urged against it. If the machinery of caucuses and conventions had not been so shamelessly abused by professional political manipulators in alliance with corrupt interests, it is not likely that there could have been any prevailing movement for Statewide primaries as a means of selecting party candidates. But although a Governor may be nominated in one way or in another, he must come before the people for his election to office. And in like manner it would seem reasonable enough that the people of the States should vote directly for Senators. If the people have a chance to vote, and if there is reasonable opportunity to file nominations by petition, it makes little difference how the regular parties select their candidates. The only offices that the voters of a State have any real interest in filling by the process of Statewide election, are those of Governor and United States Senator. Very few people would object to having the other State offices filled by the Governor's appointment, with legislative concurrence.

Objections to Present Plans

Among the practical objections to the plan of electing United States Senators by the legislature, there are two that outweigh the others. The first is that it interferes with the real work of a State legislature. In countless instances we have seen legislatures deadlocked during many weeks, and utterly demoralized as regards their proper attention to legislative and budgetary duties. A second objection is that in many cases the Senatorship becomes involved in the election of members of the legislature. A United States Senator is not infrequently carrying on an exciting canvass for reëlection, under such conditions that his fortunes are the chief issue in the voting for legislative candidates. Thus two distinct sets of interests, one of a national character and the other of a State character, are mixed up in a way that is detrimental to both. If the people could vote directly for the Senatorial candidate, their attitude would be national and they would be solely concerned with the candidate's views upon national questions and with his ability to represent the State at Washington. Questions of national politics have nothing to do with the wise and prudent management of purely State affairs.

Improving the State Government

If the legislatures were relieved of the task of electing United States Senators, there would be much less reason for drawing national party lines in electing State legislatures. It seems at times a mere play of professional politics to classify members of a State legislature as Republicans and Democrats. The careful management of the affairs of one of our States, or one of our cities, has little more to do with the differences that divide national parties than the management of a university or of a savings bank. We shall doubtless continue for a good while to use the machinery of parties as a means of offering legislative candidates to the voters. But our legislatures, in their quality and in their work, have not been nearly independent enough. They have in the past been too largely and directly dominated by the professional leaders of the Republican and Democratic parties. The States have been badly served by party tools in the legislatures. The State Senators and Assemblymen ought to be citizens selected for their intelligence and character, and their fitness to represent in public matters the counties or legislative districts from which they are sent. A great help towards this better condition of things will be found in the total removal of the choice of United States Senators from the State lawmaking bodies.

Secondary Election in Experience

The framers of the Constitution did their work under difficulties, and it was performed with exceedingly great wisdom. But it was not perfect, and parts of it have been shown by experience to be susceptible of improvement. The statesmen of one hundred and twenty-five years ago had not seen much of the practical workings of democracy. A few of them thought that secondary election would afford some guaranty of superior wisdom; and so they invented the electoral college, supposing that the people would choose a select body of men who in turn would find the best man for the Presidency. These Constitution-makers of 1787 were an amazing group of statesmen and patriots, but they did not foresee the rise of parties and the relegation of their Presidential electors to the status of dummies. In like manner they thought that the legislatures would form admirable electoral colleges for the selection of United States Senators. But already in more than half the States the legislators in their performance of this function have now been relegated to the status of dummies, while in the remaining States the Constitutional

method of electing Senators is seldom satisfactory and frequently scandalous in its practical working.

Should Terms be Limited?

Too much attention has been given to the question how popular election would affect the personnel of the Senate itself, and too little attention to the question how it would affect the States and their legislatures. Within the States there will be decided benefit. The legislatures will be more free from party shackles and more devoted to the business of good State government. As for the Senate, studying carefully its personnel for the past fifty years, it would seem that direct election would have given us an average of ability and character at least fully equal to that which has been at the country's service. United States Senators are elected for a term of six years. The amendment adopted by Congress, and now in process of acceptance by the States, does not change the length of their terms, nor forbid their reëlection time after time. It merely makes them subject to the direct vote of the people of their respective States. It did not seem to occur to the wise gentlemen of the Senate, when they adopted this amendment, that they ought to make themselves ineligible for any further service in the Senate during their lifetimes, after having held one term. If such a thing had been proposed the Senators would, with one accord, have taken the very sound view that it could be left to the people to decide for themselves whether they wanted to give a Senator one or more additional periods in office.

Only One Term for Presidents

Yet these very Senators who do not think that the people ought to be restricted in their right to give a Senator additional terms voted last month in favor of a Constitutional amendment forbidding the people of the United States to elect any man to the office of President if he had at any time previous held that office. In order not to be misunderstood as regards the point of view of this magazine, let it be said at once that we regard the proposal as unstatesmanlike. The discussion has not been frank enough at Washington, or in the newspapers. The thing that Senator Works has desired to accomplish by means of his amendment is highly creditable to his high views of the Presidential office. For a man to use the Presidential office in his own interest, employing its power over the affairs of citizens in the endeavor to secure his own renomination and reëlection, ought to be regarded as ample grounds for impeachment. When the office is properly filled and its duties rightly conceived, it must absorb every moment of a man's working time, and every ounce of his strength and energy. The true history of the recent attempt to secure a second term, if written out in a book as it is told in private by every Republican leader in the country who had part in it, would end forever all of the evils that have impelled Senator Works, in the vexation of his righteous soul, to seek a Constitutional amendment.

The Democratic Pledge

It is true that the following plank was contained in the Democratic platform, adopted at Baltimore by the convention that nominated Woodrow Wilson: "We favor a single Presidential term, and to that end we urge the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution, making the President of the United States ineligible for reëlection, and we pledge the candidate of this convention to this principle." In the ordinary use of language, the word reëlection in this plank would mean election again in 1916. When we talk about the reëlection of a Governor, we invariably have reference to consecutive terms. If the Democratic platform means anything, it means that, regardless of what other parties may do, the Democrats are pledged to the country not to nominate a President to succeed himself. Prior to 1912, we had elected only one Democratic President since James Buchanan—namely, Grover Cleveland. When Mr. Cleveland was first nominated for the Presidency, in 1884, he declared most explicitly for the one-term principle. He declared that if elected he would fill the office to the best of his ability for one term, but would not seek or accept a renomination.

Cleveland's Experience

Mr. Cleveland at that time was forty-seven years of age. His declaration had reference to a second consecutive term, and to the convention and election of 1888. He wished it understood that he would not use his appointing power with reference to a control of the Democratic convention, or allow such an ambition to determine his treatment of any question of legislation or public policy, nor yet to affect his coming and going, or his use of time and strength that belonged to the service of the country. In our opinion, Mr. Cleveland was quite right in that declaration. He ought to have stuck to it. But before the end of his term he was induced to change his

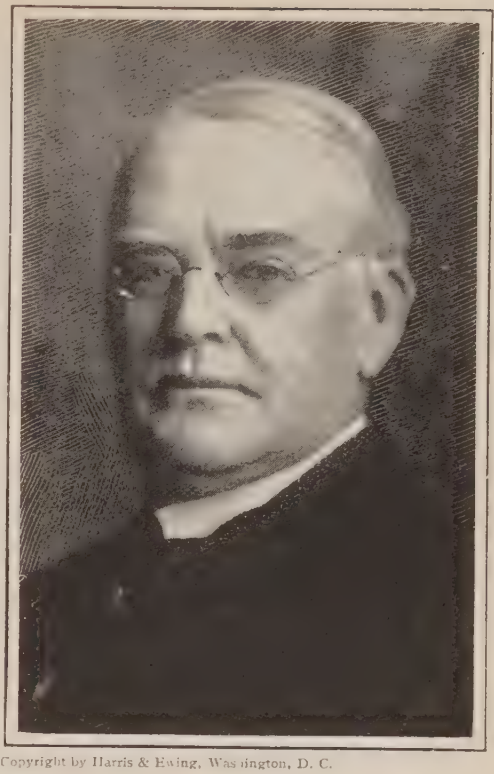
mind; and, like most incumbents of the great office, he was persuaded to believe himself indispensable to his party and to the country. He turned the patronage machine over to the managers of the party, regardless of the outcry of the civil-service reformers. Thus Mr. Cleveland secured his renomination in 1888, —but the people defeated him at the polls. He was nominated again, however, in 1892, as a private citizen owing nothing to the use of patronage or public power; and he was elected and gave the country a good administration. He had become, if we mistake not, quite firmly convinced that a President should serve for one term, but be eligible after an interval of years if his party wished to call him back. He was not a candidate, therefore, in 1896, but he was much talked of in 1900; and if he had been nominated he would not have been justly subject to the slur of being a third-term candidate. Every man who uses that phrase with reference to any American President, ought to know that it has no meaning or importance except as applied to consecutive terms.

Mr. Bryan on the Question

When Mr. Bryan was nominated, in 1896, he declared himself, with extreme emphasis, as favoring a single term, nor did he call upon the country to amend the Constitution in order to restrain him. He was perfectly sure that he could restrain himself. He proposed to be President, if elected, for four years, and then to retire to private life. Mr. Bryan at that time was only thirty-six years old. He had reason to think that he had still ahead of him forty years of activity as an American public man. It was thoroughly creditable to Mr. Bryan that he should have adopted the one-term principle as a part of his plan for rendering the highest possible service to the country in case of his election. But there was no occasion for his attempting to determine in advance his relationship to the country's affairs after one or more intervening terms. When he was nominated again in 1900, he declared again his determination to serve only one term if elected. But this declaration had no pertinence except as to a second consecutive term. There is common consent, among all parties, against giving any man a third consecutive term; and that subject is not now under discussion.

Mr. Wilson and the Platform

Mr. Bryan was again nominated in 1908, and he had a third opportunity, which he did not neglect, to declare his own purpose, and his belief that a second consecutive term should not be sought by any President. His views have now been put in a formal way into the platform of his party. Governor Wilson has had no occasion to discuss this question, so far as we are aware, but no one could regard him as opposed to his own party platform on a question of that kind. Of one thing we may be certain. Governor Wilson will not actively seek a renomination. He will not spend years or even months of his term in personally fighting, before the primaries, within the ranks of his own party, to secure a renomination. He will not force his own claims. He will at least defer to the wishes and preferences of a majority of his fellow-Democrats. Politicians and office-seekers have had a great and convincing object-lesson. The people henceforth must find their own candidates. The office must indeed seek the man. But especially is this true as regards a Presidential candidate who already holds the office and is intrusted with its vast responsibility. He, of all men chosen to rule over their fellowmen, is to be loyal to the spirit of *noblesse oblige*.



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HON. JOHN D. WORKS, OF CALIFORNIA
(The author of the Senate resolution for a Constitutional amendment limiting the Presidential term to a single period of six years)

Some Obvious Reflections

If a man is not making a good President, six years is much too long a time to bear with him. Four years is the utmost limit of endurance for a President who does not lay firm hold upon his job, or who shows qualities of indolence or self-seeking. No President, once installed in that great office, should ever talk about delegates or conventions, or intrigue with national committeemen. Any President who plays the game of politics from the White House demeans the office. It is not for him to say that he ought to have a second term. The country is quite intelligent enough to decide that matter for itself. Furthermore, the country will decide it, even though a President may wreck his own party in the obsessed pursuit of an ambition to be an eight-year incumbent. Mr. Harrison, who made an excellent President, was unfortunate enough to demand a renomination against the best judgment of many of the party's leaders. He was accordingly defeated at the polls. He would have been happier if he had absolutely refused to seek a second term, or to mention the subject of delegates to anybody. If a man's renomination does not come to him spontaneously—by pressure of public opinion even wider than the opinion of his whole party—it is a sure sign that he ought not to be renominated. Generally speaking, one term of four years in the White House is quite enough.

Mr. Roosevelt's Case

The case of Mr. Roosevelt is exceptional, and history will not fail to do it justice. He was selected for Vice-President against his own wishes in 1900, when otherwise he would have been reëlected Governor of New York, and would quite probably have been the Republican nominee for the Presidency in 1904. Mr. McKinley's death obliged Mr. Roosevelt to serve out the unexpired term; and the nomination in 1904 came to him without effort on his part in a convention that named no other candidate. No part of his time or strength as President was devoted to manipulation in the endeavor to secure a nomination that was already conferred upon him by public opinion and universal demand. When this nomination came, followed by overwhelming majorities in the election, Mr. Roosevelt declared that he would not be a candidate for another term. This was in reply to the campaign argument of the Democrats that he would run again in 1908. When that date approached, however, there was a most insistent demand from all the party leaders, and from the rank and file, that he should take the nomination. Not only did he refuse, but he fairly fought it off. Even at the last moment in the convention that nominated Taft, the lifting of an eyelid would have stampeded the entire body for Roosevelt. Instead of his being a seeker for the office, he has given the most conspicuous example in our entire history of a man who has refused the office. For he could have been elected in 1908 by the electoral votes of every State in the Union except a very few in the South. He returned to private life and did not seek to reënter the field of practical politics. His candidacy in 1912 was not of his own seeking. The Republicans of the country, in primary elections, by a great majority, gave him their preference and made him their legitimate candidate. The National Republican Convention pursued a course that was in defiance of party opinion. As a result, it secured only eight electoral votes for the party when the people had their chance at the polls in November.

Dangers Already Passed

Mr. Roosevelt has now been a private citizen for four years. Another interval of years must elapse before the people can again express their choice at the polls. There is no evil to be guarded against, except the misuse of official power. The people have shown that they are alive to such misuse. Woodrow Wilson will not abuse power to secure delegates for a nominating convention. In the first place, it would not accord with his principles and character, or with his sense of the delicacy and dignity of his office. In the second place, a Democratic President has much less chance than a Republican to circumvent his own party and force a nomination. A Republican President, if susceptible to temptation at all, is quite irresistibly tempted by the opportunity to control a great block of delegates, most of them negroes, from Southern States where the Republican party has no existence in any true sense. The President in office, with a political Postmaster-General at his elbow, can, through use of postmasterships and other federal offices in the Southern States, buy control of the alleged party conventions and thus secure delegates instructed for himself. Furthermore, he can control the blocks of delegates brought in from Porto Rico, the Philippines, Alaska, and Hawaii. The manner in which the recent Republican convention was controlled needs no recounting, because it is fresh in everybody's memory. The very men who used this system in the Repub-

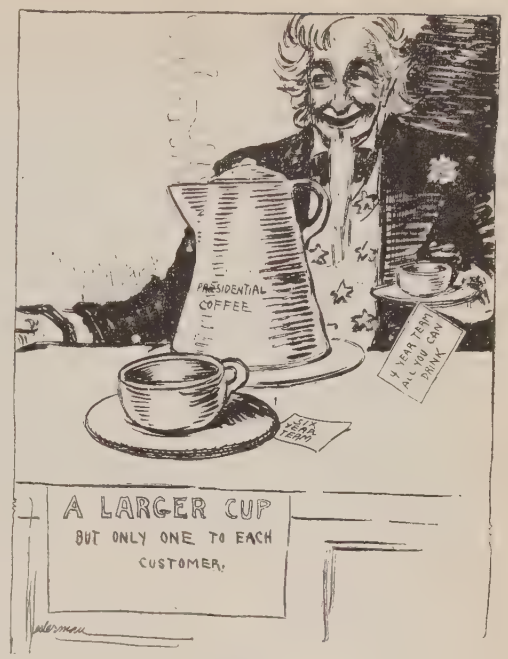
lican convention of 1912 were the ones who, as anti-Taft men in the convention of 1908, tried to reform it. Until it is reformed the Republicans can never again come into power.

Democrats Less Trammelled

But the Democrats have a real party organization in every State of the Union; and their national convention is free from the scandal of "rotten borough" representation. The Democrats do not admit to their convention any delegates from the Philippines; and a Democratic President would only make himself laughed at if he tried to instruct the small delegations from Porto Rico and Hawaii in his own favor. Furthermore, Democratic conventions still adhere to the two-thirds rule; and no President who tried by patronage or otherwise to force his renomination upon a reluctant party would be very likely to overcome the opposition of a determined minority of one-third. To sum the practical situation up, therefore, the proposed amendment of Senator Works, which has passed the Senate and gone to the House of Representatives, would seem to have no very practical bearing in view of all that has happened. It proposes to restrict the right of the people at the very moment when the people have shown most conclusively that they can make good use of the right which has always been theirs. There are no men living to whom this amendment can apply, except Messrs. Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson. We are asked to declare that neither one of these three men shall ever again be elected to the Presidency. The country has had large experience of Messrs. Roosevelt and Taft, and it knows them well. Mr. Wilson is about to assume the duties of the Presidency, having been elected to the office on a platform that pledges him to a single term. The spirit of this platform would prevent him from seeking a second consecutive term, and its spirit would also probably impel his party, in 1916, to nominate Mr. Bryan or some other man without prejudice to Mr. Wilson's availability for 1920 or 1924.

Reasons for the Amendment

Senator Works, and the others who voted for his amendment, are right in their feeling that the active seeking by a President of a second term is one of the most appalling evils that can befall the political and governmental life of the country. The Presidency is by far the most powerful position in the world. And it is much more powerful now than it has ever been before. A selfish man in possession of such power does not wish to lay it down.



WHICH?
From the *Ohio State Journal* (Columbus)

And he may easily become blinded as to the means by which to prolong his authority from four years to eight. Is a pension bill pending? Representatives of the Grand Army may convey to the President the unqualified information that if he does not sign it he will lose delegates to the nominating convention. Is there a bill to revise the wool schedule of the tariff? The Woolgrowers' Association, in a pointed way, may inform the President that he must veto it or lose delegates. Is there a chance to get free wood-pulp and print-paper from Canada under cloak of a reciprocity treaty? Powerful newspaper interests hold out alluring prospects of editorial and news support. In short, it is extremely hard to be at the same time a disinterested President and a determined candidate for a second term. Senator Works feels that his constitutional amendment is the quick, short-cut way to end the sort of thing that every public man in Washington knows to have been so detrimental to the public welfare at several periods in our recent history.

What Is The Real Remedy?

But the real remedy does not lie in constitutional devices. The evils to be eradicated are only part of that low tone in our public life that has exhibited itself in many other ways. Let candidates take Mr. Bryan's one-term view,

and live up to it. Let parties adopt the principle, and refuse consecutive renominations. Let every man holding executive office, in trust for the welfare of the whole people, cease to play politics for his own private benefit. Let the newspapers proclaim the doctrine that American executives, whether Presidents, Governors, or mayors, while holding office for a designated term, have no moral right to be using the influence and power of their office, directly or indirectly, to secure for themselves still another term. If this seem to any man a hard doctrine, he needs either a higher moral perception or a clearer intelligence.

Higher Motives in Public Life

What we want in public life is the spirit of service, and not that of self-seeking. No man big enough for the Presidency could possibly think himself fit for it. But no strong man should shrink abashed from the opportunity or duty to serve in public place. Lincoln was humble and bowed down, but not afraid to exercise power. Neither Grant nor Lee was eager to be set above other men, whether as commanding armies or as exercising civil power. But Fremont and McClellan were perfectly sure that they, of all men in America, were best fitted either to command the nation's armies or to serve as President. And they were both constantly aware of the inferiority of Mr. Lincoln, when compared with themselves. The people of this country will, in the future, be even more competent than in the past to decide upon the man they wish to elect as President. It is not likely that they will think it best to reëlect the same man very often. But they will perhaps decide, just now, that there is nothing in the situation that requires them to put themselves under constitutional restraint. They are about to assume full freedom of direct action in the election of Senators; and they will probably retain their present freedom in the election of Presidents.

One-Term Action in the House

The people are, indeed, much more likely to abolish the electoral college, and choose Presidents by direct popular vote, than to increase existing complexities and restrictions. The debate in the Senate disclosed a large sentiment in favor of getting rid of the electoral college, although the Senate declined to connect that distinct proposition with the one-term amendment of Senator Works. Meanwhile, in the other house, the Judiciary Committee had already favorably reported a one-term resolution—for which Mr. Clayton, of Alabama, as chairman, is particularly responsible—with a different wording but a similar purpose. Whether or not the House would bring the question to a vote during the present session, was in doubt. It is by no means as likely that the legislatures will ratify this proposition as the one providing for popular election of Senators.

The Sixteenth Amendment

It is to be noted that the Constitution of the United States as printed in our school histories and various books of reference is no longer complete,—although it has remained unchanged until now for forty-three years. The Sixteenth Amendment comes into force through its acceptance by the requisite number of States, namely, thirty-six. Thirty-five legislatures had ratified it, and Governor Wilson was anxious to have New Jersey make the thirty-six. But when it was known everywhere that New Jersey was about to adopt the income-tax amendment, and thus make it a part of the Constitution, several other States entered the race. West Virginia as the thirty-fifth had ratified the amendment on Saturday, February 1, and only one more State was necessary. The legislature of Delaware, by unanimous action in both houses, adopted the amendment at 11 o'clock on Monday morning, the 3rd. Later it was discovered that Wyoming, under suspended rules, had acted at 10 o'clock. New Mexico also ratified the amendment on the same day, but not until the afternoon.

An Income Tax Now Assured

This new article of the Constitution reads as follows:

ARTICLE XVI.—The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States and without regard to any census or enumeration.

It is stated without contradiction that the Democrats will at once avail themselves of the power to impose an income tax, and that this source of supply will be expected to make up for any loss of revenue due to enlargement of the customs free-list and reduction of tariff duties. The present tax on the income of corporations is susceptible of extension to the incomes of individuals; and it is expected that the new tax will affect those whose yearly incomes are in excess of a line of exemption that has yet to be agreed upon. The Ways and Means Committee of the House has been holding hearings on different tariff schedules, and it is confidently

Photograph by G. V. Buck, Washington, D. C.

PUEBLO INDIANS ASKING THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO EXCLUDE "FIRE WATER" FROM THEIR LANDS IN THE STATE OF NEW MEXICO

expected that the new Congress will recognize, and in the main accept, the work that Mr. Underwood and his associates have been doing in the present House. The tariff session, it has been understood, will be called by President Wilson for about the middle of March. The country is not in the least agitated by the prospect of having a President who will sign the sort of tariff-revision bills that dominant public opinion in all parties has unquestionably favored since the first Underwood bills were vetoed by Mr. Taft in 1911.

Immigration: Liquor in "Dry" States

One of the most important bills passed by Congress during its present session embodied a series of amendments of our immigration laws providing that all aliens seeking admission to the United States shall be subjected to a test of their ability to read their own language. The bill also increases the immigrant head tax to five dollars and makes more rigorous the restrictions against the admission of insane aliens, while, on the other hand, additional requirements are imposed upon the steamship companies. It had been proposed to require "certificates of character" as a condition to the admittance of aliens into this country, but this requirement was dropped from the measure in conference committee on the sufficient ground that such a clause in the law would bar from admission many desirable citizens, and would place in the hands of those European countries from which most of our immigrants come the power of stopping the movement to our shores. Another bill that was vigorously debated in the House last month and was finally passed by both houses and sent to the President, was a measure known as the Webb bill, prohibiting the shipment in interstate commerce of intoxicating liquors intended for sale in so-called "dry" States. This bill is admittedly an experiment in federal legislation and met with relentless opposition from those members of Congress who are still jealous of any encroachment on State sovereignty.

Protect the Birds

The Senate bill to protect migratory game and insectivorous birds also involves the principle of federal as against State regulation. Early in the present session of Congress, Mr. MacLean, of Connecticut, addressed the Senate in support of this measure, arguing with great force that the States are incompetent to accomplish the preservation of migratory bird life, and that it is incumbent on the national government, under the "general welfare" clause of the Constitution, to meet this insistent and reasonable demand. The damage caused every year to American agriculture and horticulture by insect pests is truly appalling, and naturalists are agreed that a very large proportion of this damage might be wholly averted if our native birds could be saved from wanton slaughter such

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A NEW PORTRAIT OF THE HON. W. J. BRYAN

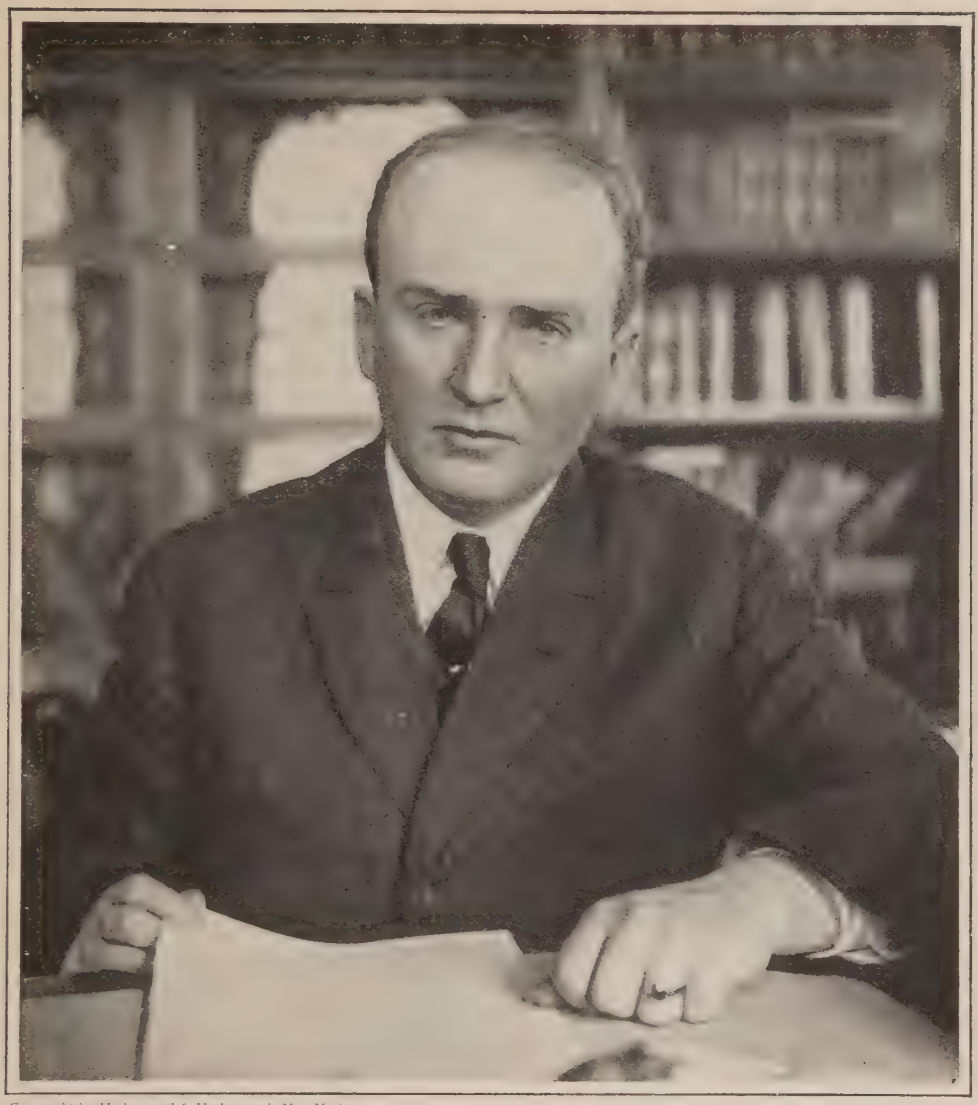
as annually overtakes them. In this connection we once more refer our readers to the article by Mr. Gladden in the December REVIEW OF REVIEWS, and we would direct especial attention to the new book, "Our Vanishing Wild Life," by W. T. Hornaday, of the New York Zoölogical Park (noticed on page 378 of this REVIEW). Meanwhile, every reader who is interested in the preservation of migratory birds should at once write to his Congressman and Senator in support of this legislation. While it seemed likely, last month, that the bill would pass the Senate, there was some probability that it would meet with delay in the House. The appropriation bills of the current session have carried unexpectedly large totals. Nine of them showed last month an increase of over $27,000,000. The Senate persistently deferred confirmation of President Taft's appointments.

Elections to the Senate

When the new Congress meets in special session, following the call of President Wilson, it will be the first time that the Democrats have controlled both houses since March, 1895. Incidentally, it will be only the second time since the end of the Buchanan administration, in 1861, that the executive and legislative branches of the Government have been in full control of the Democratic party. The House of Representatives, the members of which were chosen last November, will be Democratic by a majority of 133 over Republicans and Progressives. The majority in the Senate will be very slight. Up to the middle of February, the legislatures of Illinois, New Hampshire, and West Virginia had not been able to agree upon Senators to fill the vacancies from their States; but in more than a score of other States the elections had been accomplished without serious delay. In most cases the legislatures were under moral and quasi-legal obligation to elect the successful candidates in popular primaries held last year. An even dozen of the incumbents have been reëlected. Among the new Senators there are a notably large number who have been in public office before. Nine of them have served in the House of Representatives, and six have been Governors of their respective States. As usual, the legal profession furnishes almost all the new members,—coming from the professorial chair and the bench, as well as from the bar. The reader will find the main facts regarding the elections by the legislatures set forth in our department of "Record of Current Events" in this number and the preceding one.

Mr. Bryan "Slated" for the Cabinet

As these pages are written, the newspapers are still printing unverified conjectures regarding the makeup of President Wilson's cabinet. Official announcements will probably have been made, however, before this magazine reaches its readers. Since the opinion that Mr. William J. Bryan is to be Secretary of State was last month accepted in all Democratic quarters without dispute or doubt, it may be assumed that the report had good foundation. Mr. Bryan has in recent years traveled extensively in all parts of the world, and his international ideals are lofty and benevolent. It is known that he believes in the most neighborly relationships with South American countries, that he desires our withdrawal from the Philippines at the earliest practicable time, and that his general sympathy is in the direction of measures for the promotion of international peace and harmony. Mr. Wilson had allowed it to be known that his cabinet would be made up of men consistently devoted to progressive ideas. If its members had been selected he had kept his secret well, at least up to the middle of February.



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THE HON. JOSEPH P. TUMULTY, OF NEW JERSEY, WHO WILL BE SECRETARY TO THE PRESIDENT IN THE WILSON ADMINISTRATION

Tumulty as President's Secretary

The President-elect had, however, announced his selection of one very important official. The Hon. Joseph P. Tumulty, of New Jersey, is to hold the office of Secretary to the President. This position, which is an enlargement of the old-time post of "private secretary," is quite as important as that of a member of the cabinet. Mr. Tumulty is a man of about thirty-three, a practicing lawyer who has been a member of the New Jersey Legislature, and he has been of inestimable value to Governor Wilson as his executive secretary. Washington is not Trenton; but Tumulty knows men and politics, and he will doubtless find his horizons expanding as did William Loeb, Jr., of Albany, when his Governor became President. The naming of Mr. Tumulty seems to have diverted the office-seeking contingent, much to the relief of Governor Wilson's daily mail.

The Woman's "War" in England

The woman suffragists in England have again been on the rampage. They had fixed their hopes on the Franchise bill, which as amended by Sir Edward Grey, would have helped their cause. Before the bill could come to a vote, however, the Speaker of the House—on January 27—rendered

Photograph by G. V. Buck

COSTUMES TO BE WORN IN THE GREAT SUFFRAGE PARADE AT WASHINGTON ON MARCH 3

a decision to the effect that the elimination of the word "male" from the bill changed its character to such an extent as to make it a different measure from that originally introduced. Whereupon the bill was withdrawn. It was then too late to frame a new bill and carry it through the various Parliamentary stages at this session, and as the women had been led to believe that the Franchise bill would come to a vote, they felt that they had been tricked. "War to the knife" was promptly declared and hostilities immediately began. Meetings of protest were held, incendiary speeches made, and militant expeditions sallied forth bent on destruction. Plate glass windows in shops, clubs, and government offices were smashed, acids and other fluids poured into mail boxes, telephone and telegraph wires cut, golf courses damaged, and dignified Cabinet officers set a-sneezing with red pepper.

A State of Siege

Parliament House, Buckingham Palace, the museums and art galleries and other public buildings were heavily guarded. Shops in the prominent business centers were boarded up to protect their windows. A veritable state of siege existed. Mrs. "General" Drummond and Mrs. Pankhurst, at the head of a score of other suffragettes, attempted to force their way into the House of Commons to see Chancellor Lloyd-George; an altercation ensued at the door, and the entire deputation was arrested. The women threatened to use all methods of warfare except murder. It was feared they would do some serious damage in their determination to express contempt for "man-made law." Perhaps these warlike tactics will have the effect of compelling John Bull to surrender for peace' sake; but it is firmly believed that the ardor of some suffrage supporters both inside the House as well as outside has been somewhat cooled by these actions of the "militants."

Suffrage Progress in the United States

Here in the United States the "Votes-for-Women" propaganda is proceeding somewhat more peaceably and, incidentally, making steady progress. Since adding three States to the suffrage ranks in the elections of last November, making nine States in all, a number of legislatures have acted favorably on the woman suffrage amendment. Among these are New York (where the amendment must be passed again by another legislature), and Texas, Montana, South Dakota, and Nevada, in which States it will be submitted to the voters at general elections this year or next. The women are hopeful for success also in Minnesota, Pennsylvania, Missouri, Maine, Tennessee, and Michigan during the present legislative season. With no show of belligerency, American workers for woman suffrage are managing to keep the subject effectively before the public. Meetings are constantly held, and the cause is getting a hearing more and more before organizations hitherto not interested. One of the new expedients of the American suffragists is the so-called "hike." A jolly cross-country jaunt in the

WOMAN SUFFRAGE CAMPAIGN METHODS IN ENGLAND AND THE UNITED STATES

From the *Saturday Globe* (Utica)

bracing air of winter, the little "army," duly accompanied by an automobile commissariat and a plentiful supply of "war correspondents," effects not only a large amount of publicity, but is a most innocent and exhilarating diversion.

The Great Suffrage Parade

A small body of determined women marched all the way from New York to Albany to present their petition to Governor Sulzer on the day of his inauguration. Last month another pilgrimage was begun, this time from New York to Washington, the marchers planning to arrive in time to participate in the great suffrage parade arranged for March 3, the day before President Wilson's inauguration. This parade promises to eclipse the Presidential show in magnificence. Prominent and comely suffragists from all over the country, and foreign delegations also, will be in line. There will be marchers in uniform, horseback riders, banners, gorgeous floats, and all the elaborate splendor of a well-planned pageant. First there will be a symbolic tableau, in which Mme. Lillian Nordica will be the central figure, after which Miss Inez Milholland, in appropriate costume, will herald the beginning of the great procession. This will be much the most ambitious demonstration ever undertaken by American suffragists, and, occurring as it does at the national capital at the time of a President's inauguration, will serve to focus the eyes of the nation on the subject of woman suffrage.

INAUGURATION DAY IN WASHINGTON
(As the ladies are planning it)
From the *Inter-Ocean* (Chicago)

The Coming Inauguration

There is no likelihood, however, that the inauguration itself will lack in any of the essential features that give dignity and impressiveness to occasions of this kind. On the part of the people at large there is the usual curiosity about the new President and his household, while great throngs of faithful Democrats will make the pilgrimage to Washington for the first time since 1893. And not all of these pilgrims are office-seekers, although the newspapers may have conveyed that impression. At many successive inaugurations a ball had been held in the Pension Building, with an enormous outlay of money and a direct loss to the government of many thousands of dollars through the interruption of clerical work in that building. This extravagant and senseless custom will this year be honored in the breach rather than in the observance. There will be no "inaugural ball." In other respects, the proceedings on March 4 will follow quite closely the programs of former inaugurations.

THE NEW MISTRESS OF THE WHITE HOUSE:
MRS. WOODROW WILSON

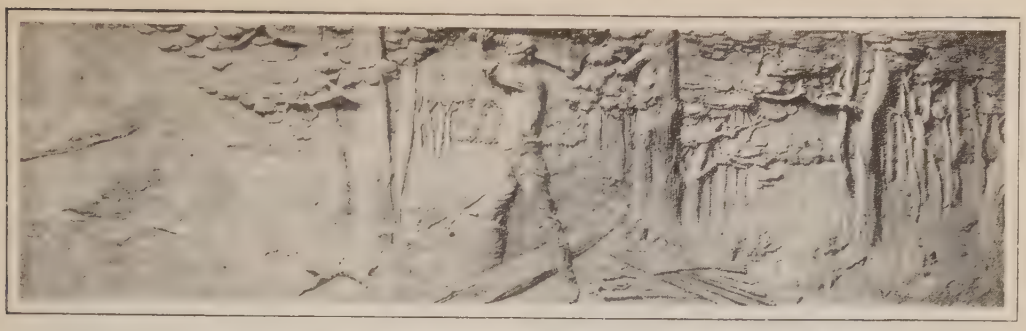
THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL, TO BE ERECTED IN POTOMAC PARK, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Memorials to Lincoln

The decline of sectional feeling among our public men was well illustrated last month when Congress authorized an appropriation of $2,000,000 for the construction, in Potomac Park, south of the White House, of a temple of Greek design in memory of Abraham Lincoln. The plans for this memorial building have been completed and work will be begun on the structure in a short time. Thus the national capital is soon to have a fitting memorial of our first martyr President. Not less significant was the dedication, on Lincoln Day, February 12, of the beautiful memorial hall for the study of the humanities at the University of Illinois. The signing by Lincoln of the Morrill Land Grant act of 1862 made possible the building of this institution and of many others having similar purpose. In appropriating a quarter of a million dollars

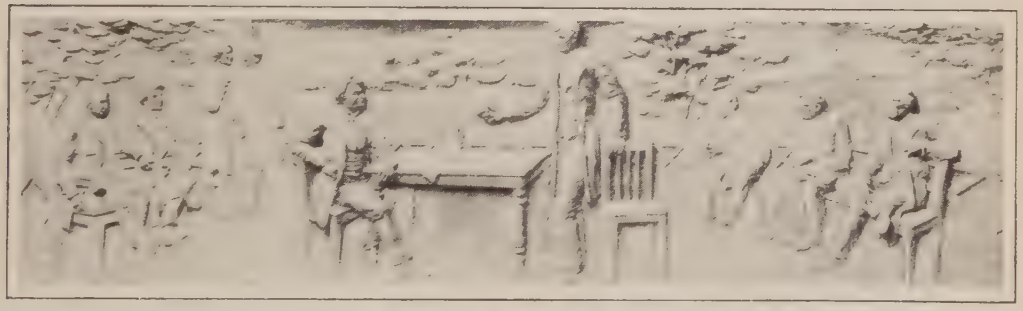
LINCOLN HALL, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS, "DEDICATED TO THE STUDY OF THE HUMANITIES" ON FEBRUARY 12, 1913

(The tablets reproduced on the opposite page are placed along the front of this building just above the second-story windows)



LINCOLN SPLITTING RAILS ON THE BANKS OF THE SANGAMON

THE DOWN-RIVER TRIP AND THE SLAVE AUCTION



THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATE

LINCOLN, EMANCIPATOR OF THE SLAVE

FOUR OF A SERIES OF TEN TERRA COTTA PANELS ADORNING THE OUTSIDE OF LINCOLN HALL, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS, REPRESENTING SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF LINCOLN

JUSTICE EDWARD E. McCALL
(Appointed by Governor Sulzer as chairman of the New York Public Service Commission, First District)

for the erection of this noble edifice the Illinois legislature fitly recognized the public service of the State's greatest son. Governor Dunne and other speakers at the dedication ceremonies emphasized the debt of the people of Illinois to Lincoln as the steadfast friend of education in State and nation.

Rapid Transit for New York

In New York, last month, no matter of public business was so persistently discussed as the signing of the "Subway contracts,"—the agreements to be entered into between the city and the traction companies for the operation of the new rapid-transit lines, a portion of which are already under construction. In the course of the two years that the Public Service Commission and the Board of Estimate and Apportionment have given to the study and mastery of these technical and intricate contracts some differences among individual members have naturally developed. A minority has become convinced that the city's best interests are not conserved by the contracts. The majority, on the other hand, hold that while the city does not get everything that would be desirable the contracts after all afford the best bargain obtainable. Chairman Willcox, of the Public Service Commission, whose term expired last month, was of that opinion. There was the keenest interest, therefore, in Governor Sulzer's appointment of Mr. Willcox's successor, especially when it became clear that the signing of the contracts would devolve upon that successor. Governor Sulzer named for this important office Justice Edward E. McCall, of the Supreme Court, who began at once to acquaint himself with the mass of detail involved in the transaction between the city and the corporations. There is every reason to believe that the interests of the public will receive from him the same fair and full consideration that they received from Mr. Willcox. Most of the citizens of New York who are compelled to use the rapid-transit lines in their daily business know very little about the points in dispute and are sure of only one thing,—that the city needs the new subways to accommodate existing traffic, to say nothing of the future. Most people, too, are doubtful whether the city could make a success of municipal operation.

The Bureau of Social Reform

Investigation of police conditions in New York continues under the able prosecution of District Attorney Whitman. A number of important confessions have been made, including that of a police captain, and several indictments have resulted. The trail has been gradually but surely leading "higher up." The first permanent agency of a remedial nature growing out of recent vice disclosures in New York is the Bureau of Social Reform. This bureau grew out of the interest taken in the subject by Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who served as foreman of the Grand Jury called in 1910 to consider the white-slave traffic. Many prominent citizens and workers for social betterment were consulted in the formation of the bureau. Its object is the scientific investigation of the social evil in all its phases, and the publication of the results of its work as an aid in the mitigation of the evil. The State reformatory for women at Bedford will serve the purposes of a laboratory, where individual cases will be studied not only for their own treatment, but for the light such study will throw on the general problem. Conditions in New York and other American cities have already been investigated, and methods of dealing with the evil in foreign cities carefully observed. Reports of these investigations are now in preparation and will be published during the present year. Contrary to many temporary and spasmodic efforts at reform in this direction, this bureau represents a quiet, nonpartisan, and permanent investigation by experts, backed by the further advantage and prestige of distinguished support.

Reply to the British Canal Protest

The reply of the United States to the British note of protest against the Panama Canal act (submitted by Ambassador Bryce on December 9) was made public by Secretary Knox on January 23, simultaneously with the transmission of the note to the British Parliament by Sir Edward Grey, the British Minister of Foreign Affairs. The substance of the position taken by the British government on this note, it will be remembered, was that legislation favoring American ships is a violation of the rights of Great Britain as set forth in the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1901. The note dissented from President Taft's argument, in his proclamation, sent to the Senate on November 13, that the United States has been excepted from the application of the phrase, "all nations," in the treaty. In these pages for January we analyzed the British note more fully. We have also, from time to time, set forth the general American point of view regarding the rights of the United States in this matter. The note of Secretary Knox, in reply to the British protest, declares, in opening, that the United States government disagrees with the British interpretation of the Clayton-Bulwer and Hay-Pauncefote treaties, but "reserves discussion of this important phase of the controversy" for another occasion.

A Suggestion for Arbitration

Replying to Sir Edward Grey's suggestion that the difficulty be submitted to arbitration, if the canal act be not repealed, Secretary Knox holds that such a proposition is premature. Great Britain, he says, complains only of something that may happen. Arbitration, the American secretary holds, should not be resorted to until the two governments have failed to settle the matter in dispute by diplomatic negotiation. In suggesting, further, that the difference of opinion might be referred for "investigation," Mr. Knox makes an interesting suggestion. He says:

> It is recognized by this Government that the situation developed by the present discussion may require an examination by Great Britain into the facts. If it should be found as a result of such an examination on the part of Great Britain that a difference of opinion exists between the two Governments on any of the important questions of fact, then a situation will have arisen which in the opinion of this Government could with advantage be dealt with by referring the controversy to a commission of inquiry for examination and report in the manner provided for in the unratified arbitration treaty of August 3, 1911, between the United States and Great Britain. This proposal might be carried out, should occasion arise for adopting it, either under a special agreement or under the unratified arbitration treaty above mentioned if Great Britain is prepared to join in ratifying that treaty, which the United States is prepared to do.

In this connection it should not be forgotten that the only arbitration treaty now in force with Great Britain expires by limitation on June 4 next. It was evidently in Mr. Knox's mind to suggest that, in order to meet the present emergency, it would be well for the United States and Great Britain to exchange ratifications of the remnants of the general arbitration treaty which President Taft sent to the Senate a year ago, and which finally emerged from that body with many of its vital parts missing.

Views of Senators Root and O'Gorman

The insistently divergent views of many eminent American public men on the merits of the question were emphasized, last month, by noteworthy speeches delivered by Senator Root, of New York, and his Democratic colleague, Senator O'Gorman. Mr. Root adds the prestige of his reputation as one of the most eminent of our Secretaries of State, to the contention, made in a plea in the Senate, on January 21, that the plighted word of the United States has been given to accord to all nations equal treatment with itself in the use of the canal. "We have been the apostle of arbitration," said Mr. Root, "we have been urging it on other civilized nations. . . . Have we been insincere and false? . . . Have we been guilty of false pretense, of talking to the gallery? . . . This is what we must be if we insist that we alone shall determine the meaning of this treaty and refuse to submit it to arbitration." Senator O'Gorman, on the other hand, replying the next day to Mr. Root's speech, opposed both the repeal of the provision exempting American ships from toll and the submission of the question to arbitration. "For ninety-eight years," said Mr. O'Gorman, "Great Britain has discriminated against this country in favor of her own shipping. . . . The treaty has not been violated. . . . The dignity of this country must be maintained. . . . We have passed a wholesome law, and one that will confer great benefits upon our people." The Senator, finally, advised any "aggrieved party" to appeal for redress to the Supreme Court of the United States.

A New Revolution in Mexico?

No one familiar with present-day conditions in Mexico was surprised at what happened last month in Mexico City. An impractical, visionary idealist, devoted to abstract justice

Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

GENERAL FELIX DIAZ, THE BOLD MEXICAN REVOLUTIONIST

(Who, last month, made a sudden and dramatic attack upon the city of Mexico and forced President Madero to resign)

and consumed with the theory of civic righteousness, but woefully lacking in the strong arm of executive ability and the capacity for enforcing his policies, has been faced for more than a year, on the one hand, by the direct attacks on public order by bandits and discontented chieftains, and on the other, by the sullen restlessness of a people with neither the aptitude nor training for self-government. Ever since Francisco Madero took office as President of the Republic of Mexico, on November 6, 1911, there has been discontent and disorder in various parts of the country. Madero and his followers have already brought in many reforms in the direction of a larger participation of the people in their own government, in the enactment of legislation tending to better land conditions, to improve educational facilities, and to straighten out financial tangles. But the process has been too slow for the Mexican temper. It is quite evident to those who know the Mexican people that at the present stage of their development they need a government of persons rather than one of principles, a government of strong men rather than one of law.

Felix Diaz Attacks Madero

General Felix Diaz, nephew of the great Porfirio, who was absolute ruler of Mexico for 29 years, instigated a rebellion against the Madero rule last year (in October), but was apprehended and cast into prison. But for the moral and civic scruples of Madero, Diaz would have been summarily executed. On the morning of February 9 he escaped from prison, put himself at the head of an army of 2000 men, attacked the National Palace, beating back the loyal troops and holding President Madero a prisoner. In the fighting, General Bernardo Reyes, once a presidential candidate and rival of the dictator Diaz, who was released at the same time from prison as Colonel Diaz, was killed. Diaz was soon in virtual command of the city, and addressed a peremptory demand to Madero for his resignation. The governors of the provinces and the commanders of the loyal troops throughout the country were summoned to the support of the President. Severe fighting followed in the streets of the capital. By February 14 fortune seemed to favor the Diaz forces and Madero handed his resignation to the Congress.

Real Mexican Feeling Toward Americans

Much concern was felt for the lives and property of Americans and other foreigners in Mexico. President Taft, while insisting upon preserving the policy of non-intervention hitherto observed by our government, was believed to be in favor of sending warships to the principal Mexican ports, should the necessity arise. Commenting upon the leaders of discontent throughout the country (in an interview reported in the New York *Sun* of February 10), President Madero said:

> There are no revolutionists in Mexico. There are only scattered and discordant bodies of men under the leadership of disgruntled politicians who know that they have not the slightest chance to obtain power through the ballot, and who deserve death as traitors to their country. . . . They have no political program. Their strength lies in the fact that Mexico is a vast and undeveloped country and an ideal one in which to conduct guerilla warfare and brigandage.

Señor Madero, further, begged the American people not to forget that "the new generation of the Mexican nation has had no contact with republican institutions except in the two years since I was elected to the presidency." As to the existence of anti-

American sentiment in Mexico, President Madero admitted that it existed in some quarters, but, said he, "there is not the slightest justification for it." It has "been fostered by a certain class of editors and writers and by an irresponsible clique of politicians who hope to promote their journalistic or political fortunes by playing on racial and prejudicial passions." Speaking of Americans in Mexico, President Madero said:

> Not the slightest criticism can justly be directed against them. They have obeyed our laws, respected our customs, have minded their own business and have studiously refrained from taking any steps which might be construed as interference in our political affairs. They have been just in their dealings with our men of property and have generally paid more than the prevailing rates of wages to Mexican laborers. There is no just basis for any anti-American sentiment and I am convinced that it is so slight it may be ignored.

Canada and the Democratic Tariff

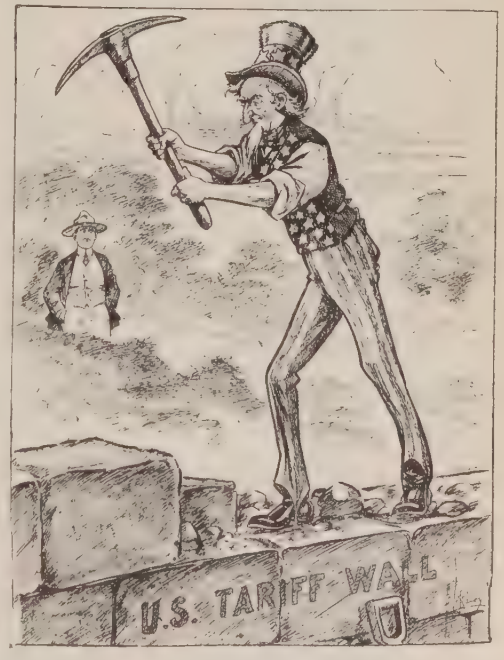
Public discussion in Canada during recent weeks has been busy with two questions: What will the new Democratic administration at Washington do in the way of reducing the tariff, and how is Premier Borden to carry out his naval policy? There has also been considerable speculation as to the new Governor-General. It is generally believed that, on account of the ill health of the Duchess of Connaught, the Duke will not return to Canada after his visit to England this spring. The names of several Liberal peers who would be more than mere ornaments, have been mentioned in connection with the succession to the governor-generalship. Canadian journals of both political parties are jubilantly pointing to the fact that, according to the Democratic program, Canada is about to receive from the United States tariff benefits, "for nothing," which she was expected, in the Taft reciprocity agreement, to pay for with generous concessions. The accompanying cartoon from the Montreal *Star*, humorously sets forth this point of view.

Premier Borden's Naval Troubles

The farmers of the great Western provinces of Canada are against the Borden naval plan for much the same reasons that impel them to favor freer trade relations with the United States. They believe that "contribution navy building," as they call it, is as short-sighted a policy as, "renunciation of vast trade with the United States for the sake of paying additional tribute to the greedy manufacturers of the East." The words quoted are from an address delivered at the recent annual convention of the Manitoba Grain Growers' Association, held at Brandon. Similar utterances were made by the United Farmers of Alberta, in annual session at Calgary, and the Dominion Grange in its regular meeting at Toronto. All these agricultural associations, as well as the representatives of organized labor throughout the Dominion have joined in demanding a popular referendum on the subject of the navy before a settled policy is adopted.

Nationalism and Independence

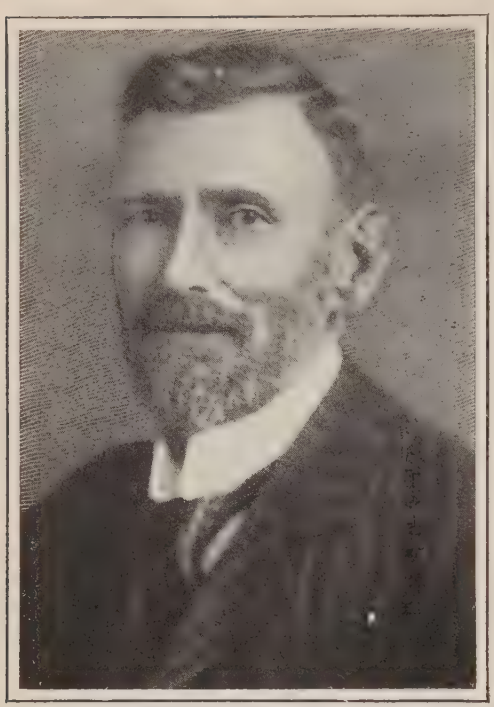
As we noted several months ago, Mr. Borden's Minister of the Interior, Mr. F. D. Monk, resigned from the cabinet because of the failure of the government to submit this navy question to a popular vote. It is believed in many quarters that a dissolution of Parliament is near with a general election on the question of the naval policy. The Borden ministry, soon after the Premier's declaration of policy, brought in a bill providing for the construction of the much discussed three Dreadnaughts as a contribution to the British navy. Opposition in Parliament, however, is so strong that an appeal to the country is coming to be regarded as necessary before the measure can be enacted into law. Now, we have Henri Bourassa, the brilliant leader of the French Nationalists in Quebec,



TAKING THE TOP LAYER OFF

CANADA (Watching the Democratic preparations at Washington to reduce the tariff and remembering the reciprocity campaign in 1911): "Wasn't it for this that I was asked to pay so heavily not long ago?"

From the *Star* (Montreal)



Photograph by Harris & Ewing, Washington, D. C.

SIR HORACE PLUNKETT, IRISH M.P.

(The Irish peer visiting America who is interested in farmers' finances. Sir Horace Plunkett, member of the British Parliament from Ireland, recently visited Washington on his tour of America and attended a banquet given by the Southern Commercial Congress. He is particularly interested in the development of the new agricultural-credit system which is receiving the attention of this country's legislators and scientists. Sir Horace started a similar movement in Ireland in 1889, with the result that in that country farming is as well organized an industry as any other business)

coming out openly for Canadian independence. Mr. Bourassa, who has always opposed any policy that would "make Canada a part of Britain's European system," said in a recent interview:

> We do not desire to secede from Great Britain, but we would much rather undergo the natural development of independence under the Nationalist idea than to have constant friction, disagreements and distrusts under Imperialism. Independence is the moral outcome of any colony.

Regenerating English Rural Life

The foremost task of liberalism in England in the near future, so Chancellor Lloyd-George told the National Liberal Club at London on January 31, is the regeneration of English rural life, "the emancipation of the land in this country from the paralyzing grip of a rusty, effete and unprofitable system." Some months ago the Chancellor, following out his hobby of land reform, secured the appointment of a special unofficial commission known as the Acland Committee, to investigate the relations between landlords and tenants in England, Scotland and Wales. It is expected that this commission will make its report during the next few weeks. Speaking of the results of the investigation with regard to farm laborers, Mr. Lloyd-George, in the address referred to above, said:

> When these reports are published they will prove that hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of men, women and children are living under conditions with regard to wages, housing, and labor which ought to make this great empire hang its head with shame. They will prove by unchallengeable facts that this rich country does not provide decent homes for the laborers engaged in an occupation which is vital to our very existence.

The truth is, the Chancellor continued, "the feudal system still survives in the English country side." The Liberal government, however, will soon grapple with this problem, which is the most radical in its program of social reform. The land reform scheme will undoubtedly include the establishment of a minimum wage for agricultural laborers, and the provision of a cottage and at least one plot of land for every laborer. This will place farming on a scientific basis. The Chancellor admitted that this land legislation would take a good deal of time to formulate.

British Doctors Lose Their "Strike"

Now that the Irish Home Rule bill is out of the way, the plural voting and education bills will be pressed forward. The National Insurance Act permanently passed the first stage of its existence on January 13. On that date, those persons (between 12 and 13 millions of them) who have been paying contributions for six months became entitled to benefits. Many details still remain to be worked out and upon many points improvements will undoubtedly be called for. National Insurance, however, in England is a reform which is designed to improve, not some mere detail of statecraft, but the very flesh, blood and fiber of the nation itself. Only a few days after the benefits began under the Insurance Act, the members of the British Medical Association (on January 18) decided by a large majority vote to release the British physicians from the pledge they had given some months before not to serve under the new law. The doctors had been conducting a vigorous campaign against the insurance scheme because the amount to be paid to them for their service to the insured persons (medical attendance to the working-class during sickness being one of the clauses of the act) was, they declared, too small.

This "strike" of the doctors against the Government rates of payment lasted more than two months. On February 5, the Commons passed, by the regular government majority of 107 votes, the bill disestablishing the Welsh Church. This measure, it is expected, will be immediately rejected by the House of Lords. Another important measure, the Trades Union bill, authorizing unions to devote their funds to political purposes, passed its third and final reading in the Commons on January 30.

The Commons Pass the Home Rule Bill

Within a few days of the rejection of the Irish Home Rule Bill by the House of Lords, the Nationalists scored a noteworthy victory by the election of their candidate in the Ulster constituency of Londonderry. On January 15, as we noted in these pages last month, the House of Commons passed the Home Rule bill to its third reading and final stage, by a majority of 110. The debate had lasted for nearly two months. It will be remembered that the measure provides for an Irish Parliament to consist of a Senate and a House of Commons with power to make laws for "peace, order and good government in Ireland." This parliament would have general power to fix taxes except such as are levied by the imperial authorities. It would have no control over army, navy, old age pensions, National Insurance, postoffice, customs, nor the Irish Land Purchase Law and the constabulary. Neither could it legislate in any way whatsoever, directly or indirectly, against religious equality.

The Debate and the Majority

The final passage of the bill through the House of Commons was marked by scenes of much enthusiasm from the government supporters and much disorder on the part of the opposition. The Unionist leaders, Mr. Bonar Law and Mr. Augustine Birrell, Chief Secretary for Ireland, the latter speaking on behalf of the government, closed the long debate. Mr. Law followed Mr. Balfour in predicting "bloody opposition" from Ulster. Mr. Birrell, after referring to the Nationalist movement as having been "the soul of Ireland for years," characterized the present methods of Irish government as "impossible and ridiculous." Mr. Balfour's motion to withdraw the bill was defeated by a vote of 368 to 258. Immediately after its passage by the Commons, the bill was sent to the Upper House. The Lords debated the measure for four days and then rejected it by a majority of 260. It then came back to the Commons. In order to become a law, in spite of its rejection by the Lords, the bill must now be passed twice by the Commons in two successive sessions and within two years. It will then make no difference what may be the action or attitude of the Upper House.

How Ulster Is for Home Rule

On January 30, the bye-election in Londonderry resulted in the choice of David C. Hogg, Nationalist, by a majority of 57 votes over his Unionist opponent. The seat was made vacant by the death of the Duke of Abercorn and the succession of his son to his father's place in the House of Lords. Londonderry has been Unionist since 1900. The election of Mr. Hogg is the answer to the contention that the Asquith Government is attempting to "force Home Rule down the throat of reluctant Ulster." We were told that Ulster would fight to the last drop of her blood against Home Rule, particularly against the Catholic majority in the Irish Parliament. Now that the Nationalists, with the aid of Protestant votes, have elected a staunch Protestant from Londonderry, they have a majority of one in the Ulster representation in the Parliament at Westminster, and a truly Hibernian situation is created.

Poincaré a Strong President

It is the tradition of French politics that, while the King of England reigns, he does not rule, and the president of the United States rules but does not reign, the French President neither rules nor reigns. Commenting on the election (on January 17) of Raymond Poincaré to be president of the French Republic, M. Calmette, editor of the Paris *Figaro*, gives it as his opinion that all this will hereafter be changed and that France now has a chief magistrate who is strong enough to make use of the great prerogatives with which he is entrusted for the benefit of the French people. In the balloting M. Poincaré received 483 votes out of a total of 848, while his nearest opponent, M. Jules Pams, formerly minister of agriculture, received 296. The new president is 52 years of age and has what Frenchmen value above all things, a strong, distinctive personality. He was a strong individual, premier and foreign minister, and has kept France in the forefront of the European stage. He was not only the choice of the National Assembly (the Senate and Chamber and Deputies acting together) but also of the whole people. It is being freely predicted in Paris by many observers, includ-

THE NEW FRENCH PRESIDENT "EN FAMILLE" IN PARIS

(This photograph, which originally appeared in the *Matin*, shows M. Poincaré seated in the foreground to the right. His mother and wife are seated on the sofa, while his father stands in the rear)

ing the socialist leader, Jaurés, that he will be the greatest French national leader since Gambetta. His premier, for the present at least, is the seasoned, progressive statesman, Aristide Briand.

"Advising" Dutch Workmen

A unique institution for the benefit of working men has been recently established in Amsterdam, with the support of many of the eminent citizens and under the direct patronage of the Dutch Queen. It is known as the Central Bureau for Social Advice. This organization, originally formed in 1898, has been extended in scope so that it now furnishes specific and inexpensive advice on all sorts of subjects to working men. Beginning with 150 subscribers, it now numbers more than 700, with a total income of $4200 annually. Information is given not only to subscribers but to all who ask. If unable to pay the very small fee required, information is given gratis. All political parties and religious faiths are represented on the governing committee. All information supplied, in every case by experts, is given by letter. There is a library of more than 13,000 volumes. Besides individuals, the society numbers among its beneficiaries, industrial enterprises, insurance companies, employers' organizations, labor bureaus, municipalities and even foreign governments. Some of the subjects upon which advice and information have been given are coöperation, savings, loans, pensions, illness, burial funds, people's lodging houses, labor contracts, regulations in commercial enterprises, measures against unemployment, municipal-workmen regulations, minimum salaries and maximum labor hours regulations. It is the claim of the institution that, if given time, it will answer any question on any subject relating to the welfare of working men.

Is an Anglo-German Agreement Near?

A very significant statement was made in the German Reichstag on February 7, by Admiral von Tirpitz, the Minister of Marine, in his announcement to the budget committee of the intentions of the Government regarding the naval program and the relations with Great Britain. This statement was particularly significant on account of its brevity and the fact that it

has been permitted to become public. After dealing at some length with the speech of Winston Churchill, the British First Lord of the Admiralty, in March 1912, in which the foreign minister had said that the ratio of 10 to 16 between German and British battleships would be acceptable to Great Britain for the next few years, Admiral von Tirpitz, distinctly stated that he, as head of the German navy department, had "no objection whatsoever to this." From the fact that this statement was given out to the newspapers, and, further, from the comment in the semi-official journals, it is assumed in England and on the continent that more or less definite agreement has been reached between Great Britain and Germany, regarding the question of warship building.

The New German Foreign Minister

Added significance may be found in the statement of Herr von Jagow, the new minister of foreign affairs, who during January succeeded the late Dr. von Kiderlen-Waechter. The foreign minister made an emphatic declaration that Germany's relations with all foreign powers, "particularly with England, are excellent." It is evident from such public opinion as is reflected in the radical and independent German press, as well as from the difficulty the government is having in the enactment into law of some of the more important features of its program, that the burden laid upon the backs of the German people by the demands of militarism is becoming very heavy.

The Reichstag Votes "No Confidence"

Several important bills dealing with large industries were the subject of long and vehement discussion in the Reichstag last month. The government bill designed to restrict the production of potash in order that, what the Germans called a scientific monopoly, may be maintained, will be introduced during the present month. The bill establishing a government monopoly in petroleum was radically changed in the budget committee during the last few days of January. It is expected, however, that this measure will become a law before many weeks. It is intended to "stiffen German opposition" to the Standard Oil Company's business in Europe. On January 30, the Reichstag for the first time in its history, refused to pass a note of confidence in the government. The expression of "no confidence" took the form of a resolution disapproving the attitude of the Chancellor toward the Polish land question in Prussia.

THE GERMAN CHANCELLOR AND THE NEW FOREIGN MINISTER
(Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg and Herr von Jagow, on the promenade at Corfu)

Disciplining the Russian Duma

The Imperial Russian Duma has reassembled after a vacation which lasted 35 days. It must be remembered that it had been in session for four long weeks, all of which time had been devoted to the arduous task of electing the president and other officers, to the examination of the deputies' credentials, and in replying to the government's declaration. The speeches criticizing the government were long and eloquent, so much so that Czar Nicholas considered it best, in the interest of the country, as well as of the deputies themselves, to order the discontinuance of the sessions for a time sufficient to give the members of the Duma a long-needed rest. In outlining the government's policy, Premier Kokovtzov had said: "The demands of the nation's life grow and multiply. . . . The task of legislation is to keep on a level with them, and legislative activity cannot, even for a comparatively brief space of time, limit itself by a strictly-defined program . . . " As conclusive proof of its desire to satisfy the demands of Russian life, the government's first bill introduced in the Duma is to limit the civil rights of Russian subjects of foreign and Polish descent in some four provinces of the empire. A remarkable illustration of how

Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, New York

THE MONGOLIAN DELEGATION WHICH WENT TO RUSSIA TO ASK RECOGNITION OF INDEPENDENCE

(The designs of Russia on Mongolia, against the wishes of China, are well known, and have been explained in these pages. The government of the Czar and representatives of Mongolia signed a treaty on November 9 which was very comprehensive. Recently a delegation from Mongolia arrived in St. Petersburg to ask the Czar to recognize the complete independence of Mongolia. This was done by Russia)

words differ from deeds! At the same time the Duma's bill admitting women to practice law in Russia was rejected (on February 6) by the Council of the Empire by 84 votes to 66. The leading Russian jurists and practically the entire Liberal public opinion in Russia were in favor of the bill. The older generation of statesmen, headed by the minister of justice, however, pleaded eloquently and successfully against any extension of the rights of women.

A New Russian Minister of the Interior

The oratory which flooded the rooms of the Taurida Palace during the sessions soon proved too much for Mr. Makarov, the Czar's minister of the interior. It quite upset his health and compelled him to tender his resignation, which was very graciously accepted, his departure not being regretted by any political party. Makarov is a man without initiative and his administration was one fruitless effort to perform a task which was quite evidently far beyond his strength and ability. His successor, N. A. Maklakov, formerly governor of Tchernigov, is a miniature Stolypin. He is quite a young man, and, according to the press, he has been selected to fill the vacancy, because while governor of Tchernigov, "he has shown great energy in his fight with anti-government tendencies, in the organization of the *okrana* (one of the government's agencies for suppressing the revolution), and has manifested executive ability on those occasions." It is no secret in Russia that his sympathies are with the "Black Hundred," the fanatical "League of Russian People." How much these qualifications will help him solve the grave problems of Russian life, such as the land question, the high cost of living, the scarcity of common labor, which is becoming a serious menace to Russian industry, and a great many more of equal importance, remains to be seen. In his speech to the officials of the ministry he said:

> The aim of all of us must be one—to strengthen the authority of the state . . . which labors for the good of the many-millioned population of great Russia. And there is just one road that leads to that aim—there is and can be none other,—and that is the law established by his Imperial Majesty.

To repeat the now historical expression of the former minister Makarov: "It has been and will be so" in Russia—which is hardly a sign of progress.

Failure of the London Peace Conference

Contrary to all the predictions of the political and military experts, and in defiance of the expressed wish of the great powers of Europe, the delegates of the Balkan allies at the London peace conference, wearied with Turkish delay and shuffling diplomacy, on January 30, delivered a formal note to Reshad Pasha, chief of the Turkish delegation. This statement, signed by the delegates of all the Balkan states, briefly announced that, having "awaited in vain for three weeks a reply from the Turkish plenipotentiaries to their last demands," and the events "occurring in Constantinople appearing to have destroyed the hope of arriving at a conclusion of peace," the delegates of the Balkan states, "to their great regret," felt themselves "obliged to declare negotiations broken off." Thus, the more than six weeks' armistice, largely taken up with the sessions of the conference at London, came to an end without any definite result in the direction of peace between the belligerents. As reported in these pages last month, the points upon which it seemed impossible for the delegates to agree were the disposition of Adrianople and the Egean Islands. On January 16, as we noted, the ambassadors of the great powers presented a note to the Porte urging the Turks to agree to the cession of Adrianople and to leave the question of the disposition of the Egean Islands to them, the great powers. To these demands the Turks had declared themselves unable to accede. Immediately upon the presentation of the note, the heads of the Bulgarian, Servian, Montenegrin and Greek delegations left London, and the allied governments were notified of the breaking off of negotiations.

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ENVIR BEY, WHO AIMED TO BE TURKEY'S "MAN ON HORSEBACK"

(Envir Bey was the prime mover in the overthrow of the Kiamil Ministry at Constantinople late in January)

"THE TERRIBLE TURK"

(Mahmud Shevket Pasha, the New Turkish Grand Vizier:—An Italian View)

From the *Giornale d'Italia*, (Rome)

Overthrow of the Turkish Ministry

Several days before the conference ended, it was reported that the Turks had decided to give in. On January 22, in fact, the Grand Council of the Empire voted in favor of acceding to the proposals of Europe and yielding on all points. Then, swiftly and dramatically, there was enacted in Constantinople a new revolution. By one of those sudden overturns, known in European politics as a coup d'etat, the Kiamil Pasha Cabinet was overthrown (on January 24) and the Young Turks again rode into power. By a military and Young Turk combination the aged Grand Vizier was driven from power, and Mahmud Shevket Pasha, the military organizer and idol of the army, installed in his place. Nazim Pasha, ex-War Minister and commander of the Turkish army in the ill-starred campaign that began with the Bulgarian victory at Mustapha Pasha on October 19, and ended with the beaten Turkish army at bay behind the lines at Tchatalja, was shot dead in the demonstrations. Envir Bey, the young military commander prominent in the overturn of the Abdul Hamid regime four years ago, and the mainstay of the Arab resistance to Italy in the Tripolitanean campaign, was one of the moving spirits in the coup d'etat.

Shevket Pasha Grand Vizier

Within an hour of the entrance of soldiers to the government palace, Kiamil Pasha and his cabinet resigned, and Envir Bey announced that the Sultan had appointed Mahmud Shevket Grand Vizier. A new ministry was then constituted, consisting largely of Young Turks of progressive tendencies. A proclamation issued by the Committee of Union and Progress (the Young Turks), on the morning after the demonstration, declared that the reverses of the Turkish forces in the war with the Balkan allies were due to the Mukhtar and Kiamil Pasha cabinets, which, "instead of executing any coherent plan, appointed incapable generals to positions of command and pursued a policy destructive of the warlike spirit of the army and the people." Kiamil Pasha, further, was accused of betraying his country by offering to give up Adrianople and the Egean Islands. The new ministry insisted that it would never give up Adrianople, the "jewel of the Orient."

Popular Resentment at Weakness

The downfall of the Kiamil Pasha cabinet was to be expected after the presentation of the note by the powers. There was much popular resentment at the ministry's failure to win the support of at least one of the great powers to the Turkish cause. The press and the military, moreover, criticized the cabinet for having asked an armistice when the fortunes of war seemed about to turn to the Turks. Kiamil was known to be an Anglophile and it was hoped that Great Britain would befriend Turkey. That power, however, was the most active in advising the Porte to yield to the severe terms of the allies. At the same time, as long as this pro-English Grand Vizier was conducting the affairs of the nation, neither Germany nor the Triple Alliance was willing to extend any help to the Turks. On the contrary, the mobilization in Austria was brought about by reasons which did not include any desire to help Turkey. Thus Kiamil Pasha's foreign policy was shown to be unfavorable to the interests of the empire. It is reported in some quarters that the Young Turks, mortal enemies of the old Kiamil, expected and, perhaps, were promised German help and sympathy if they would overthrow the pro-English Grand Vizier. They expected the aid of the army and the war party, and counted on Molsem help from all over the world. Indeed, the Sheik-ul-Islam again began to preach a Holy War, and an Egyptian prince was taken into the Turkish cabinet. Moreover, it is believed that the Young Turks were encouraged by the Sultan himself. In an interview published in all the journals a few days before the coup d'etat, Mehmed V expressed his desire to fight for the preservation of the city "which contains the holy bones of my ancestors" (Adrianople.) His Turkish Majesty further ascribed the present plight of the empire to the lack of education and economic backwardness, economically, of the country, and assured the interviewer that he, as a constitutional monarch, would do what his people wanted.

War Resumed by the Allies

While the semi-official journals of the great capitals of Europe were reiterating the commands of the powers that there should be no renewal of the war, the Bulgarians, at precisely 7 o'clock on the evening of February 3, when the armistice ended, opened fire on Adrianople and along the entrenchments at Tchatalja. The Montenegrins, at the same time, formally renewed their attack upon Scutari and the Greeks pressed the investment of Janina. The Bulgarian bombardment of Adrianople was so vigorous that the city was soon in flames in many places. The Turkish commander in the beleaguered city, Shukri Pasha, a fighting man of the sternest calibre, kept

Photograph by D. A. Davis

MRS. ROCKHILL, WIFE OF THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR AT CONSTANTINOPLE, VISITING SICK TURKISH SOLDIERS IN THE MILITARY HOSPITAL

Constantinople constantly informed by wireless of his determination to fight literally to the last ditch. As we go to press with this number of the REVIEW, reports of the fall of Adrianople and Scutari are insistent. It is probable that the new ministry does not expect to turn back the tide of defeat, nor even to save Adrianople. It seems likely that Turkish honor will be satisfied if Adrianople, instead of being given up over the council table, is lost gallantly on the field of action.

Turkey in the Hands of the Powers

During the first week after the resumption of hostilities, the Bulgarian commander, General Savov, was concentrating his attention on the Gallipoli peninsula, that irregular projection of land to the southwest of Constantinople. On February 5 a series of engagements took place between the Bulgarian and Turkish forces on this peninsula, resulting in Bulgarian victories. It was apparently the plan of the Bulgarian commander to advance from the rear on the Turkish fortifications guarding the entrance to the Dardanelles, thus opening the Sea of Marmora to the Greek fleet, which might then steam to a direct attack upon Constantinople. Several sallies by the Turks from behind the Turkish lines were repulsed by the Bulgarians. Late last month former Grand Vizier Hakki Pasha, one of the most astute of Turkish diplomatists, started for western Europe on a special mission. It was believed that he was bent on negotiating a peace by putting the Turkish case unreservedly in the hands of the great powers.

The Rumanian-Bulgarian Quarrel

The American reading public has been somewhat mystified, during the past few weeks, by the brief, unqualified statements in the daily press to the general effect that Rumania, having asked territory from Bulgaria as the price of her neutrality during the war, is contemplating an attack upon her Bulgarian neighbor because the latter has refused her demands. The rights and wrongs of the Bulgaro-Rumanian quarrel are not generally known. In the first place it is a question of frontier. The boundary line between the two countries is, at present, from a military point of view, and speaking as a Rumanian, untenable. Rumania really wants from Bulgaria what was given her by the Treaty of San Stefano and taken away by the Treaty of Berlin, a section of the country on the Black Sea, south of the Dobrudja. This region is, in large part, populated by Rumanians, and furnishes the second point in the Rumanian contention, that it gives a sorely needed access to the sea. Rumania's foreign trade is enormous for a Balkan state. It is far in excess of that of all the other Balkan States put together. The only route to the sea the Rumanians have at present is this Dobrudja, and this they cannot defend because of its low marshy topography. The third point is the growing chauvinism of the Bulgarians and the propaganda carried on at Sofia for still further expansion of Bulgaria

Photograph by the American Press Association, New York
CAPTAIN ROBERT SCOTT, THE REAL HERO OF POLAR EXPLORATION

at the expense of Rumania. Both countries have been ready for war for years. It would have been easy for Rumania, with her splendid army, to have taken advantage of Bulgaria's preoccupation in the struggle with Turkey, to cross the frontier and occupy the country in dispute. For maintaining neutrality in the war and not embarrassing Bulgaria's movements, the Rumanians claim that they should have received at least some of the territory they covet.

Poland Watching The Balkans

With the possibility of armed collision between Russia and Austria still impending, this question arises: What would be done by Austria's Slavonic subjects, especially the Poles who are not only in Austrian and German, but also in Russian captivity, in a situation in which the German world—Austria backed by Germany—would fight against Russia? For the favor of the Poles bids have been made by both sides. On the one hand, Russian advisers tell the Poles that they will not gain much by aiding Austria, that the defeat of Russia would not be to their advantage. On the other hand, Russia's foes remind the Poles of the wrongs done to Poland by Russia. Moreover, a report has been circulated that the coming Emperor of Austria-Hungary contemplates converting the Hapsburg possessions into a confederation, in which, among others, the Poles would have their own King. It appears, however, from declarations of the Poles themselves, that they recognize Prussia standing behind Austria. Therefore, it is plain to them that the defeat of Russia would strengthen Prussia, which in her treatment of Poland is no more humane than Russia. The Poles, therefore, have resolved that when they do fight, it will be for their Fatherland only. With this end in view all Polish political parties have now coalesced in order to present a united front when the moment comes for a clash between Poland's jailers. They have organized a Committee of National Defense, and are accumulating a "war fund." In January the Poles commemorated the 50th anniversary of their ill-starred uprising of 1863 against the power of Russia. They have learned much since then.

Scott's Heroic Death in the Antarctic

One of the grimmest, most appalling tragedies of polar explorations was laid bare, last month, when the cables from Wellington, New Zealand, flashed the news that gallant Captain Robert Scott and his Antarctic party, after reaching their goal, the South Pole, had been overtaken on their return trip and frozen to death in the grip of an Antarctic blizzard. Captain Scott had been in the Antarctic for nearly three years. He left civilization at almost the same time as Captain Roald Amundsen in his race for the South Pole. Amundsen attained the goal of his ambition in December 1911. Scott, with his party, were not heard from later than April 1912, when he reported that his party, consisting of himself and four men, were within 150 miles of the South Pole and pushing on. On February 10, Captain Sanders, of the relief ship *Terra Nova*, which had gone to search for news of the Scott party, reported by wireless that at McMurdo Sound they had found Captain Scott and all his party frozen. From the records with them it was learned that the brave Englishman had reached the South Pole on January 18, 1912, and had begun his return before being overtaken by the storm in which he and his party met their death. Captain Scott had an honorable record of Antarctic exploration. It seems like the bitterest irony of fate that, having reached the Pole only one month after his successful rival, he should perish in the blasts of the icy polar storm, while the successful Norwegian navigator was embarking from the great ice barrier for his triumphant return trip.

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THE PRESENTATION OF A GOLD LOVING CUP TO CHAIRMAN WILLIAM F. McCOMBS BY THE MEMBERS OF THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

(From left to right: F. C. Penfield, J. W. Coughlin, Norman E. Mack, Martin J. Wade, William F. McCombs, T. H. Browne, Henry Morgenthau, and E. O. Wood)

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From January 16 to February 12, 1913)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

January 16.—The Senate passes the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial appropriation bill.

January 17.—The House accepts the conference report upon the Immigration bill.

January 18.—In the Senate, two measures are passed incorporating an American Academy of Arts and Letters and a National Institute of Arts and Letters.

January 20.—The Senate rejects the conference report on the Immigration bill, objecting to the provision requiring certificates of good character. . . . The House passes the measure incorporating the Rockefeller Foundation, a $100,000,000 institution designed to promote the well-being and advance the civilization of people throughout the world.

January 21.—In the Senate, Mr. Root (Rep., N. Y.) pleads for the repeal of the section of the Panama Canal act, granting free tolls to American ships, which has been protested by Great Britain. . . . The House passes the Army appropriation bill ($98,830,177).

January 22.—In the Senate, Mr. O'Gorman (Dem., N. Y.) opposes the repeal of the Panama Canal act.

January 23.—The Senate passes the Culberson bill prohibiting corporations from making contributions to political conventions and primaries, and limiting individual campaign contributions.

January 24.—The Senate approves the resolution providing for a Lincoln Memorial in Washington.

January 25.—The House adopts the conference report on the Immigration bill, with the provision for certificates of character eliminated.

January 28.—The House passes the Rivers and Harbors appropriation bill ($40,800,000); Mr. Mann (Rep., Ill.) vigorously defends the provision of the Panama Canal act which remitted tolls on American ships.

January 29.—The House passes the measure appropriating $2,000,000 for a Lincoln memorial in Potomac Park, Washington (see page 274).

January 31.—The House adopts the conference report upon the Immigration bill.

February 1.—The Senate, after three-days debate, passes a resolution to amend the federal Constitution by fixing the term of President at six years, without reëlection or subsequent election; the conference report upon the Immigration bill is approved.

February 5.—The Senate passes the Coast Fortifications bill ($5,218,250).

February 8.—The House passes the Webb bill prohibiting the shipment in interstate traffic of liquor intended for sale in prohibition States.

February 10.—The Senate passes the Webb liquor-transportation bill.

February 12.—Both branches assemble in joint session and canvass the electoral vote for President and Vice-President.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN

January 16.—President-elect Wilson asks that the inaugural ball be omitted from the ceremonies on March 4, because of its great expense to the Government.

January 18.—The Texas legislature submits to the people the question of woman suffrage.

January 20.—Seven bills, approved by Governor Wilson, are introduced in the New Jersey Senate, changing the corporation act so as to curb existing trusts and prevent the formation of new ones. . . . The Attorney-General asks the Interstate Commerce Commission to investigate the American Telephone and Telegraph Company and certain combinations which it is alleged to maintain. . . . The Supreme Court holds that the Interstate Commerce Commission can order reductions in rates only when based upon facts obtained at hearings.

January 21.—The Republican legislature in Oregon, confirming the primary choice, elects Harry Lane (Dem.) United States Senator. . . . Congressman George W. Norris (Rep.), the primary winner, is unanimously elected United States Senator from Nebraska. . . . In Rhode Island, Judge LeBaron B. Colt (Rep.) is chosen to succeed George P. Wetmore in the United States Senate. . . . The Minnesota, Iowa, and Oklahoma legislatures reëlect Senators Nelson (Rep.), Kenyon (Rep.), and Owen (Dem.), respectively. . . . The Montana Senate passes a resolution providing for woman suffrage.

January 22.—Thomas Sterling (Rep.) is elected to the United States Senate by the South Dakota legislature.

January 23.—Chief Justice John K. Shields (Dem.), of the Tennessee Supreme Court, is elected to the United States Senate by the legislature. . . . The New York Senate passes a woman-suffrage measure. . . . An officer and six privates of the United States troops in the Philippines are killed during a fight with Igorrotes in Jolo.

January 24.—Former Governor James H. Brady (Rep.) is chosen United States Senator from Idaho to serve out the unexpired term of the late Weldon B. Heyburn.

January 25.—The Governors of New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut meet at Boston to discuss the New England railroad situation.

January 27.—The New York Assembly passes the Senate woman-suffrage resolution; the measure must be approved by another legislature and ratified by the people.

January 28.—The proposed income-tax amendment is unanimously approved in the Michigan Assembly, completing ratification by that State. . . . The Kansas legislature elects to the United States Senate Judge William H. Thompson, who carried the November preferential primary. . . . Democratic primary winners are elected to the Senate by the legislatures of Nevada (Key Pittman), New Jersey (William Hughes), and Texas (Morris Sheppard). . . . The following United States Senators are reëlected: Benjamin R. Tillman (Dem., S. C.), Albert B. Fall (Rep., N. M.), and Francis E. Warren (Rep., Wyo.).

January 29.—A 21-days' deadlock in the Illinois legislature, which prevented the inauguration of Governor-elect Dunne, is ended by the election of William McKinley (Dem.) as temporary speaker. . . . Willard Saulsbury (Dem.) is elected to the United States Senate by the Delaware legislature. . . . Joseph T. Robinson, the Democratic Governor of Arkansas and former Representative, is elected to the Senate. . . . The West Virginia Senate unanimously ratifies the federal income-tax amendment.

January 30.—The Nevada legislature submits to a popular vote the question of woman suffrage.

February 3.—The Delaware legislature ratifies the income-tax amendment, which thereby becomes a part of the federal Constitution; Wyoming and New Mexico also approve the amendment. . . . Woodrow Wilson announces his selection of Joseph P. Tumulty, of New Jersey, as Secretary to the President. . . . Thomas W. Churchill is chosen president of the Board of Education of New York City. . . . The Supreme Court holds that the United Shoe Machinery Company, while a combination, is not an illegal monopoly.

February 5.—Seven bills, framed under the direction of Governor Sulzer, are introduced in the New York legislature for the purpose of reforming the methods of the New York Stock Exchange. . . . The Pennsylvania House passes a resolution providing the suffrage for women.

February 8.—The Utah House passes a bill which would grant a minimum pension of $10 monthly to mothers with dependent children.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN

January 16.—The British House of Commons passes the Irish Home Rule bill by a vote of 367 to 257.

January 17.—Raymond Poincaré, Premier of France, is elected President by the National Assembly. . . . A coalition ministry is formed in Persia, with Ag-ed-Alach-Sultan as Premier.

January 18.—Aristide Briand, French Minister of Justice, is asked by President Fallières to form a cabinet in succession to the retiring Poincaré ministry.

January 19.—The Turkish Government convenes the National Assembly in order to refer to it the terms of peace offered by the Balkan allies.

January 22.—The Turkish National Assembly decides to accept the advice of the European powers and cede Adrianople to the Balkan allies.

January 23.—The Young Turks, who favor a continuance of the war with the Balkan federation, overthrow the Kiamil Pasha ministry and form one headed by Mahmud Shevket Pasha; Nazim Pasha, commander-in-chief of the Turkish army, is killed during the disturbance; serious rioting occurs among the troops at the Tchataldja fortifications.

January 24.—Debate is begun in the British House of Commons upon Sir Edward Grey's

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MISS HELEN TAFT AT THE WHITE HOUSE WITH HER GUEST, MISS ISABEL VINCENT, DAUGHTER OF PRESIDENT GEORGE E. VINCENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

woman-suffrage amendment to the Government's franchise-reform bill. . . . The Norwegian cabinet resigns.

January 27.—The British Ministry abandons the Franchise bill because of amendments which, if adopted, would grant the suffrage to women; the House of Lords begins the second reading of the Irish Home Rule bill. . . . Prince Said Halim, President of the Council of State, is appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs in the New Turkish ministry.

January 28.—Upon the abandonment of the Franchise bill by the British ministry, the militant suffragettes begin a new crusade of rioting and destruction.

January 29.—Takaaki Kato, ambassador to Great Britain, is appointed Japanese Foreign Minister.

January 30.—The British House of Lords, by vote of 326 to 69, rejects the Irish Home Rule bill recently passed by the Commons.

February 4.—Manuel Calero, lately ambassador to the United States, declares in the Mexican Senate that the insurrection will not be ended so long as Madero is President.

February 5.—President Manuel Araujo, of Salvador, is shot and fatally wounded as a result of a political conspiracy. . . . The Japanese Diet is dispersed by the Emperor, following riots incident to a vote of censure against the Katsura ministry. . . . The Welsh Disestablishment bill passes its final reading in the British House of Lords.

February 6.—The Council of the Russian Empire rejects the Duma bill admitting women to the practice of law.

February 9.—Mexican revolutionists under Gen Felix Diaz, who recently escaped from prison, seize the city of Mexico and besieged the National Palace, where President Madero and a few thousand loyal troops concentrate their defense; Gen. Bernardo Reyes, insurgent leader and former Minister of War, is killed.

February 10.—Serious rioting occurs outside the Japanese parliament buildings, culminating in the resignation of Premier Katsura.

February 11-12.—The Mexican revolutionists and federal troops engage in battle in the streets of Mexico City.

February 12.—Count Combel Yamamoto accepts the premiership of Japan.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

January 17.—The diplomatic representatives of Austria, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and Russia present a note to the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs, at Constantinople, advising the cession of Adrianople to the victorious Balkan allies.

January 18.—The Greek and Turkish fleets engage in battle off the Dardanelles, without decisive result.

January 23.—The reply of the United States to the British note of protest against the Panama Canal act is made public, suggesting that the dispute be referred to a joint high commission of inquiry.

January 30.—The Balkan allies notify Turkey that the armistice will be brought to an end on February 3.

February 3.—Immediately upon the expiration of the armistice, the Balkan allies reopen the war with Turkey and attack Adrianople and the Tchataldja line of fortifications.

February 10.—Four American warships are dispatched to Mexican waters to protect American life and property during the present outbreak.

February 12.—The Turkish ambassador at London requests the British Foreign minister to invite the powers to end the war. . . . An agreement settling the differences between France and Venezuela is signed at Caracas.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

January 16.—A test message by wireless telegraphy from Sayville, N. Y., is received by the station at Nauen, near Berlin.

January 20.—An eruption of the volcano of Mount Colima, in Mexico, causes thousands of persons to abandon their homes.

January 24.—M. Bider, a French aviator, flies over the Pyrenees from Pau, France, to Madrid.

January 25.—Jean Bielovucci, a Peruvian, flies in a monoplane across the Alps from Brig, Switzerland, to Domodossola, Italy, in less than half an hour.

February 1.—The American Federation of Labor orders a general strike in the mills of the United States Steel Corporation in the Pittsburgh district.

February 2.—Fire destroys a portion of the waterfront of Savannah, Ga., the damage amounting to nearly $1,500,000.

February 10.—The South Pole expedition under Captain Robert F. Scott, of the British Navy, returns to New Zealand and reports that Captain Scott and four others reached the Pole on January 18, 1912, but died from exposure and lack of fuel and provisions on the return journey to their base of supplies. . . . Sixteen persons are killed in a clash between coal strikers and sheriffs and police near Mucklow, W. Va. . . . Mrs. Francis Folsom Cleveland, widow of Grover Cleveland, is married to Prof. Thomas J. Preston, Jr., at Princeton, N. J.

February 12.—Announcement is made that the firemen and enginemen of the Eastern railroads have voted (33,718 to 1,198) to go on strike for higher wages. . . . Lincoln Hall, erected by Illinois at the State University in memory of the martyred President, is dedicated.

OBITUARY

January 16.—Dr. Thaddeus S. C. Lowe, founder of the Lowe Observatory in California and organizer of the balloon corps of the Union army in the Civil War, 80.

January 17.—Brother Ira Barnes Dutton, successor of Father Damien as head of the leper colony at Molokai. . . . Oscar Sherman Gifford, formerly member of Congress from South Dakota, 70.

January 18.—Mrs. Julia Caroline Ripley Dorr, the poetess, 87. . . . "Deacon" Stephen Van C. White, stock-exchange operator, 81.

January 20.—Edward O'Connell, constructor of the *Monitor*, 86. . . . O. H. Kelley, founder of the Patrons of Husbandry, 80. . . . Sir James Coats, the British thread manufacturer, 78.

January 21.—Rear Admiral von Hollmann, formerly German Minister of Marine, 73.

January 22.—Amzi Dodd, dean of the New Jersey bar, 89.

January 23.—Auguste Van Biene, the actor and violoncellist, 68. . . . Rev. Eben B. Parsons, D. D., formerly registrar of Williams College, 78. . . . George W. Reynolds, a noted Brooklyn lawyer, 92. . . . William G. Hamilton, prominent in business and civic affairs in New York City, 80.

January 26.—Judge James P. Platt, of the United States District Court in Connecticut, 62. . . . Representative Sylvester Clark Smith, of the Eighth California District, 55. . . . John Jefferson DeHaven, United States District Judge and former Representative from California, 67.

January 27.—James B. Hammond, the typewriter inventor and manufacturer, 73. . . . Archduke Rainer, second cousin of the Austrian Emperor and a noted soldier and art collector, 85.

January 28.—Sigismundo Moret, formerly Premier of Spain, 75. . . . Dr. Orville Horwitz, emeritus professor of genito-urinary diseases at Jefferson Medical College, 54.

January 29.—Edouard Bernard Debat-Ponsan, the French portrait painter, 66.

January 30.—Lieut.-Gen. Jonkheer Jacobus, an eminent Dutch authority on international law, 87. . . . James H. Berry, formerly United States Senator and Governor of Kansas, 72. . . . Rev. George Dana Boardman Pepper, D. D., ex-president of Colby College, 80.

January 31.—Dr. James P. Tuttle, of New York, an authority on intestinal diseases, 55. . . . James Ludovic Lindsay, Earl of Crawford, a noted astronomer and philatelist, 65. . . . Baron Ilkeston, a prominent member of the British House of Lords and a noted physician, 73.

February 1.—Dr. Theodor von Holleben, formerly German ambassador at Washington, 74. . . . Anne Warner French, the novelist, 43. . . . Juan M. Ceballos, a prominent New York banker, 54. . . . Frank D. La Lanne, of Philadelphia, former president of the National Board of Trade, 64.

February 2.—Col. James Martin McCalmont, M. P., a prominent Orangeman, 65.

February 4.—Cardinal Franz X. Nagl, Archbishop of Vienna. . . . Sir John Gordon Sprigg, four times Premier of Cape Colony, 83.

February 5.—Bradley Martin, prominent in social circles of New York and London, 71. . . . David McNeely Stauffer, a noted civil engineer and former editor of the *Engineering News*, 68.

February 8.—John George Brown, the painter of New York street urchins, 81.

February 9.—Dr. Manuel E. Arraujo, President of Salvador, 50. . . . Rev. Dr. Homer Eaton, head of Eaton & Mains, the Methodist book-publishing house, 79.

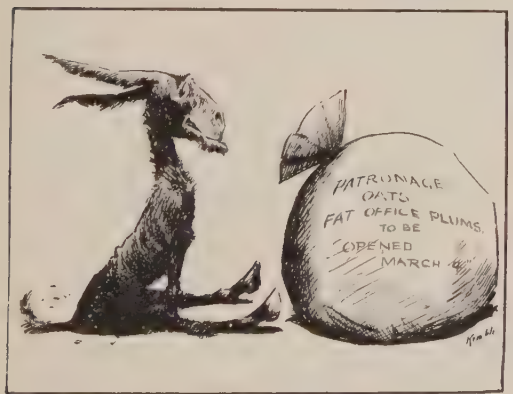
February 11.—Joseph J. Little, a prominent printer and former Representative from New York, 71. . . . Rosa Sarto, sister of Pope Pius X., 77.

February 12.—Charles Edward Johnson, R. I., the British landscape painter, 81.

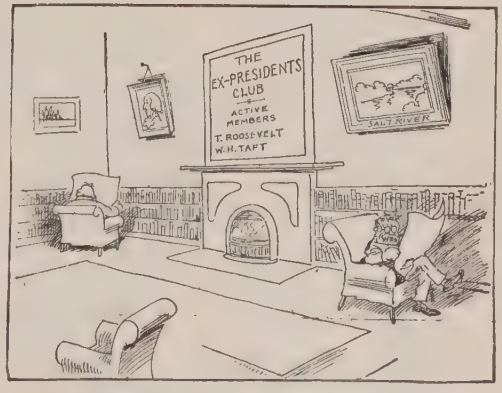
THE TURN OF THE ADMINISTRATION IN CARTOONS

"AN EVEN EXCHANGE IS NO ROBBERY!"

(President-elect Wilson came from the university into political life, and "Professor-elect" Taft leaves the White House to go to the university)
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis)



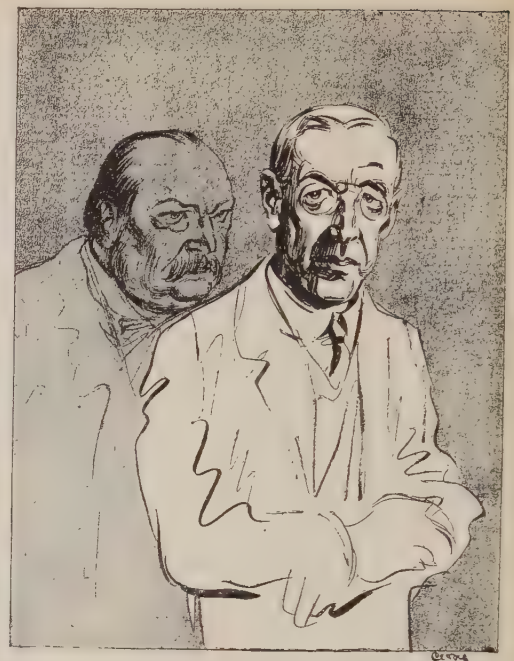
"MERCY ME; SEEMS AS IF I COULDN'T WAIT ANOTHER MINUTE"
From the *Sun* (New York)



WOULDN'T THIS "EX-PRESIDENTS' CLUB" BE A NICE, SOCIABLE ORGANIZATION?
From the *Evening Sun* (New York)

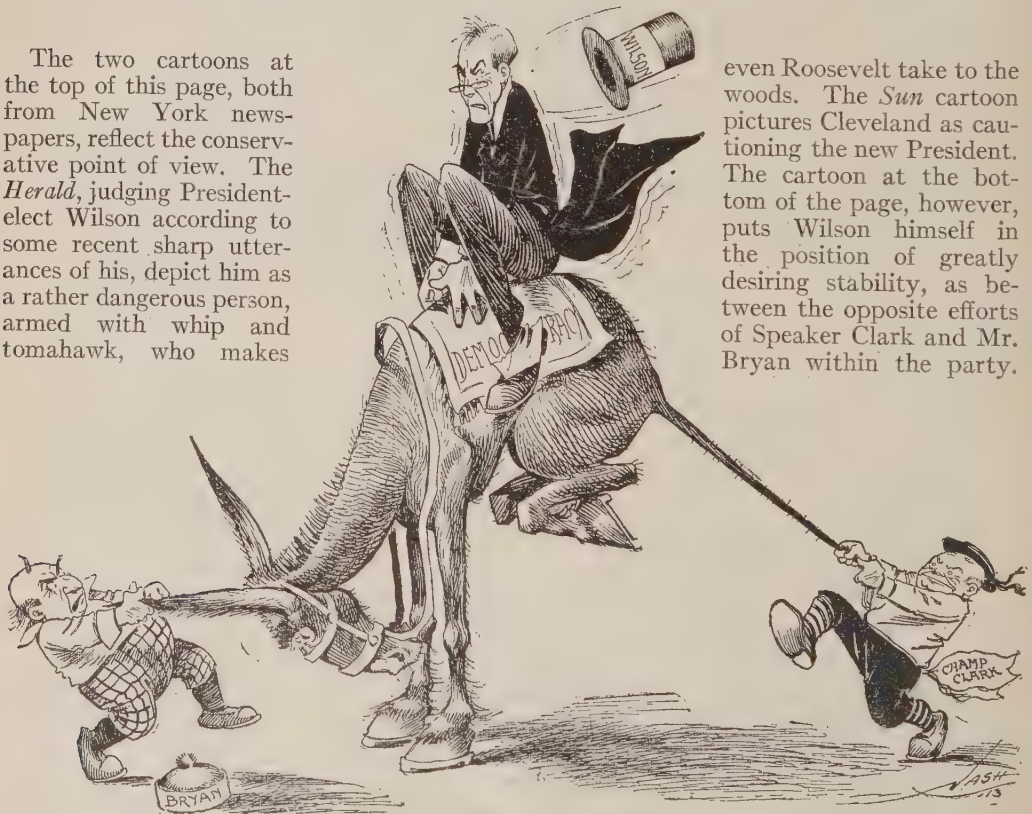
EXPECTED THIS
THIS MUST BE THE END OF THE LAW
I'D NO BUSINESS HAS
HANG 'EM AS HIGH AS HAMAN
I'VE BOY MY WAR PAINT ON
NO RADICALS CAN LIVE HERE
ANTI-TRUST CAUSES PANIC
TAFT JOHNSON MCKINLEY BOOT
THE BANKERS ARE CONVICTED
MCKINLEY

EVEN ROOSEVELT TAKES TO THE WOODS
From the *Herald* (New York)

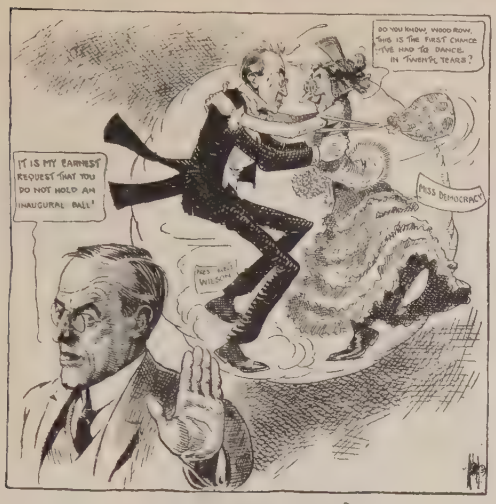


A WORD TO THE WISE!—1893-1913
From the *Sun* (New York)

The two cartoons at the top of this page, both from New York newspapers, reflect the conservative point of view. The *Herald*, judging President-elect Wilson according to some recent sharp utterances of his, depict him as a rather dangerous person, armed with whip and tomahawk, who makes even Roosevelt take to the woods. The *Sun* cartoon pictures Cleveland as cautioning the new President. The cartoon at the bottom of the page, however, puts Wilson himself in the position of greatly desiring stability, as between the opposite efforts of Speaker Clark and Mr. Bryan within the party.



STEADY, MAUD
From the *Journal* (Detroit, Michigan)


DO YOU KNOW, WOODROW, THIS IS THE FIRST CHANCE I'VE HAD TO DANCE IN TWENTY YEARS?
IT IS MY EARNEST REQUEST THAT YOU DO NOT HOLD AN INAUGURAL BALL!
MISS DEMOCRACY
MRS. WOODROW WILSON

CAN YOU BLAME HIM?
From the *Dispatch* (Columbus, Ohio)

ONE INAUGURAL "BAWL" THAT WILSON CAN'T STOP!
From the *Evening News* (Newark, N. J.)

The omission of the ball from the inaugural ceremonies, and the President-elect's secrecy regarding his cabinet appointments, were both popular topics with the cartoonists last month.

WHERE DO US WOMEN COME IN?
NO INAUGURAL BALL? THINK OF THE DRESSMAKERS!
WILSON
PRIDE OF WOODROW JANE, DON'T THIS SO MUCH! DISMAY

MR. WILSON CATCHING IT FROM ALL SIDES
From the *Gazette-Times* (Pittsburg)

"MY GOODNESS, WOOD[illegible], DON'T DESTROY ALL MY BRIC-A-BRAC!"
From the *Leader* (Cleveland)

"THROAT TROUBLE"
(President-elect Wilson has been so reticent regarding the announcing of his cabinet selections that it has been suggested something ails his throat!)
From the *Advertiser* (Montgomery, Alabama)

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UNCLE TRUSTY

"Well, Theodore, I'm afraid that new rule about Presidents puts your hopes on the slag-pile. Yep, you haven't any more chance of getting back in the White House than Doc Cook has of getting another medal from the Danish Scientific Society! But don't take it so hard! The other boys are all laughing at you! I can't bother with you just now, anyhow, I'm so interested in this new breed of squirrels I've got! They lay up a lot of nuts in this hollow tree and then I collect the nuts! Then they lay up some more nuts! The scientific name of this breed of squirrel is *squirrelibus chumpus!* They haven't any brains, but they're awfully industrious!"

From the *American* (New York)

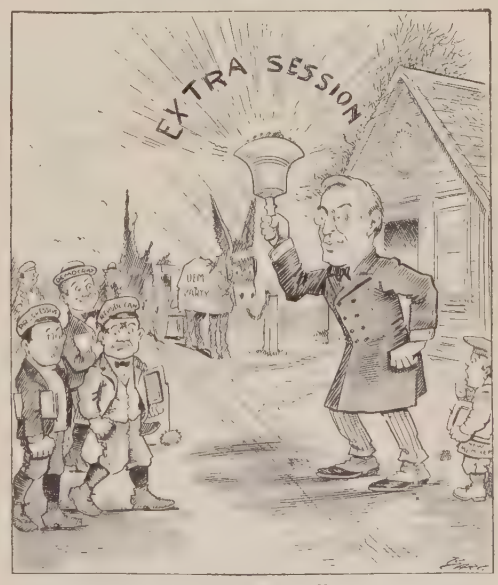
STOP IT, THIEF!
From the *Oregonian* (Portland)

CONGRESS IS SOMEWHAT BUSY THESE DAYS
From the *News-Tribune* (Duluth)

THE LITTLE DARLING'S CURLS
From the *Globe* (New York)

With the Democratic party coming into complete control of the administration, the long-delayed surgical operation on the tariff darling's curls will doubtless soon be begun.

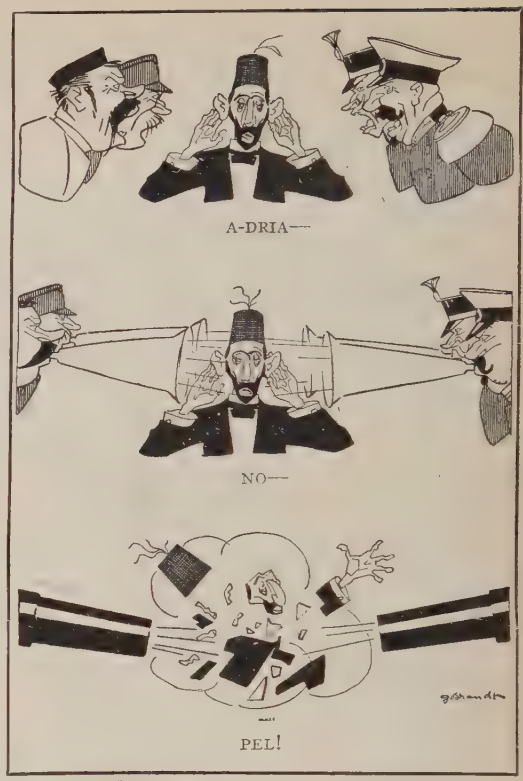
IN SAFE WATERS AT LAST
(The income-tax amendment having been ratified by three-fourths of the States will now become a part of the Constitution)
From the *Evening Sun* (Baltimore)



THE "EXTRA SESSION" CALL
President Wilson, as the schoolmaster, calling the boys into the Congressional school (apropos of the announcement of an extra session to begin probably this month)
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis)

JUST WHEN THE STATUE WAS COMPLETED!
From the *Dispatch* (Columbus, Ohio)

S-H-H-H SHUCKS!
From the *Evening News* (Newark, N. J.)



"The Gentleman Who was Hard of Hearing, or The Last Resort"

(Turkey would not listen to the Allies' demand for the surrender of Adrianople, so the conversation was continued with cannon—the war was resumed.) From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin)

"'AVE A 'EART!"
From the *Jersey Journal* (Jersey City)

APPLYING THE AX
From the *American* (Baltimore)

Photograph by Edwin E. Slosson. Copyright by The Independent

THE PHILOSOPHER BERGSON AND HIS WIFE ON THE PORCH OF THEIR SUMMER HOME AT ST. CERGUE, SWITZERLAND

HENRI BERGSON, SPIRITUAL PHILOSOPHER

IT is the supreme distinction of the philosophical attitude and the writings of Henri Bergson that he believes it possible "to make any and every philosophical idea clear and acceptable to the multitude." Professor Bergson, who is recognized as one of the great spiritual and intellectual leaders of the present day, and who is spoken of in the same class with Descartes, Kant, Hegel, Schopenhauer, Spencer and James, paid a visit to this country last month and delivered a series of lectures at Columbia, Princeton, and Harvard universities on the theories and methods of philosophy. Bergson is the philosopher of the will as "the complete master of intelligence and the creating factor of life." With a style lucid even for the beautiful French in which he writes, he is the author of a number of books, four of which have appeared in this country: "Time and Free Will," "Matter and Memory," "Creative Evolution," and "Laughter." Bergson emphasizes what he calls the "utilitarian character of our mental functions." He endeavors in all his writings to apply to philosophy the stern test of actual human experience. He is of mixed Polish and Jewish descent, but has lived in France for many years. He is Professor of Modern Philosophy in the ancient College of France, at Paris, and several years ago was elected member of the French Institute. His disciples are all over the world. We printed a critical sketch of Bergson by Edwin Björkman in this REVIEW for August, 1911.

Bergson's books published in this country are: "Time and Free Will," "Matter and Memory," "Laughter" (Macmillan); "Creative Evolution" (Holt).

LIVINGSTONE, "LIBERATOR OF AFRICA"

ON the 19th day of the present month, the entire English-speaking world will celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of David Livingstone. It has been truly said that this Scotch pioneer, traveler, missionary and nation-maker, was one of the few men of English speech whose names are literally imperishable. It was he who inspired the greatest chapter in the history of the dark continent. Undoubtedly the civilization of Africa in the western sense of the word, owes more to David Livingstone than to any other man.

Americans claim a larger share in him than any Europeans—except Englishmen. After Britain had sought in vain to find him buried deep in the wilds of Central Africa, it was Yankee persistence and energy that penetrated the dense jungle, and made possible that dramatic scene at Ujiji, on October 28, 1871, when Stanley, backed up by the Stars and Stripes, greeted the weary, heroic old missionary, in the brief but impressive phrase, "Dr. Livingstone, I presume!"

David Livingstone came of a sturdy, vigorous Scotch stock. Two of his uncles fought under Wellington in the Peninsular war against the French in Spain. The family was characterized by the hearty, combative vigor of the Scotch Highlander and covenanter. Born on March 19, 1813, the second son in that humble home, David was nurtured in the strict and narrow but lofty ethical influence of the Bible and "Pilgrim's Progress." The days of his boyhood were great ones for missions. All the land was full of the impulse of Christianity's response to the call of its head, "Go Ye Into All the World and Preach the Gospel to Every Creature." Young David had a good scientific education. At Glasgow, in 1837 he offered himself to the London Missionary Society for foreign service. In November, 1840, he was ordained in London and the next month sailed for Africa. He died in the jungle on May 1, 1873.

It is difficult to summarize Livingstone's achievements during the twenty-one years he spent in Africa before beginning his ever memorable journey to the coast, which ended in his death. He had penetrated farther into the interior than any other white man. He had discovered great lakes and rivers, and was the first white man to look down on the waters of the Zambesi as they fell over the cliff at the great Victoria Falls. It was he who named this magnificent cataract after the young English Queen. He had given Christianity a foothold among tribes which had never before heard its name. He had built houses and mission stations, laid out farms, introduced sanitation, made a grammar and dictionary of more than one native language, collected scientific data, exerted a powerful influence in the suppression of the slave trade and raised the tone of life of half a continent.

In a book entitled, "The Origin and History of Missions," published in 1837, Rev. Thomas Smith said:

> We close this account of South African Missions by stating from the report of 1830, that in southern Africa, there are fourteen stations and fifteen missionaries, under whose care are societies containing 528 members.

This was not long before Livingstone began his labors in 1841. In 1907, the date of the statistics compiled for the "World's Atlas of Christian Missions," there were fifty-two missionary societies at work in South Africa, having a total force of 1589 foreign missionaries, one hundred and six times as many as at the early date, with 8680 native workers, 610 principal stations, 4790 other stations, 322,673 communicants, 622,098 baptized Christians, and 1,145,326 total adherents.

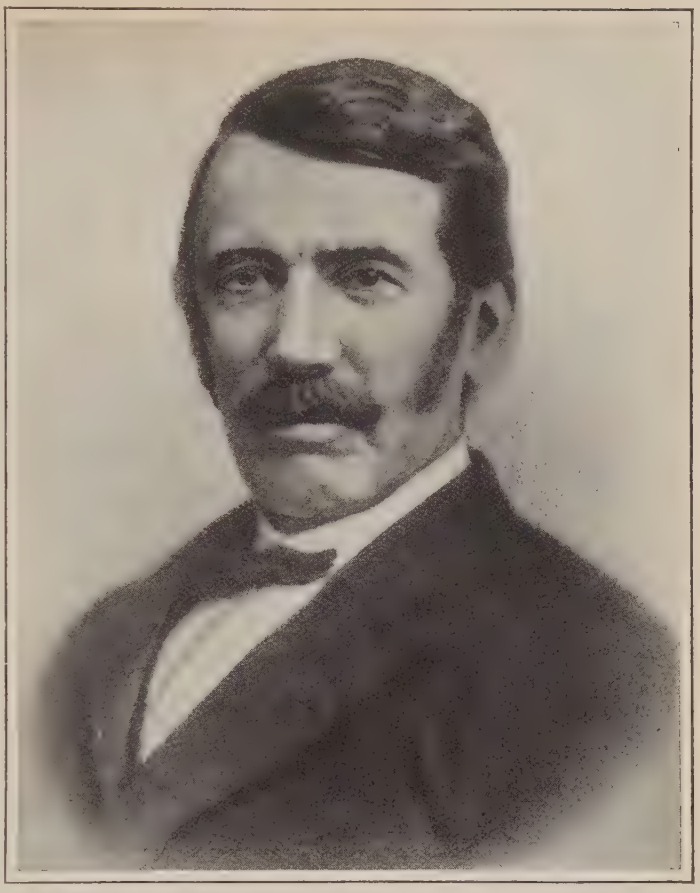
A useful summary of the life and work of Livingstone, by Nelson Bitton, recently published, says:

> Livingstone saw clearly that, in commerce righteously conducted and in Mission settlements, lay the solution of the slave trade and the hope of the African. In his early years on the continent he discovered Lake Ngami, opened the road from the Zambesi to Loanda, discovered the Victoria Falls, traced the Zambesi from West to East, and solved the problem of the configuration and nature of Central Africa generally. In addition he made known to science and commerce more concerning the nature of Central Africa and its products than any traveler who had gone before him. The second journey to Africa laid the foundation for Britain of the British Central African Empire. Sir Harry Johnstone says the whole of British Central Africa is "Livingstone's land." Had Livingstone's advice been followed German East Africa would have been British also. Lakes Shirwa and Nyassa were discovered then. . . .

The last journey was the most fruitful in discovery, for then Livingstone was in a land untraversed by white men, known only to the natives and the Arab slave traders. Four great lakes and a mighty river were announced to the world—Tanganyika, Bangweolo, Moero, in addition to Nyassa, and the River Lualaba, which Livingstone fondly but mistakenly hoped might prove to be the upper stream of the Nile.

Livingstone's account of the fearful inhumanities of Africa drew the attention of the Christian world to them and centered the thought of the Church of Christ upon Africa's deep need. African missions in Europe and America came into being.

The revelations of European complicity in the slave trade in Africa turned the thought of diplomacy towards its solution. The publicity which attended Livingstone's campaign against slavery and the suffering it entailed upon him, and also the circumstances of his death forced Europe into action, led by Great Britain. . . . The abolition of African slavery is justly regarded as Livingstone's greatest and most enduring monument. . . . His insistence upon the essentially good nature and high capacity of the free African brought about a new attitude towards the African problem on its personal side. . . . He opened the road to commerce. He announced the wealth of interior Africa, was the first Britisher to cross Northern Rhodesia, located the cotton and maize-growing regions, and discovered the healthy highlands of Central Africa. He urged colonization, and through him the African Lakes Corporation and other industrial enterprises ventured into African commerce.



Copyright 1913, by the Missionary Education Movement

DAVID LIVINGSTONE

It was the discoveries of Livingstone that drew the attention of the British Government to the possibilities of Central Africa. He shattered the claim of the Portuguese to Central African territory by proving that they had never surveyed or even visited it. Every year that passes proves the wisdom of the advocacy of Livingstone for parts of Central Africa as a white man's land. . . .

When Livingstone started to cross the Kalahari desert in 1849 the whole of Central Africa was unknown land. It was commonly conjectured to be in the nature of a vast desert. Livingstone broke through the ignorant conjecture of his day and proved Central Africa to be a fertile land of mighty forests and magnificent streams. He inaugurated a wonderful period of African travel and discovery, and was the first of a noble band of explorers who have mapped Africa from West to East and from South to North. Where Livingstone traveled it was always safe for a white man to follow. His pacific mission, his Christian behavior and just dealing gained for all his people a kindly welcome. He showed the way to a right and successful method of travel, one dependent upon the fair and kind treatment of his own followers and of the peoples through whose land he passed. Africa is Livingstone's land because he first wrung from it its mighty secrets and made an open way for those who followed in his steps.

A spirited sympathetic life of Livingstone,[1] by Rev. C. Sylvester Horne, a member of the British parliament, has recently been published. Dr. Horne closes his volume by insisting that, while in the common acceptance of the term Livingstone was not a man of genius, that he was not brilliant nor strikingly original, yet

> If human greatness consists not in any natural endowment alone . . . but rather in all the powers and faculties of a man's nature brought into subjection to one supreme disinterested ambition for the glory of God and the good of man, then few greater men have ever walked this earth than David Livingstone.

[1] David Livingstone, by C. Sylvester Horne, MacMillan Company, 242 pp., ill. 50 cents.

CYRIL G. HOPKINS, SOIL BUILDER

A MAN who has worked out something of value to humanity can throw it against life to find its place or not according to the friends it makes. Or he himself can fit it into life—if he has sufficient courage. The latter course Dr. Cyril George Hopkins, soil-chemist, has taken. Special needs search out special men and it is time that the soil needs of this country were finding their men; men who, like Dr. Hopkins, attach themselves with passion to the work they have chosen until it comes to seem that the work has chosen them. Why?

Twelve thousand abandoned farms in the State of New York alone show what happens when the art of agriculture is practiced without knowledge of the science of agriculture. The South is poor with lands that are awaiting the application of science to become rich. The fertile soil of the Corn-Belt is, after sixty years of cultivation, showing signs of depletion. Farming in this country has been mere soil-snatching, forcing everything out of the soil and putting nothing back in. The population of this country is increasing, the West is shrinking. These are the facts that led Dr. Hopkins to take his knowledge of chemistry from the university out upon the land. He could have sent out his truths from his university chair, but he knew that nothing helps to create a demand for the seeds of truth like seeing a few of its fruits.

It wasn't always easy to get a farmer to listen—father's way was good enough. But the Doctor knows his power. He made local conditions yield their last secret before he began and he was sure of his results. Gathering in eighty-seven bushels of corn per acre is a powerful persuader to the man across the road who, farming in father's way, gets thirty-six. Farmers who have begun by sneering have ended by cheering.

The promulgation of soil salvation is with Dr. Hopkins a public duty and he is a citizen who puts public service above all consideration of personal convenience or welfare. He brings a priestly spirit and a soldier's courage to his work. He will not betray it in the smallest particular—he would go to the stake rather than vary one iota from the essential truth.

The fruits of his experimentation he has not been willing to take to the farmers only. Let me quote from an address given in 1910 before the Annual Convention of the Bankers Association of Illinois:

> It is not only appropriate but imperative that we honestly face the facts and seriously consider the gravest situation that has ever confronted this great nation. The problem which now confronts America is nothing less than the maintenance of our own prosperity and civilization; for civilization depends upon education and only a prosperous nation can afford the general education or trained intelligence of its people. Poverty is at once helpless, and soon ignorant and indolent. An impoverished people cannot have adequate schools or schooling. Thus in India there is but one school for five villages, as an average, and ninety per cent. of the men and ninety-nine per cent. of the women in that great Aryan country can neither read nor write. . . .
>
> The American farmer has learned well the art of agriculture in the hard school of experience, but the science of agriculture is almost unknown to him, and unknown not only to the farmers and landowners, but also unknown to the local public officials, unknown to the teachers of the common schools, and unknown to the preachers, to the merchants, to the grain-dealers, and to the average banker. All these people must learn the science of agriculture in order to exert an influence which they must soon exert upon the practice of agriculture, if systems of positive soil improvement are to be generally adopted in this country before it is forever too late.
>
> Every banker's farm, at least, should be a model of far reaching effect. It need not represent more work or more immediate profit than at present, but should represent more thought for the future; and this thought is to be given not only for the direct benefit of agriculture, but indirectly for the lasting benefit of every industry and every business. The bankers have more influence with the farmers than any other class of men.

Now such enthusiasm and devotion rest, in the case of Dr. Hopkins, upon the most exact knowledge. As a scientist he is painstaking and thorough. A failure to carry duplicate analyses could not happen in his laboratory, a mistake in figures would cause him to consult an alienist. This trait of thoroughness characterizes whatever engages his hand or brain. There is no slipshod worry to turn off drudgery. The power of his own enthusiasm and exactness has attracted to him men of enthusiasm and exactness. His department is notably strong and forceful, and, with its scientific finger always in the farmer's pie, in no danger of becoming academic. Petty theories have no chance with these men unless they can stand the test of hard experience. Crop rotation was at one time widely heralded as the cure

DR. CYRIL G. HOPKINS, OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS, WHO IS BRINGING TO THE FARMERS OF HIS STATE THE GOSPEL OF SOIL SALVATION

for all ills of the soil. Dr. Hopkins remarked that rotating the crops had the same effect upon the plant-food fund in the soil that rotating the check-book among the members of the family has upon the money fund in the bank. Commercial fertilizers the Doctor is putting where they will have to tell the truth about themselves, and the light of that truth will not be put under a bushel, you may be sure. Of one ingredient, nitrogen, found in the commercial fertilizers, the Doctor pertinently asks: "Why buy nitrogen at from fifteen to fifty cents a pound in commercial fertilizers when the air above every acre contains seventy million pounds of free nitrogen which clover, soy beans, or any leguminous crop can draw from to imprison in the soil?"

What does the giving over of a forceful life to work of this sort mean? It means

just this—that all life is lifted up a notch. Science in the power of a man of high imagination, strong practical grip, and stern truth is a tool which helps in the realization of what life is meant to be. Specious shams and fair sounding pretension have no place in its company.

If ever you meet Dr. Hopkins you will realize that he knows what he knows and you will know he knows it too. Also you will enjoy him. He is red-blooded, genial, a citizen, no recluse, religious, of course, for he is truly big, very human. He has that humility before which inspiration and truth reveal themselves. He takes his four year old boy with him on long trips because he likes his company. It is a measure of the significance of his vision that his mind pondering deep problems can meet with the mind of a child.

Dr. Hopkins has lived most of his life in the Middle West. He was born in 1866 in Minnesota. He received the B. S. degree from the Agricultural College of South Dakota, the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from Cornell University. He has studied abroad. He knows the agricultural practice of European countries and how far it can be used to advantage upon our own soils. I have said he is very human; so you know he is married. He has two boys. He has invented Hopkins Condenser and Hopkins Safety Distilling Tube. He is the author of many books and pamphlets upon the soil. He has taught in the South Dakota Agricultural College and in Cornell University. He came to the University of Illinois in 1894 as chemist and Vice-Director of the Agricultural Experiment Station and Professor of Agronomy. He is of the stuff that dreams and then forces those dreams out of the realm of vision into the realm of reality.

ILLINOIS WORKING FOR PERMANENCY IN AGRICULTURE

BY B. E. POWELL

OVER night, almost, farmers are organizing in Illinois; not small groups of farmers, but whole counties of them. The distinctive quality of their movement, which is called the "Illinois Movement" for permanent agriculture, is that the crop yield of the soil is to be doubled, not for our day alone but for posterity also.

The movement had its source in the Illinois Agricultural Experiment Station, whose teachings were taken up and disseminated by the farmers through their organization, the Illinois State Farmers' Institute. The newspapers double-head it, bankers and business men are organizing to help it along—not with sisterly sympathy, but with the cold, hard coin that represents their own sweat. Could better proof be offered of their faith in this movement, which promises—what? No less than to put new vitals into the insides of the earth. "Production with permanency" is the motto: and the Farmers' Institute, which comprises the more astute of the farmers of the State, has placed itself on record in no uncertain way as unalterably opposed to all methods of increasing crop production which do not include permanency.

These progressive farmers of Illinois have not taken this advanced position without good and sufficient reasons. They take full credit for fostering the investigations and experiments that have demonstrated, beyond question, that it is not only possible but profitable to farm in such a way that the soil grows richer rather than poorer from year to year. They take credit, too, for creating the sentiment which provides the funds that are making possible the detailed soil survey which informs every farmer as to the contents of his soil, so that he may intelligently supply the elements that are lacking.

WHAT TO DO WITH NORMAL SOILS

As defined, the "Illinois System" then is to:

1. Know the composition of the soil.
2. Supply the elements of plant food needed in larger quantities than they are removed by crops.
3. Make the mineral elements available for plant food through the application of limestone, the growing of legumes, and returning the residues to the land.
4. Take advantage of every opportunity to fill the soil with active organic matter.

AN EXPERIMENTAL FIELD OF CORN IN ILLINOIS

(Plot on left had lime and phosphorous; yield, 4.6 bu. per acre. Plot on right had lime and potassium; yield, 72.2 bu. per acre. Potassium made the difference between almost *no* crop and a *good* crop)

5. Put in systems of drainage that will take away quickly the surplus water which dilutes the plant-food solution, retards cultivation, and allows noxious weeds and grasses to usurp the nutrition the crops should have.

6. Encourage the breeding and the feeding of live stock, to practice a well balanced agriculture, and to introduce a thorough, comprehensive system of crop rotation, including systematic addition of plant-food elements.

7. And last, but by no means least, encourage the "New Country Life," propagate the "New Farmer"; relegate the old dreary drudgery, build modern sanitary homes and barns, and teach the children the importance, the dignity, the happiness, and the independence of farm life, and that it is their duty to themselves and to posterity to practice the "Illinois System" of permanent agriculture.

ACTUAL RESULTS OF SOIL TREATMENT

The men of the Experiment Station and the farmers' organization do not base their conclusions upon individual instances alone—though they are numerous—but upon figures that include the whole State and cover a long period of time. Notice, then:

The crop statistics reported by the federal government and confirmed by the independent statistics of the Illinois State Board of Agriculture show that the last ten-year average yield of corn for the State of Illinois is six bushels higher than for the twenty-five-year period preceding (before the teachings of the Experiment Station had begun to exert an influence upon the agricultural practice of the State). A similar comparison reveals a three-bushel increase per acre in the wheat yield. This increase, in the case of corn, is very striking when one compares it with the statistics for other corn States in the neighborhood—Illinois' increase is from four to five times as great, according to federal statistics for the same periods.

Expressed in cash, these increases mean that owing to the teachings of the Experiment Station twenty million dollars clinked their welcome way into the pockets of the farmers. Pretty good, isn't it? If half a dozen men had made the twenty million by skillfully advertising some luxury it would be worthy of wide attention—good business, in short. But it isn't so spectacular when it is scattered widely among the farmers of the State, represented here by a college course for the son; there by a vacuum-cleaner and washing-machine for the wife; again by a new circular dairy barn; and everywhere and always by the "honk-honk" of the automobile that in these days follows the heels of prosperity. Well, it may not be spectacular, but it is soberly and sanely comfortable. And the ordinary citizen about his ordinary work is noticing the connection between soil salvation and crop production. Said the station agent at Tampico, Illinois: "For every car of potassium salts shipped into

A SEED-CORN DEMONSTRATION
(The difference between poor seed and good seed is readily seen in the above picture)

this station, eighty cars of corn are shipped out."

Here is the testimony of L. Klaas, of De Kalb County, Illinois, one of the first farmers to make use of the system:

I have been accused of being a nose-in-the-book farmer. Well, perhaps I do prefer to have my nose in a book rather than on the grindstone. It hasn't been a bad idea either that when I took my nose out of the book I let my hands follow what my nose had smelled out. For instance, when I read that potash was good for peaty soils I took it as a personal message. The result is that my land, which seven years ago did not yield me a crop of fodder, now gives me from eighty to one hundred bushels of corn for every acre. The answer to my problem was, "I find the potash." My land had everything in it to give me a good crop, but without the potash it was like a pantry with the door locked. Potash at the rate of 400 pounds to the acre is making rankest alkali soil yield enormously. My first purchase was a sack of 200 pounds. The next year I got a ton and last year three tons. And my nose isn't out of the book yet, but it is permanently off the grindstone.

This movement began, as I have said, with the Agricultural Experiment Station. From it was sent out a tap root that has gripped the agricultural experience of the whole State until now great corporations, including business firms and railroads centering in the State, are donating vast sums for agricultural improvement; several counties already have soil experts whose duty it is to act as consulting agriculturists to the farmers of their county, and six or seven other counties are organized, or partly so, and are making plans to get a soil expert. Bankers, perhaps remembering the abandoned farms of their boyhood in the East, are especially active in pushing the movement. The Illinois Bankers' Association, earnestly believing in the soil doctrines of Dr. Hopkins, entered upon an active and forceful campaign to better the agriculture of the State. In the process of carrying on this project it has entered with enthusiasm into the fields of vocational education and legislation. Another result of these teachings for the preservation of the soil was the organization of the National Soil Fertility League, with headquarters in Illinois. Its ambition is to carry these same teachings to the whole country. Newspaper and professional men are "boosting"; even the ministers are preaching soil salvation and find it cures the sore corns which kept the men from church.

Whence came this movement? From test tubes, pot cultures, and possibly a green house? No, they were only allowed to help. It hatched out of the soil itself, an earth grub that science fitted with wings. Delving into earth problems the men of the Experiment Station found that farming as practiced in America was not farming at all; it was mining—gutting out of the bowels of the earth the nourishment intended for generations. Dr. Cyril G. Hopkins, at present prominently mentioned as the future United States Secretary of Agriculture, is the chief expounder of the doctrines of soil salvation. He has found that permanent agriculture upon normal soils requires the addition of but three elements: limestone, phosphorus, and plenty of decaying nitrogenous organic matter.

We could tell you the results obtained upon the university plats. Some of these agricultural plats upon the campus in Urbana were established in 1878—the oldest agricultural plats in this country. There are also more than thirty experiment fields in different parts of the State, twenty of them comprising

CLOVER ON FAIRFIELD EXPERIMENT FIELD, 1910

(The first crop, shown in photograph, made 3-5 ton of foul grass with but little clover where manure alone was used, and 2 2-3 tons of clean clover hay where the same amount of manure was used with limestone and phosphate)

about 700 acres that have been deeded outright to the university by interested parties. We could tell you of the crop yields upon them, but instead let us look at the results obtained by ordinary farmers who have profited by them.

Frank I. Mann is a farmer who lives near Gilman, Ill. His soil required for permanent production the addition of phosphorus and decaying nitrogenous organic matter. The former he supplied in the form of finely ground raw rock phosphate, the latter by including clover in a four-year crop rotation. The following table speaks for the results:

Two-Year Rotation Corn and Oats	Four-Year Rotation Corn, Oats and Clover	Same Rotation and 1,000 pounds per acre Phosphate applied once in four years
Corn, 34 bu.	54 bu.	70 bu.
Oats, 32 bu.	44 bu.	70 bu.
	Clover, 1½ tons	2½ tons

The cost of the rock phosphate amounted to only one dollar per acre per year. Surely this was a case where brain farming *in* yielded better than brawn farming *out*. The application of raw rock phosphate was assured. Some have used the raw rock phosphate without plenty of decaying organic matter and the rock has lain sulkily in the earth and achieved for itself a bad reputation. It is as reasonable as to blame a beggar for starving with plenty of meat and bread in the restaurant window. But if the connection was not made between the food and the beggar's feeding apparatus, what could he do? Likewise if the connection is not made between the plant food and the plant's feeding gear how can it be nourished?

As for limestone, which corrects soil acidity, thousands of farmers in Illinois are now using it, although in 1905 scarcely a ton was used in the State. Indeed, in 1910 the Southern Illinois Penitentiary shipped out over 14,000 tons and it was only one of twenty sources of supply. Its use, demonstrated upon the university fields, has convinced the most skeptical until now it has entered into quite general farm practice.

This use of limestone has done much to make the raising of alfalfa possible, as legumes will not grow upon acid soils. Another factor that has made for alfalfa pro-

duction is Dr. Hopkins' discovery that the nitrogen-gathering bacteria upon the roots of sweet clover, which grows so plentifully along the road sides, will gather nitrogen also for alfalfa; therefore, soil inoculated with soil from a sweet-clover patch will grow alfalfa. Armed with these facts the Alfalfa Growers' Association, of which A. P. Grout of Winchester is president, is gaining enthusiastic adherents every year.

So far the movement for better agriculture in Illinois has kept close to the source of inspiration—the Agricultural Experiment Station. The soil experts are soil experts and not rich men's family Jonahs seeking jobs. The object is permanent agriculture, not the stimulation of the soil to a fury of crop production that must after a few years leave it flabby and barren. The movement is very significant in that it means the conservation of the normal. Hitherto what has soil conservation meant? Why, the reclamation of the comparatively few acres that must have irrigation in order to produce. Millions of dollars have been spent—and wisely—upon them, but should we therefore neglect the soils that are normal? We educate the deaf and the feeble-minded, but do we then consider our duty done and let the normal children grow up without education? Would not this be analogous to the way we have treated our greatest means of life, the soil?

Under Dr. Hopkins' direction the Experiment Station is at present engaged upon a most important piece of work. This is a soil survey of the entire State. Already half the counties have been so surveyed. When it is finished any farmer, from the soil reports that the station publishes, can find without delay the needs of his particular soil. Thus it can be seen that the work of the station having been kept closely related to the farmer on the land has not become in any sense merely academic. Experimentation not only with soil but with seed is carried on constantly, but always with a practical end in view. The accompanying illustrations show that the seed is an important factor and is not to be neglected or forgotten. The branched ear of corn, a new species just discovered at the station, may easily prove of great practical value. Dr. Hopkins has succeeded in changing the chemical composition of corn so that a high-oil content or a low-oil content can be commanded. Curiously, too, the station has been able by selection to place the ear of corn high or low upon the stalk and to determine the angle at which it shall hang. Mother Nature is willing to do many things if science is set to woo her. And the practical man has need of these things.

BRANCH CORN (ZEA RAMOSA)

(This is a photograph of the parent ear of a new species of corn, found recently at the Illinois Station. Later ears are larger and better than this one. As seen from the illustration it has kernels all through the ear. One advantage claimed is that it will not be necessary to grind or chop it when fed to animals)

THE HALVES OF THE PARENT EAR OF BRANCH CORN, SHOWING THE PITHY CENTER

(This new species is not a mere freak ear. It reproduces its form continually and faithfully in the progeny when kept free from mixture with other varieties)

MANAGER JAMES A. BARR OF THE PANAMA EXPOSITION CONVENTIONS BUREAU

EDUCATION: A KEYNOTE OF THE PANAMA PACIFIC EXPOSITION

ONE of the most distinctive features of the Panama Pacific International Exposition, which is to be held at San Francisco in 1915, to commemorate the opening of the Panama Canal, is the attention which will be given to educational methods and ideas. James A. Barr, of San Francisco, secretary of the California Teachers' Association, and manager of the *Sierra Educational News*, has been appointed manager of the Bureau of Conventions and Societies of the Exposition. Mr. Barr is best known to the educational world through his work in Stockton, where he was Superintendent of Schools for twenty years, and where he made a national reputation. His educational methods are described in a book, published some years ago, entitled "The Stockton Methods." Mr. Barr is now planning for an International Congress of Education at the Exposition, and his bureau is already in touch with more than three hundred American learned societies and many abroad. It is planned to hold most of the sessions of the educational conference at the University of California and Stanford University, and Dr. Benjamin Ide Wheeler and Dr. David Starr Jordan, presidents of these institutions, have promised to coöperate.

ON A COUNTRY ROAD

THE MOTOR CAR AND ITS OWNER TO-DAY

BY ALBERT L. CLOUGH

THE American automobile industry is the young giant of the industrial world and is to-day bigger and stronger than any other machine-producing business. It was only in 1893 that the industry entered upon its serious experimental stage in this country and not until 1899 that it assumed anything like a commercial status. At the utmost it is only fourteen years old, but in the value of its product and the number of men engaged therein it has outstripped all the old established machinery industries. In 1902 there were about 9000 automobiles produced, while in 1912 the product was about 250,000 cars and thus the annual rate of production has increased nearly twenty-eight times in ten years. If the average rate of increase should continue, the 1913 production is likely to reach or even exceed 275,000 cars. The above figures are rather conservative than otherwise, and this year's production may greatly exceed the estimate above given.

Ten years ago the United States was importing cars in large numbers, while to-day it is the largest automobile exporting nation in the world, thanks to the American system of interchangeable parts, large scale production, and advanced factory organization methods.

From the ugly appearing, hideously noisy, unreliable, underpowered horseless carriage of ten years ago has developed the graceful, noiseless, dependable car of to-day.

SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE

More noteworthy perhaps than the astounding growth of the automobile industry is the social change wrought by the advent of the self-propelled vehicle. Perhaps the most important influence of the automobile is toward the rehabilitation of the public high-

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FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY, AS IT APPEARS TO-DAY

(The horse-drawn vehicle is now the exception; ten years ago the reverse was true)

ways as a transportation factor. Neglected during the period of the monopolization of long-distance travel by the railroads, they are now being improved and becoming real arteries of travel, as indeed they were up to the end of the first decade of the nineteenth Century. Hotels located upon the highways and remote from railway stations, which have languished during the period of railroad travel, have sprung into an undreamed of prosperity and have taken the places of the inns of coaching days, but with garage and gasoline facilities instead of stables.

A return to the country and to country life has been the dream of the sociologist and the automobile has proved the instrument by means of which this is being realized. No one can estimate its influence upon health in luring people out of doors and in abolishing the filthy, fly-breeding stable.

A new era in social intercourse has been opened by the general introduction of the automobile, so that friends and relatives hitherto separated by a tedious railway journey are now brought together by an exhilarating spin over the road, with the result that meetings are numerous and family and friendly calls, which were formerly a rare incident, are now, thanks to the automobile of very frequent occurrence. People are beginning to appreciate the beauty of the home land and to learn its local geography through traversing it by highway instead of by rail. The owner of an automobile may truthfully say, "The world is mine;" for his car will carry him unfalteringly anywhere upon the earth where there are roads suited to ordinary travel. It will transport him from his door to the exact spot he wishes to reach, by the shortest route or any route he desires to take and, for all ordinary distances, more quickly than any other means of transportation. Moreover, it is available at any moment of the day or night. Until recently the motor car was regarded as a "fair weather" vehicle to be used in the summer and to be "jacked up" during the inclement season, but this is all a thing of the past, so that now, in many parts of the United States, in city and country alike, it is usable the year round, and in all parts of the country its use is entirely practical in cities.

MOTOR CAR VERSUS HORSE

It may unhesitatingly be stated that the use of a well-adapted motor car is cheaper than that of a horse-drawn vehicle if the user's time is valuable. The nearly universal discarding of the horse and the adoption of the automobile by physicians, who practice in districts where road conditions are fairly

favorable, is the best proof of the above assertion. These doctors are practical men and act upon economic and not upon sentimental considerations. In every application of the automobile for business or pleasure where time or convenience can be assigned a money value, a well chosen motor car proves economically superior to the horse.

A motor car can obviously render any service which the horse or the trolley can give and it is almost literally true that it can perform any service which local railroad facilities can render, and can do this at any time of the day and, practically speaking, on any day of the year.

SELECTING A CAR

There are about 1000 different models of motor cars built in this country this season and the selection of the one best adapted to the needs of an individual purchaser is a complicated and perplexing problem, for the average customer is restricted in his initial expenditure and must, moreover, consider questions of economy in operation and upkeep, the length of time during which the car he buys is likely to remain in serviceable condition, and the price he can probably obtain when he wishes to dispose of it.

Not many years ago there was a considerable element of risk in selecting a car, but now this is virtually eliminated and it may truthfully be said that, if the purchaser considers only makes of cars which have been sold in considerable numbers for a season or more, he incurs no danger of acquiring an unserviceable, undependable car or one unduly expensive to keep in repair. The chief element of risk in buying a car is that the purchaser may not duly consider his own requirements and thus the most important precaution to be taken by the intending motorist is to "be sure that he knows his own mind," that he has decided what type of car he requires and that he knows what he ought to pay for it. The mechanical end of the problem is pretty well taken care of by the manufacturer.

THE COST OF OWNING AND OPERATING

The principal items of expense entailed in the ownership and operation of an automobile may be grouped under two heads,—the fixed charge and the operative cost. The former can be pretty accurately predicted, while the latter can only be roughly approximated in advance. Under "fixed charges" the principal items are: Depreciation, interest upon the investment, taxes, fire and liability insurance, registration and licenses, storage, and chauffeur's salary and expenses. Under "operative costs," it is necessary to take into account such items as the following: Tires, labor expended in adjustments, overhauling and the fitting of new parts, gasoline, grease and oil, replacements, washing and polishing, and painting and varnishing.

Considering the items of the fixed charges depreciation will first be discussed. This may be viewed from two standpoints, namely, the reduction in salable value which time inflicts upon a car and the reduction in service value to the original owner. An example will serve to illustrate each. A person buys a car for $2000, uses it three years, and sells it for $800 and has therefore parted with $1200 of his capital in three years, or $400 in each year he has owned his car. The rate of depreciation is thus 20 per cent. per year, which is a commonly accepted figure. Again, a car is bought for $2000 and is used for ten years, when it becomes so antique and so expensive to keep in running order that the owner ceases using it and is able to realize nothing upon it. The annual depreciation upon it is thus $200, or 10 per cent. Obviously, the longer one keeps a car in service the less is the annual depreciation. Depreciation in salable value takes place almost irrespective of whether a car is used or not, and thus the more constantly a car is used the less prominently the depreciation item figures in the total expense. Depreciation in service value depends more largely upon the extent to which a car is actually used. Fortunately, depreciation is becoming a less serious factor in the total, because, on account of better standardization and superior construction, cars may satisfactorily be used for longer continuous periods of time than formerly.

It is readily apparent that when one buys an automobile an amount of money is invested in it which could otherwise be so invested as to yield an income and thus there is to be included the yearly interest upon the purchase price of the car. As to the insurance item, if one cares to run the risk of serious financial loss due to fire or liability, the cost of these two classes of insurance, the rates for which are readily obtainable, need not be included in the fixed charges. The amount of the registration and license fees for any horsepower in any particular locality are readily ascertainable.

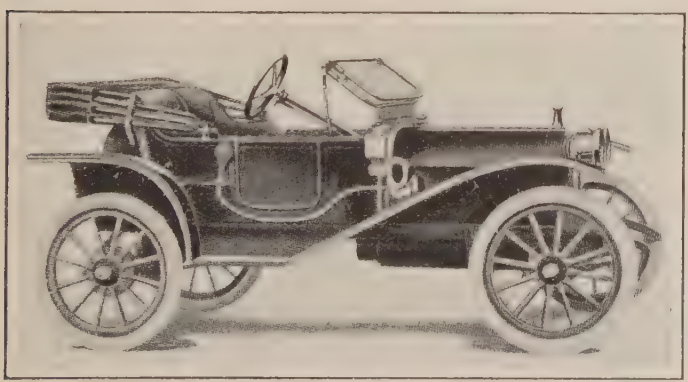
Considering now the operative cost, it may be repeated that this is, in a large degree,

under the control of the user. If he uses his car but little his operating expense will be low, while if he runs it constantly it will be correspondingly high. If he runs it recklessly and gives it imperfect care his running expense per mile will be very large, but if he operates carefully and gives his car the intelligent attention that it requires his mileage expense will be low. Take the matter of tires, for instance. A hard driver who is unwilling to spare his tires needless strains or to repair damages to them as they occur may not secure an average service of more than 3500 miles from each, while a very considerate driver, who is willing to use care as to inflation and to make minor repairs just as soon as they are required, may average nearly 10,000 miles under the most favorable circumstances. The heavier, more powerful, and speedier a car is, the larger the tires which are supplied with it, and the tire equipment of all cars is supposed to be so chosen that nearly the same mileage should be obtainable from each set of tires, irrespective of the weight and horsepower of the car upon which they are used.

THIS 28-HORSEPOWER TOURING CAR IS PRICED AT $1050. IT IS CONSIDERED A VERY GOOD HILL-CLIMBER

The outlay for labor expended in making adjustments, in oiling, and in the fitting of new parts, may vary from nothing at all to a very considerable sum. If the owner is a practical man who has a little spare time at his command nothing need be spent for this kind of service. As to overhauling, it is a fact that the average user throws away considerable money annually for having this work done. Instead of having a general overhauling performed, the owner should, by the exercise of a little thought and observation, determine in what exact particulars his car is operating defectively and the causes thereof and have these defects corrected, but it is essential, at the end of each average season's use, if not oftener, to overhaul the engine to the extent of cleaning its internal parts of all carbonized gasoline and oil and perhaps of adjusting the bearings and the valve mechanism as well as grinding the valves to a condition of tightness.

The expenditure for gasoline in the case of any particular car increases almost directly with the mileage which it covers and is thus under the control of the user. Even at the present high price, the fuel cost is not so important an element in the total as it is generally supposed to be, being very considerably smaller than the tire expense, perhaps not much more than one-half as great. The smaller the cylinder bore of a motor the less gasoline it uses in driving its car a given distance and a six cylinder motor of a certain horsepower consumes more fuel than does a four cylinder motor of the same horsepower. It is also pretty well conceded that a long-stroke motor is more economical of fuel than a short-stroke motor. Naturally, the heavier the car the more gasoline is required to move it a certain distance, assuming motors of equal fuel



A FULLY-EQUIPPED 20-HORSEPOWER RUNABOUT WHICH SELLS FOR $750 (SEE PAGE 315)

efficiency in making the comparisons. The character of the carburetor used upon a particular car, and the perfection of its adjustment, are nearly as important practical considerations as the size and character of the motor itself, and are somewhat under the control of the owner.

It is within the power of every user to reduce his gasoline consumption to the minimum which his car is capable of, by keeping his carburetor in its best possible adjustment, his engine in good condition, and the whole car well lubricated.

The oil and grease item is, roughly speaking, about one-quarter that of gasoline.

REPAIRS NO LONGER A BIG ITEM

In the matter of replacements or repair parts, the modern car is unjustly suffering from "its previous bad reputation." There was a time when repairs were a staggering item in the motorist's budget, but fortunately that time has gone by. However, the tradition still lingers and applies to the highly perfected car of to-day which, when rightly used, generally requires no repairs of any importance until after it has traveled a distance expressible in tens of thousands of miles. The repair and replacement cost is, more than almost any other item, "up to" the owner, because all modern cars of mature design, whether large or small, are capable of operation without requiring replacements until after long service.

Careful lubrication is altogether the most important point bearing upon the repair and replacement item. How important it is people rarely seem able to realize until they have had personal experience. If automobile users ever formulate a creed, the first article in it should be, "I will at all times keep my car perfectly lubricated."

A car must be washed and polished at frequent intervals, if it is to be kept in a presentable condition and, if this is done at a garage, it will cost one dollar or more each time, but here again the matter is largely in the owner's hands, for the owner's man-of-all-work can be taught to do the washing and the expense held down to next to nothing.

It is good economy to varnish a car and to touch up the running gear each year, as it protects the paint and obviates the necessity of having a complete painting job done. The expense varies from $15 upward for touring cars, dependent upon the size of the car and the character of the work.

CLASSIFICATION BY PRICE

To facilitate the consideration of the buyer's problem, the various models upon the market have been divided into seven arbitrary groups based upon their selling prices, as follows: Cars sold at less than $1000; those selling at prices ranging from $1000 up to, but not including, $1500; from $1500 up to, but not including, $2000; from $2000 up to, but not including, $2500; from $2500 up to, but exclusive of, $3500; from $3500 to, but exclusive of, $4500; and those selling at more than $4500. Individual cars in each class differ widely among themselves in their characteristics and cars with closely similar specifications are found in more than one group, so that the average characteristics of the cars included in each class are true only in a general way. The predominating type of motor and its average horsepower have been obtained for each price class, as well as the average wheelbase, size of tires, number of forward speeds, type of axle, the stated weight, and the selfstarter and lighting equipment.

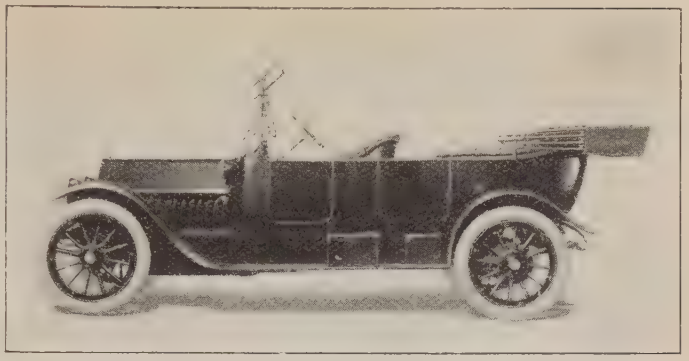
The average expense of running a representative car of each class has been figured, but these estimates should be taken as mere approximations. The fixed expense of keeping a representative car of the various classes is not included in these estimates, but it may readily be figured for any individual case by following the suggestions given in an earlier portion of this article. Among items of operating expense, only those which are readily predictable are included, such as tires, gasoline, oil and grease, overhauling and varnishing have been considered. The tire cost is computed upon an average useful service of 5000 miles and it is also assumed that the average annual mileage made by a car is 5000. As the rate of increase of these items is in proportion to the mileage covered in a season, their amounts may readily be calculated for seasonal mileages, either greater or less than 5000. The price of gasoline is taken at 20 cents per gallon.

One thing should be said respecting the cars upon the market as a whole. Large or small, high-priced or low-priced, they are all practical motor vehicles in that they are all capable of traversing all highways open to regular traffic at reasonable speeds up to the usual legal limit. They are all reliable and safe up to the speeds for which they were intended habitually to be used.

Among the cars listed at less than $1000 are necessarily found the smallest ones upon

the market, a part of them two-passenger runabouts, and the remainder five-passenger light touring cars. As runabouts they are among the most handy motor vehicles built, considering expense of operation and ease of maneuvering. As touring cars they are entirely practicable at moderate speeds. The average rated horsepower of their four-cylinder motors is about 17, but as most of them are long-stroke motors their actual average horsepower is probably considerably more than this, and the same thing may be said of the motors used in cars of most of the other groups. These cars are fitted with 32 x 3½ inch tires and the type of rear axle used is generally the "semi-floating," although full floating axles are found upon a few of them. Their selective type gear-boxes provide three forward speeds. Selfstarters of the acetylene type are provided upon some of them. Their average weight, exclusive of body, as given by their builders is 1800 pounds, and their wheelbases average 105 inches. This is a long enough wheelbase for a light runabout and entirely practical for a small touring car, but it provides much less space for the passengers than can be found in larger cars, and while at low speeds fairly comfortable riding is assured, at high speeds these small cars cannot compare in stability with the larger ones.

As to equipment in general, it may be said that all American cars are sold fully equipped, that is, any article not included may properly be regarded as a luxury. The finish of these little cars is all that could be expected and the body lines are, in many instances, as tasteful as those found in any other class.



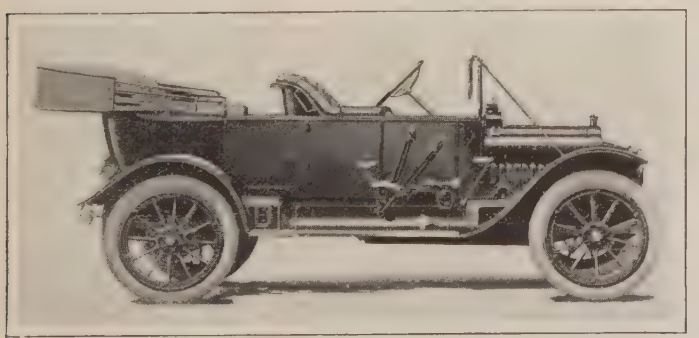
THIS TOURING CAR IS DELIVERED TO THE PURCHASER FOR $1590

The operating expense of a car sold at less than $1000 for 5000 miles:

One set of tires at $23.35 per tire	$93.40
Gasoline at 20 miles per gal.	50.00
Oil and grease	12.50
Overhauling	40.00
Varnishing	18.00
TOTAL	$213.90

or about 4.3 cents per mile for the above items.

Among cars sold at $1000 or more and less than $1500 are found touring cars and nearly as many roadsters and there are also a few small closed cars. The four-cylinder motors employed average 24.6 rated horsepower. The tire sizes vary from 32 x 3½″ to 36 x 4″ with the 34 x 4″ size rather predominating. A wheelbase of 111 inches is about the average and the average stated weight, exclusive of body, is not far from 2250 pounds. Selfstarters of the acetylene type are found upon quite half of these cars and upon a majority of them there is included either a partial or complete electric lighting system. Three-speed gears and semi-floating axles prevail in this class, but floating axles are quite numerously offered. The roadsters in this class are able vehicles, the touring cars are somewhat roomier and easier riding than in the class below, and are well adapted to light service of this kind.



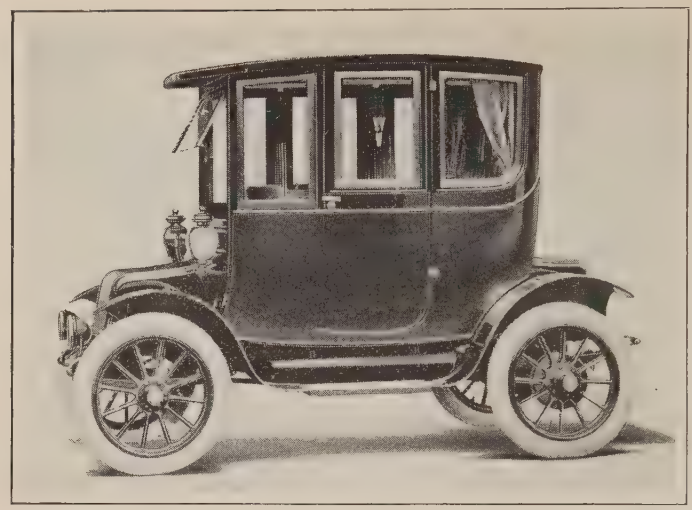
A 30-HORSEPOWER, FIVE-PASSENGER TOURING CAR ELECTRICALLY STARTED AND LIGHTED; PRICE $2500

The expense of a car sold at less than $1500:

One set of tires at $35.45 per tire	$141.80
Gasoline at 16 miles per gal.	62.50
Oil and grease	15.62
Overhauling	50.00
Varnishing	22.00
TOTAL (5000 miles)	$291.92

or about 5.8 cents per mile for the above items.

The group of cars selling at $1500 or more and at less



AN ELECTRIC COUPÉ, $2800

(Electric vehicles are growing in popularity for city and suburban service)

are generally provided, four-speed gears characterize quite a number of the models. Practically all the cars are equipped with positive electric self-starters, and a complete dynamo and battery system of electric lighting is included in the equipment of nearly all.

The expense of a car sold at less than $2000:

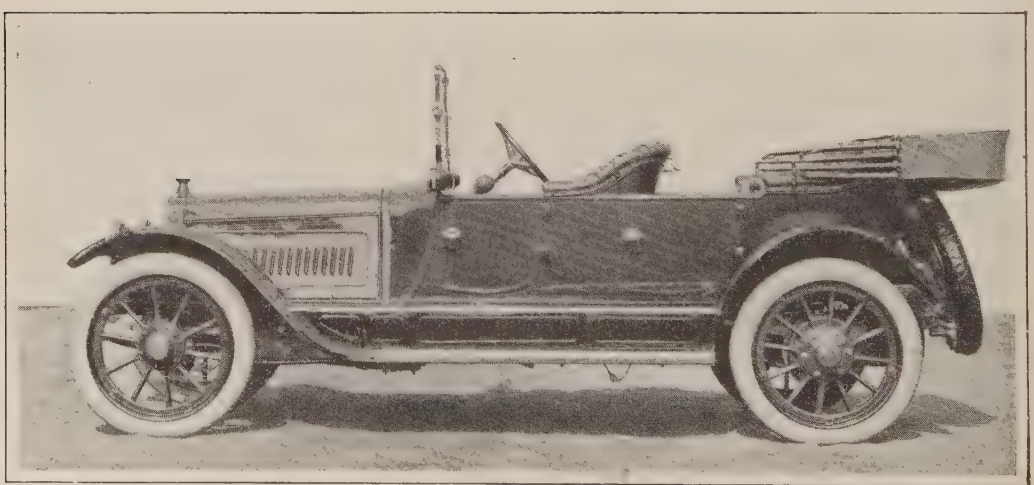
One set of tires at $37.70 each	$150.80
Gasoline at 15 miles per gal.	66.66
Oil and grease	16.66
Overhauling	55.00
Varnishing	25.00
TOTAL (5000 miles)	$314.12

or about 6.28 cents per mile for these items.

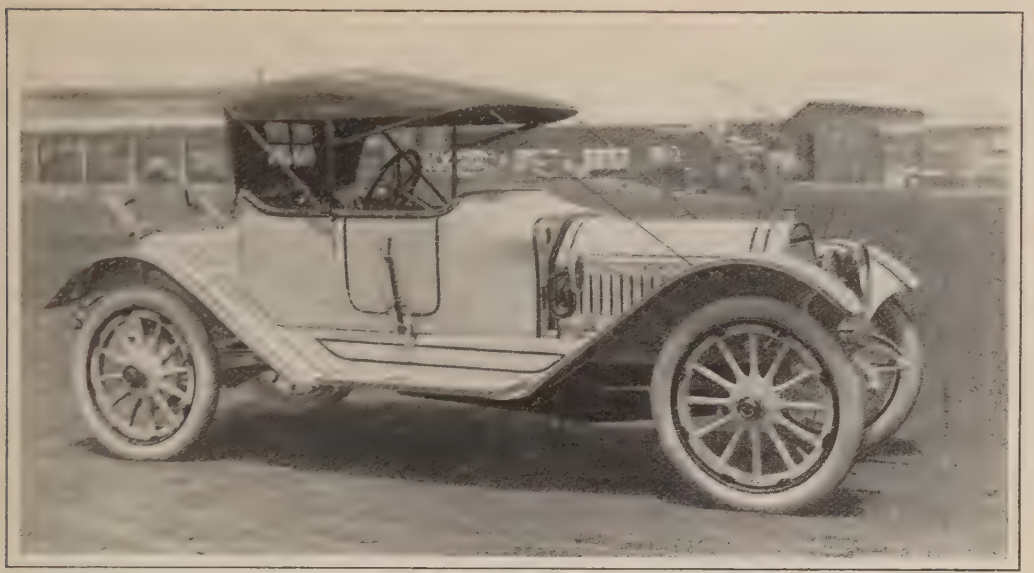
than $2000 may be called the lower medium-priced class and is a very popular one. It includes a very large proportion of touring cars, a considerable number of roadsters, and not a few closed cars. The touring cars are sufficiently able, large, and easy-riding to fit them for quite extensive and comfortable service and the closed cars are entirely creditable for persons of moderate means.

Four-cylinder motors of about 30 horsepower prevail in this class, but the six-cylinder motor begins to be a factor as it is found upon a number of the models. Tires of the 36 x 4 inch size prevail quite largely, the average wheelbase is about 119 inches, and the average chassis weight as given by the manufacturers is nearly 2700 pounds. Floating axles are the rule, and while three forward speeds

At prices ranging from $2000 to less than $2500 can be bought cars which may be described as belonging to the upper medium-priced class, in which four-, five-, six-, and seven-passenger touring-car models predominate, but in which are included a goodly number of roadsters and a very considerable proportion of closed cars, such as coupés and limousines. Four-cylinder motors preponderate in this group, but there is quite a representation of sixes. The average rated horsepower of the motors in this group is about 34; an average wheelbase of about 123 inches is here to be found and the tires are of the 36 x 4½-inch size on the average. Full floating axles are almost universally used and the average chassis weight is not far from 3000 pounds. Four-speed gearboxes are also in



A GASOLINE CAR WHICH MAY BE PURCHASED FOR $3250. (SEE SECOND TABLE, OPPOSITE PAGE)



A $3600 CAR. (FOR EXPENSE OF OPERATION, SEE TABLE ON PAGE 318)

evidence, although three forward speeds is the rule, and electric starters and complete dynamo systems of lighting are practically universal.

These cars are powerful and comfortable enough, as high-speed touring cars, to meet the requirements of all but the most fastidious of users and as closed cars are well adapted to the service of all users of modest tastes.

The operating expense of a car sold at more than $2000 and less than $2500:

One set of tires at $47.40 each	$189.60
Gasoline at 14 miles per gal	71.40
Oil and grease	17.85
Overhauling	55.00
Varnishing	30.00
TOTAL (5000 miles)	$363.85

or about 7.3 cents per mile for these items.

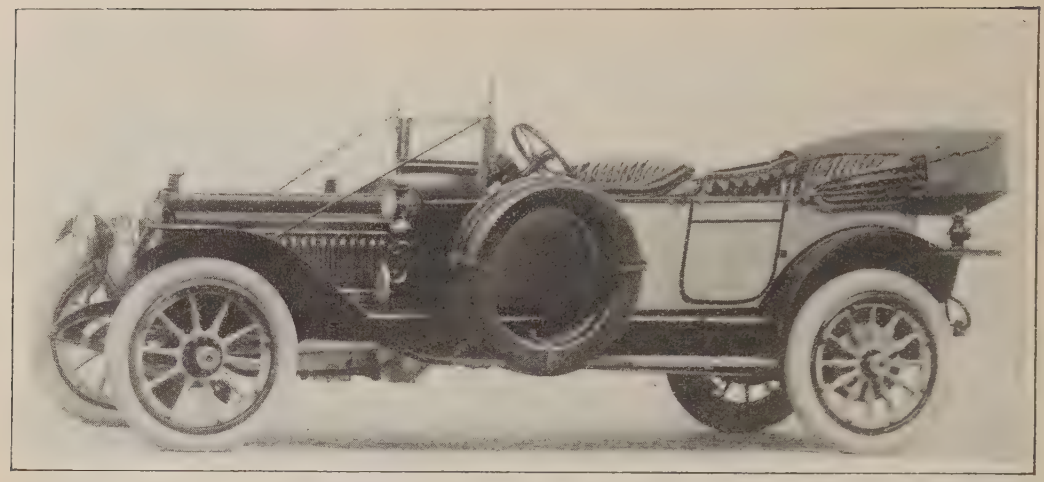
In the class of cars selling at $2500 or more and at less than $3500, the six-cylinder motor begins to preponderate over the four-cylinder upon the numerous touring cars and increasingly large proportion of closed cars which it includes. The average rated engine horsepower is about 38 and the motor is more likely than otherwise to be of the six-cylinder type. Tires of the 36 x 4½-inch size are most commonly used and the chassis weight is not far from 3000 pounds upon a wheel base averaging not far from 127 inches. Full floating axles, electric starters, and complete electric lighting systems characterize this class and four speed gears are about as common as the three-speed type. The cars in this class may properly be regarded as strictly high-grade vehicles, suitable for the severest touring service, and they are splendidly finished and luxuriously appointed.

The operating expense of a car sold at $2500 or more and at less than $3500:

One set tires at $47.40 each	$189.60
Gasoline at 12 miles per gal	82.32
Oil and grease	20.58
Overhauling	60.00
Varnishing	35.00
TOTAL (5000 miles)	$387.50

or at the rate of 7.75 cents per mile for these items.

In the class of cars which sell at $3500 and less than $4500 are found most of the highest grade and highest-priced touring cars which the market affords. They represent the last word in automobile construction as to power, speed, comfort, elegance of appearance, and completeness and quality of equipment. In this class are also found a large number of distinctly high-grade limousines and other closed cars. A majority of these cars have six-cylinder engines and there are a number of them which make use of the Knight motor. The average rated horsepower of these cars is about 40, but it is in reality very greatly in excess of this. Four speed gears preponderate over the three-speed type, the average wheelbase is about 130 inches, and the average chassis weight is not far from 3175 pounds. The tires are most commonly 36 x 4½ inches, but larger sizes such as 37 x 5 are sometimes used. Naturally, the electric



A FIVE-PASSENGER PHAETON PRICED AT $4150

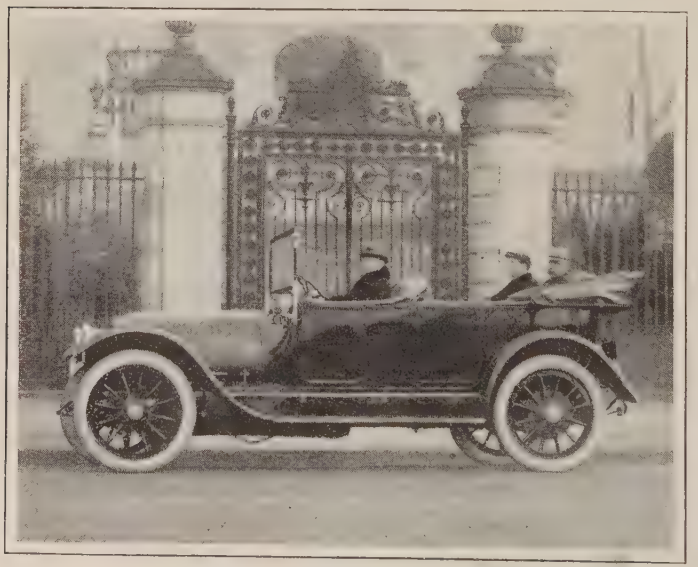
starter and the highest grade types of electric lighting systems are features of the cars in this class. The operating expense of cars of this class for 5000 miles will be approximately as follows:

One set tires at $47.40 each	$189.60
Gasoline at 11 miles per gal	90.90
Oil and grease	22.72
Overhauling	75.00
Varnishing	50.00
TOTAL	$428.22

or at the rate of 8.56 cents per mile for these items.

The class of cars listing at over $4500 is composed very largely of seven-passenger limousines, landaulets, and berlines, mounted upon chassis of the $3500—$4500 class, but there are, of course, some seven-passenger touring cars among them. They are cars de luxe in every respect known to the automobile art and represent the acme of power, smoothness of operation and reliability. Being mainly six-cylinder cars, with heavy bodies necessitating 5 or 5½ inch tires, they are somewhat more expensive to operate than the cars of any other class.

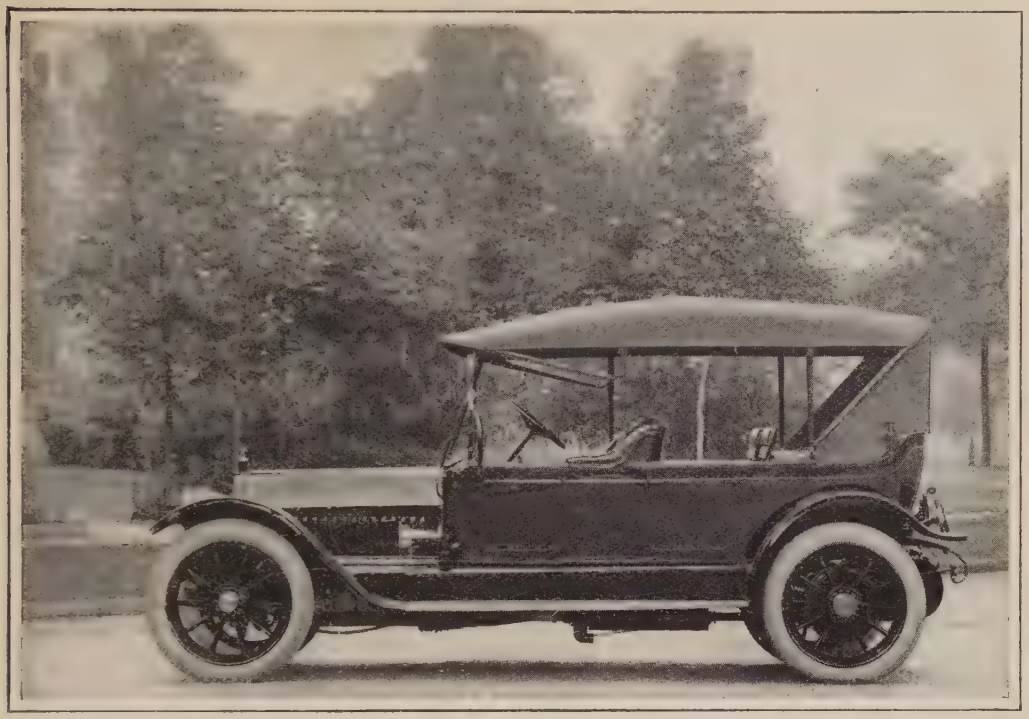
From the brief and rather general bird's-eye view of the automobile market given above it must be evident that every class of buyer can find therein a car suited to his purse and other requirements and it is only necessary for him to "pay his money and take his choice" among the offerings.



A SEVEN-PASSENGER CAR, $4750

ELECTRIC CARS

Though far less spectacular, the development of the electric vehicle has been hardly less remarkable than that of the gasoline car. Its inherent cleanliness, ease of control, freedom from fire risk, readiness for instant service in cold and hot weather alike, and the small amount of attention it requires, have always been and still are strong points in its favor. Within recent years its mileage capacity upon a single charge has been practically doubled and charging stations are now so well and widely distributed that it



A $5000 SEVEN-PASSENGER CAR

may be used for touring in closely settled parts of the country. The increase in mileage capacity is attributable to the introduction of new forms of battery, such as the Edison and the newer forms of lead battery, which not only are much lighter in proportion to their capacity, but are much more durable and less expensive to maintain, and to the more economical application of battery power to the driving wheels, resulting from the adoption of simpler and more efficient transmission mechanism and axles, the use of better bearings, the silent chain, and more economical motors and control systems. Improvements in mechanical construction, such as mounting of the motor upon the body, where it is spring-supported, instead of upon the axle where it is a dead weight, have rendered it exceedingly easy riding, and refinements in body design have imparted to it a gracefulness which the earlier models sadly lacked.

Central station companies have begun to promote its interests by offering lower charging rates, by establishing storage-battery service departments and charging stations, and popularizing the use of various types of rectifiers for home charging. Indeed, the development of various types of rectifier for converting the alternating current into direct current suit-

A $5300 LIMOUSINE

able for battery charging, has played an important part in popularizing the electric vehicle. The latest rectifiers are efficient, can be successfully operated by inexpert persons, and can be installed in the private garage at a reasonable outlay. Some of the later ones are portable and can be carried upon a car, so that charging may be performed wherever the car may be if only a source of electric current be available.

The rapidly rising price of gasoline in conjunction with the reduction of electric power rates have rendered the electric an increasingly serious competitor to the gasoline car.

Electric vehicle garages are now a common institution in the larger cities and this has proved an important factor in electric car development as they insure expert attention to this class of vehicle which cannot be expected when it is stored in garages catering mainly for gasoline car business. Such garages generally charge a flat rate per month for all service required by an electric car and this arrangement enables an owner to know in advance what the keeping of his car will cost.

Electric roadsters of most tasteful body lines are now obtainable which, in speed, are the equals of gasoline cars for city and suburban service, and electric touring cars closely resembling the latest designs in gasoline cars are also to be had, but it is probably in the closed-car field that the electric is preëminent. Inside-driven electric coupés and limousines are upon the market which for comfort, refinement of finish, and general adaptability to their purpose leave absolutely nothing to be desired and it is safe to say that for town car service, in which the owner is also to be the operator, the electric coupé or limousine is without a competitor. Without a shadow of doubt, the electric vehicle is rapidly "coming into its own" and is destined in the near future to become a principal factor in urban and suburban transportation.

A CAMPING PARTY IN THE WILDS

SAINT LAWRENCE, WITH SS. COSMO AND DAMIAN, WITH PORTRAITS OF THE DONORS, ALESSANDRO DEGLI ALESSANDRI AND HIS TWO SONS, AND ST. BENEDICT (?) AND ST. ANTHONY, BY FILIPPO LIPPI, (1406-1469)

(Early Renaissance art; following in its stiffness the Byzantine style of Early Christian art, yet more realistic; probably painted (on wood covered with gesso,—whiting and glue), in water color mixed with white of egg, called "tempera" painting. The colors are in a superb state of preservation demonstrating the permanency of "tempera." Lippi was educated, from the age of eight, in a monastery, and we discover here the profound seriousness and religious calm of the "Primitives")

WHAT THE MORGAN ART COLLECTION MEANS

BY ERNEST KNAUFFT

BY the time this magazine reaches the reader he will have been informed by the daily and weekly press of the collection of thirty paintings which Mr. J. P. Morgan brought from his English art treasures and loaned indefinitely to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, where they were put on exhibition in January, and were visited by 15,000 spectators on the first Sunday afternoon that they were shown, and by exceptional crowds ever since.

The reader will have learned that never before in the art history of this country have so many valuable paintings been shown in one gallery. The "Raphael" alone is reported to have cost $500,000. The reader will further have become familiar with the subjects of these paintings, who the "Duchess of Devonshire" (painted by Gainsborough) and "Miss Farren" (painted by Lawrence) were, the part "The Earl of Warwick" (painted by Van Dyck) played in the colonization of America. He will have heard a great number of anecdotes that are associated with the painters of these pictures. These data and the anecdotes are all legitimate matter for the student to concern himself with, but the answer to the question, "What is the significance of the Morgan collection," is not found in historical or anecdotal data. The true answer is—these paintings form in themselves a rare object lesson in the phenomena of art.

They allow one to study by the laboratory method—What is hydrogen? Find it. What is an oxide? Find one. What is a cell? Find it under the microscope. That is the best laboratory method. President Jordan, of Leland Stanford, tells a story of Professor Agassiz's method of teaching; it runs something like this: Professor Agassiz was teaching in his summer class at the sea shore; a teacher from the West was a new pupil; he showed her one day a mineral—we'll say feldspar; she took it and said, "I am glad to see this, Professor, for while I have taught

RAPHAEL'S "VIRGIN AND CHILD, ENTHRONED WITH SAINTS." ON THE LEFT OF THE VIRGIN, ST. CATHERINE AND ST. PETER, ON THE RIGHT, ST. ROSALIA, (OR ST. CECILIA, OR ST. DOROTHEA) AND ST. PAUL

(The work of one of the world's most gifted artists, a remarkable picture to be painted by a youth of twenty-one, though it is not a great Raphael,—not even a great painting. Perhaps America will never see a great Raphael, so we must be content with one that represents the Umbrian master's early method. Painted in 1505, a year before his famous "Marriage of the Virgin" (Lo Sposalizio), it represents his early manner when he was influenced by his master Perugino. Here we have a connecting link between the Byzantine manner of Lippi and the modern manner of Van Dyck, Rubens, and Velasquez)

about it often I have never actually seen feldspar before!"

The whole principle of modern laboratory instruction is embraced in this anecdote. It ought to be obvious that the Morgan paintings are analogous to the feldspar. There are many American teachers who have been instructing their classes about the old masters, and many members of art clubs who have been writing papers upon them, who have never, or rarely, seen the best examples of the old masters.

These teachers and essayists, as well as art students, have long had access to photographs and prints from most of these identical Morgan paintings, and from paintings equally great, just as Professor Agassiz's pupils had seen illustrations of feldspar. But while one may obtain the pictorial essence of a painting from a photograph of it, one cannot obtain the color essence from that photograph, even if it be polychromatic, one must see the painting itself. The significance, then, of the Morgan collection is that one

"PORTRAITS OF A GENOESE LADY AND CHILD," BY VAN DYCK

(Van Dyck was born in Antwerp in 1599, practically a century after Raphael; he, too, was a prodigy. He was a pupil of Rubens, and his work has often been confused with that of his master. He traveled in Italy, learned much from Titian, so that his style is partly Flemish, partly Italian. The color in the woman's gown, a rich dull red, painted in with masterly strokes, is worthy of special study)

stands before the actual great painting, and need seek no further. The painting is authentic and *sui generis*. These paintings must be studied with an appreciation of the possibilities of color, or more definitely speaking, the possibilities of pigment. We can trace here, in this one room, the very development of modern painting. From the tempera painting by Lippi, showing the kind of painting executed before the days of oil painting: and then from Raphael, showing the early kind of oil painting, through several stages to modern oil painting as practiced by masters like Velasquez, Van Dyck and Reynolds. Thus, at a glance we see the development of oil painting, and its many possibilities. Visitors to the Morgan collection would do well not to interest themselves too much in the subjects of the paintings, since the subjects may be studied at home from photographs. But one should stand in the center of the room, glance at the entire collection, and see what a harmonious ensemble the four walls make; even though there are nearly four hundred years' distance between the execution of the earliest painting and the last. (The Lippi was painted about 1450; the Turner about 1841). Each one harmon-

"THE INFANTA MARIA THERESA," BY VELASQUEZ—SPANISH 17TH CENTURY SCHOOL

(Velasquez is rated higher to-day than he was a hundred years ago. He is probably the favorite of a majority of painters, not particularly for his subjects but because his art of using oil paint is superb. His pictures do not look like colored drawings, as do Raphael's, for example, but seem a perfect unity in pigment. He painted details with great breadth and noted his values (that is the relative strength of the colors of objects) with remarkable accuracy. He portrays the distance *into* the picture with great precision)

izes with the other because they are all fine paintings. This harmony is brought about by the artists being more or less true to the local colors they imitated—now red, now blue, now black—and yet painting these local colors in such relation to the light and shade of the picture, and in toning the colors down, as they would be toned down by sunlight in nature, that there is nowhere the effect of a patchwork quilt, as there would be if raw primary colors were slapped onto the canvas without any "qualifying." The qualifying of a color means the mixing of another color with it, so that it is lightened or darkened to give it either a variation of hue, or to represent its light and shade. The study of each painting separately should then be taken up, referring, from time to time, to the other paintings in the room, to see how similarly, so far as tone effect is concerned, most of the painters have worked. Intelligent study of symphonic music embraces the understanding of both the quality of each instrument and the tonal quality of the ensemble. Intelligent study of a gallery of old masters requires study of each picture and its relation to the tonal ensemble of the collection. A picture in discord with that tonality is apt not to be of first rank.

"LADY BETTY DELME AND HER CHILDREN," BY REYNOLDS.—ENGLISH 18TH CENTURY SCHOOL

(A beautiful example of English 18th Century art; much more freedom in the brush work than in the Italian examples; a great deal of atmosphere in the picture; almost perfect harmony of color, that is very refined, in that there is a marked absence of white high lights. There are no whites whatever in the picture. Standing off at a distance of twenty-five feet and surveying this picture and the Rubens and Van Dyck which hang near it, one will notice this absence of white and will be able to study three very distinguished paintings)

From Lippi to Turner, a stretch of four centuries, was a period of tremendous development in the technique of the art of oil painting. Lippi stands for tempera painting, and the freshness to-day of the color of his "Saint Lawrence" proves that the technique of the "Primitives" was sound. There is religious depth in the work, also, that is not found in 18th and 19th century work, so that using the term development, we do not mean to indicate positive progress. The word stands for a certain achievement of realism that was found in the work of Rembrandt and Velasquez. A realism that is found in most all subsequent paintings. It is a great opportunity to be able to stand in the center of the Morgan collection and take in this development at a glance.

It will be seen from our illustrations how comprehensive the collection is and the "captions" underneath them, in a measure, describe some of their attributes. Of course there are, however, many other treasures among them. A beautiful Rubens is a portrait of "Anne of Austria." Standing off at a distance, one notes that the picture is very low in tone, that there are no disagreeable white lights upon it, that it "takes its place" beautifully on the walls. This quality may be due to the original whites having faded, but we are inclined to think that is an example of the Flemish master's best painting, intentionally low in tone. Indeed, this canvas and the one next to it, by his pupil Van Dyck, are two superb examples of the "Grand Style,"—canvases that would add distinction to the most beautiful room, though it be in rich old carvings and the walls tapestry covered. One might not like these two pictures as much on examination as one likes the "Duchess of Devonshire" or "Miss Farren," but after several visits to the gallery one becomes conscious of the charm of the "Grand Style." The color in the woman's gown in the Van Dyck "Portraits of a Genoese Lady and Child" is particularly worthy of prolonged study. Here, again, is forced upon us the practical value of the Morgan exhibition. It is only by looking at the painting itself that one can form an adequate idea of the rich coloring that Van Dyck was capable of getting. No engraving, no print, can reproduce the extreme beauty of the rich red of the lady's gown. The painting itself is the object to be enjoyed—enjoyed above a print, just as we enjoy a fine Eastern hand-woven rug above a Philadelphia machine-woven copy of it. The design might be the same, but the colors would not be. Van Dyck lived and painted in England, leaving fine works behind him. These works greatly influenced the English school of portrait painting — Reynolds, Lawrence, Gainsborough, etc.—and the English school is splendidly represented in the Morgan collection. Besides the Reynolds we reproduce there is his dignified portrait of the "Duchess of Gloucester,"—somewhat faded in color, but firmly brushed in.

"MISS FARREN, LATER COUNTESS OF DERBY," BY LAWRENCE.—ENGLISH 18TH CENTURY SCHOOL

(Lawrence was not a great painter like Titian, Velasquez or Whistler —not even the equal of Reynolds—but he had exceptional talent, he was a virtuoso of the brush, and his portrait of Miss Farren shows him at his best. True, the sky is too dark, and the summer landscape has been objected to as not in keeping with the muff and boa, but the work is charming in the extreme, and was no small accomplishment for a painter of twenty-one!)

"The Duchess of Devonshire," by Gainsborough, is one of the best known pictures in the world.

Gainsborough was a greater painter than Lawrence. He differentiated his sitters more markedly, but his brush work was not so broad as Reynolds's, nor was his style quite so dignified. He stooped to the pretty more often. His "Duchess of Devonshire" has many of the traits of Lawrence's "Miss Farren"—as a subject it is supremely charming, but, unluckily, as a canvas it has evidently been so "restored" that it must rank much below the Lawrence.

SCENE OF A WRECK DUE TO HIGH SPEED AT CROSS-OVERS

(A four-track line well-built and maintained, but with too short cross-overs from one track to another. After several accidents due to taking them at high speed in disobedience of signals and orders, the cross-overs on this railway are being lengthened.—From report of Public Utilities Commission of Connecticut.)

AMERICAN RAILWAY ACCIDENTS—A "SAFETY FIRST" CAMPAIGN

BY HERBERT T. WADE

THE striking frequency with which fatal and disastrous accidents occur on even the best of American railways, and the extraordinary record of deaths and injuries incident to their operation are matters that now are receiving serious attention throughout the United States. Not that there is anything new in the succession of casualties that are from time to time chronicled by the daily press, for long have they been considered inseparable from American railway operation, but it is now recognized that such a condition is as intolerable as it is unnecessary, and in so far as it is preventable every effort should be made for its improvement.

Employees, through committees of safety and in other ways, are endeavoring to manifest increased care and in this they are being encouraged by the operating officials themselves. Equipment and appliances are being improved by the railways, though they claim that in this they are hampered by legislation and regulations which in their opinion require expenditures that more profitably could be directed in other channels to secure greater safety. Investigations, technical and practical, by the Interstate Commerce Commission are showing the public and the railways themselves shortcomings, and while these are *post mortem* rather than preventive, yet they are helpful as presenting the problem in concrete and authoritative form.

That safety on the railways is a matter of gravity requires but few of the many statistics compiled on this subject clearly to demonstrate. During twenty-four years, for which complete statistics are available, there have been 188,037 persons killed and 1,395,618 persons injured on the railroads of the United States. Every seven minutes during this quarter-century one person has been killed or injured with ceaseless regularity, and civilization, with its legislation, invention, and efficiency studies, has done little if anything to stop a slaughter that is comparable with war.

A YEAR'S CASUALTIES

During the year ended June 30, 1912, on the steam roads in the United States 10,585 persons were killed and 169,538 were injured,—an increase over the previous year, and a number somewhat in excess of the average. That even a slight increase comes with improvement in conditions of equipment and operation is indeed discouraging, yet not all of the casualties by any means were connected with the ordinary conduct of transportation, and the year showed a decrease of thirty-eight from 1911 in the number of passengers killed.

Of the total casualties 400 railway employees were killed and 92,363 injured in so-called "industrial accidents," which include

all not connected with the movement of locomotives or cars on rails, such in fact as would be common to any industry. The employees killed on duty numbered 2920 and the injured 49,120, while the casualties of employees not on duty aggregated 315 killed and 959 injured. Passengers to the number of 139 were killed in train accidents and 9391 were likewise injured, while other causes were responsible for 179 killed and 6995 injured. Trespassers to the number of 5434 were killed, 91 of them in train accidents, and 5687 were injured, 151 of these suffering in train accidents. Persons, other than passengers and employees, not trespassing who experienced casualties aggregated 1198 killed and 5023 injured, of whom 13 of those killed and 277 of the injured suffered in train accidents.

Spread before the public in various reports by the Interstate Commerce Commission and enlarged upon by the newspapers, as are such statistics, a general feeling prevails that the standard of safety on American railways in comparison with those of Europe is strikingly low, and that it is becoming lower each year. Such, however, is not the case, and while much remains to be done to provide increased safety for passengers and railway employees in the United States, no blanket indictment can be brought, based on European experience. The problem, such as it is, is plainly American. The fundamental circumstances are entirely different and the conditions are in no way comparable. American temperament, American manners, morals, and methods of government are not less concerned than American ideas of railway engineering and operation. In mechanical equipment many American railways are superior to those of Europe. Nowhere in the world have appliances for safe-guarding railway transportation been so highly developed as in this country, states the critical Block Signal and Train Control Board of the Interstate Commerce Commission. "Our problem is essentially peculiar to this country, and must be solved in the light of conditions existing here," says Commissioner McChord, and the slightest examination of the matter will convince any investigator that he is correct.

But demands for adequate and efficient transportation often have outstripped means for the extension and improvement of material equipment, and as a result on many lines much remains to be done to secure adequate safety in travel.

To this need of increased safety the more enlightened railway men from operative to president are now alive. They realize their shortcomings, and though often making excuses more or less plausible, they know that defects in line and equipment, speeds in excess of strength of track and roadway, carelessness in operation, and poor conditions of maintenance are responsible for many disasters. Rules warning against unsafe speeds have been promulgated, speed recorders have been introduced into the cabs of locomotives, and the various engineers are constantly testing materials, particularly rails, inspecting track and roadway, while curves and grades are being reduced, new signals installed, and various measures looking for increased safety taken.

FATALITIES TO TRESPASSERS

To explain or place the responsibility for American railway accidents it is desirable to consider not only the extraordinary totals, but separately the various classes into which the casualties are grouped. Every day fourteen people in the United States are killed while trespassing, but this is through no fault of the railways, whose right of way is not a highway, but private property, subject to the same rules and protection as the property of an individual.

In the twenty years from 1890-1909, inclusive, fatalities to trespassers constituted 53.09 per cent. of all the accidents on the railways of the United States. In this period 163,171 persons were killed, of whom 86,733 were trespassers, nor has the situation shown any improvement as the 1912 statistics quoted above show, since they form 52 per cent. of the total fatalities of that year.

In Chicago, where track elevation has proceeded at a cost of $70,000,000 to the present time, trespassing in violation of the law takes place on the elevated structures to such a degree that the railways have to maintain a special police service. In their efforts here, and it is true at other places also, they do not receive the support of the magistrates, for in one three-months' period of 339 arrested but 67 were punished.

ACCIDENTS AT GRADE CROSSINGS

It may be urged that many accidents befall those who are not trespassing and who may have legitimate business on railway property, such as highway crossings, etc. In 1912 those suffering casualties who were neither passengers nor employees but were not trespassers included 1198 killed, and

WRECKED BY BAD TRACK[1]

(A derailment where the track was completely destroyed, and one person killed and twenty-five injured. "This accident was caused by the bad condition of the roadway, it not being sufficiently well maintained to enable the operation of trains to be carried on in safety." Such conditions suggest desirability of government inspection before rather than after accidents)

5023 injured, of whom 113 were killed and 277 injured in train accidents. It is in this group that accidents at grade crossings figure, and though such calamities are all too frequent and there should be no abatement in abolishing such crossings, yet they are not responsible for as many accidents as might be imagined. In the five-year period 1905-1909, inclusive, 4800 persons were killed and 21,581 injured who were not trespassers, and exclusive of passengers and employees. Of these 4261 persons were killed at grade crossings as compared with 17,861 killed at other points along the line, and of this number 3231 were non-trespassers. Of those killed at points other than highway crossings there were but 392 non-trespassers, whereas at other points on the line 1757 were non-trespassers, most of the casualties at other points being to those engaged in loading and unloading cars and the performance of other industrial work.

ACCIDENTS TO TRAINS

Although accidents to trespassers and those neither employees nor passengers account for over half of the reported casualties and are indeed serious, yet they are matters for which the general public rather than the railways is responsible, and when it is sufficiently aroused they will cease. But more important are those accidents to employees and passengers connected with the moving of trains. Many of these are unavoidable and the chance of their occurring is a proper risk incident to the business. There are, of course, disturbances of roadbed and track due to landslides, floods, washouts, etc., which occur suddenly and unexpectedly and which are naturally more serious in new or mountainous country, especially where solidity or massive construction is impossible. There are also accidents due to malicious tampering with track or switches and like acts which no human agency can prevent. These must be considered ordinary hazards, just as fog and storms at sea. But there are many accidents that are plainly preventable, and it is to them that railroads and government commissions are turning their attention and it is to these that the interest of the general public should be directed in support of the present movement for safety.

[1] This and the following scenes of accidents are reproduced from official photographs loaned by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

STUDYING A DEFECTIVE RAIL

(Polished surface of fragment of the rails, howing fissure in in the web, used for metallurgical study)

COLLISIONS AND DERAILMENTS

The two most striking classes of railway accidents in the United States are collisions and derailments. The gravity of these accidents may be appreciated by the following table compiled by the Interstate Commerce Commission, showing train accidents in the United States for four years:

	1912	*1911*	*1910*	*1909*
Collisions	5,483	5,605	5,861	4,411
Damage to cars, engines and road	*4,330	4,302	4,629	3,109
Killed in collisions	378	436	433	342
Derailments	8,215	6,260	5,918	5,259
Damage to cars, engines and road	*7,197	6,550	5,195	4,372
Killed in derailments	394	349	340	264
Total collisions and derailments	13,865	11,865	11,779	9,670
Damage	*11,527	9,852	9,824	7,480
Killed	772	785	773	606

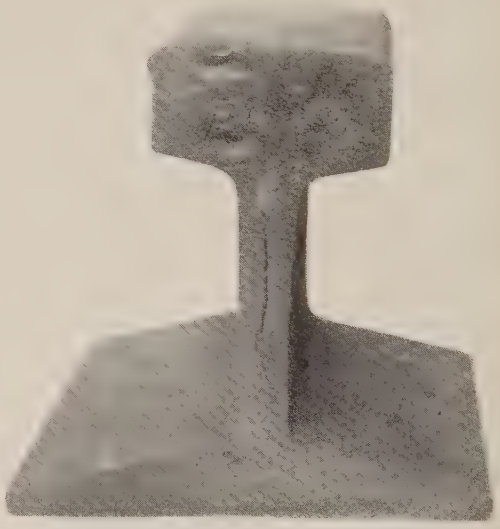
*Damage in thousands of dollars.

Up to September 1, 1912, eighty-one serious accidents had been investigated by the Interstate Commission through its technical experts. Forty-nine of these were collisions and thirty-one derailments. Of the thirty-one derailments, fourteen were either directly or indirectly caused by bad track and five of them were probably due to excessive speed in violation of existing speed restrictions. In three cases the track was obviously unsafe for operation, even at low speeds, and in one case the derailment occurred on straight track while the train was running at about thirty miles per hour. Forty-eight of the forty-nine collisions were caused by errors of employees, such as failures to obey orders or signals to keep clear of superior trains, improper flagging, and failure to control speed at dangerous points, while errors of train dispatchers or telegraph operators were responsible for six accidents, and to errors of block signal operators or towermen in giving improper signals were due four accidents.

POOR TRACK AND HIGH SPEEDS

Defective roadway in 1912 was responsible for 1877 accidents, in which 102 were killed and 2,766 injured. A track may be badly laid on a poorly constructed bed; the rails themselves may be defective in design or in manufacture, yet such deficiencies may be comparative and relative, and develop to a dangerous degree only when traffic is operated at an excessive speed for the particular track or where trains of undue weight are used. Nevertheless the failure of rails in the tracks is a growing evil, as is indicated by statistics. In 1902 there were 78 accidents due to broken rails; in 1912, 363; or a total of 2,422 in eleven years. In 1912 such accidents were responsible for 52 deaths and injuries to 1,065, and damage to road and equipment and cost of clearing wrecks, aggregating $2,836,242.

During the exceedingly cold winter of 1911-12 there were many rail failures, and in-



DEFECTIVE RAIL CAUSING A DERAILMENT IN WHICH TWENTY-NINE PERSONS WERE KILLED AND SIXTY-TWO INJURED

(Excellent conditions of roadway, signals and maintenance, but a rail unable to withstand strain. Section of fragment showing transverse fissure in the head and slag-split web)

HIGH-SPEED AND HEAVY TRAIN ON A CURVE

(General view of derailment of the high-speed train caused by a broken rail and resulting in injuries to 51 passengers and 22 employees. Accident probably due to spreading of rails under high speed, and heavy traffic)

vestigations made of rails already in place revealed the fact that the older designs of rails were defective in many instances. In an examination of the rail fractures on the Harriman lines and their relation to the temperature, it was found that the 80-pound and 90-pound rails with the American Society of Civil Engineers cross-section showed an average number of failures in the cold months of 1909, 1910, and 1911 double or treble the number occurring in the warm months. On the other hand, the more recent 90-pound section of the American Railways Association showed no greater number of failures in the winter than in the warm months, and was less than the older sections. To-day every rail that goes into a railway is carefully recorded and the entire question is being investigated and the best conditions of manufacture ascertained. Railways are enforcing more rigorous specifications as regards composition, treatment, and strength.

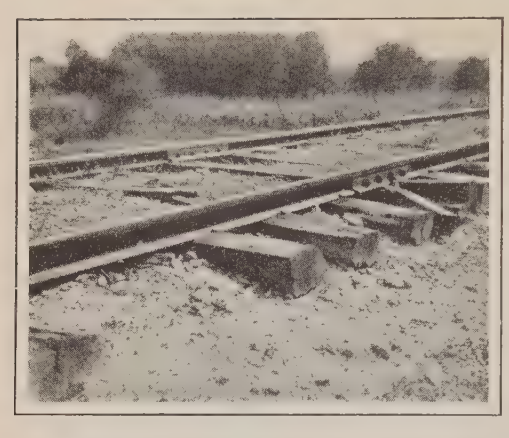
DEFECTS OF EQUIPMENT

However, derailments are not caused solely by faulty condition of the roadway, but defects in the equipment, such as wheels, axles, brake rigging, draft gear, couplers, etc., all contribute to the record, which in 1912 amounted to 3847 accidents, in which 68 were killed and 1197 injured. This was the greatest number ever recorded by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Where a derailment occurs, or a collision, it is the wooden cars that suffer the most, and many a fatality has resulted that would have been avoided had steel cars been used. That legislation should be had to require their use was recommended by the Interstate Commerce Commission in its annual reports for 1911 and 1912 and by several State railway or public service commissions.

But the railways themselves are alive to the dangers of wooden cars and, as fast as circumstances permit, on many lines they are being replaced by those of steel, or at least by those with steel underframes, which are reasonably safe except for danger of fire from the gas-tanks.

In the consideration of safety it is true that there are various physical causes which scientific engineering, invention, and effective maintenance can improve, yet from the record of most of the accidents, the crux of the whole situation seems to be that Amer-



FAULTY TRACK CAUSING AN ACCIDENT

(Section of track on which a train was derailed at a speed of thirty miles an hour. Note irregular spacing of ties, poor condition of road bed, lack of spikes and rotten ties from which spikes have pulled. One passenger was killed and twenty-five passengers injured in this accident)

ican railroading is now face to face with the more important human factor which never has received adequate attention.

THE HUMAN ELEMENT

Unfortunately there are many wrecks for which the same explanations, one cannot say excuses, must be offered. As Commissioner McChord has pertinently stated, "There is a dreary monotony in the sameness of the reported causes of these accidents. Year after year derailments and collisions due to identical causes are reported." And for most of these the failure has been in the human element.

The Interstate Commerce Commission, when it investigated the 49 serious collisions, of which 48 were caused by errors of employees, found that 33 occurred on roads operated under the train-order system and 15 on roads under the block system. This would seem to indicate that mechanical devices are not of themselves guarantees of safety but must be supplemented by individual care and responsibility.

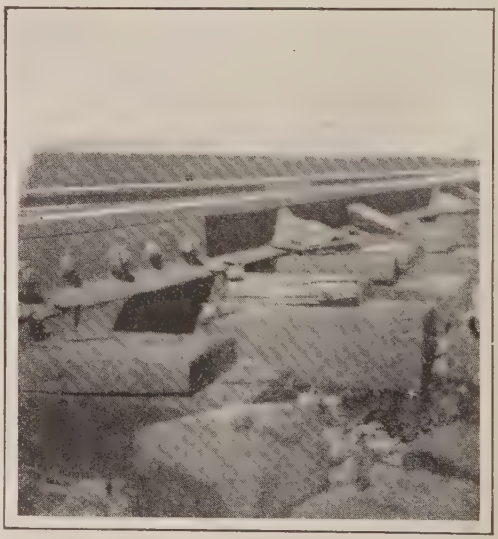
Nevertheless, mechanical devices should be employed wherever possible to facilitate operation and not only to make the work of employees surer, but automatically to check them, and they have proved their value beyond question. The best method, and one recommended by the Interstate Commerce Commission, is to insist upon the protection of all tracks by an efficient block-signal system, keeping all trains certain intervals apart, and where the traffic warrants it by an interlocking system. But the block-signal system, unless in connection with the automatic train stop described below, does not eliminate entirely the human factor, and it must be considered in connection with good discipline and skilful operation, but it does reduce the dangers to a minimum and effectively protects the various lines.

AUTOMATIC TRAIN STOPS

The block-signal system at best merely indicates and it has been argued extensively that some form of automatic train stop would prevent collisions where engineers had passed danger signals, either inadvertently or in disobedience of their indications. In many quarters there has been a demand for the immediate installation of such automatic train stops, and their successful performance on various subway and elevated lines has been urged in their behalf.

The Block Signal and Train Control Board of the Interstate Commerce Commission in its report of December 26, 1911, after a careful examination of the various devices in use in this country and abroad approved the general method and stated:

The information obtained from tests, together with knowledge of the general state of development of the art of automatic train control, leads the board to conclude that there are several types of



REPAIRING THE EFFECTS OF FROST

(Section of track where the effects of frost had to be counteracted by the use of "shims" or wedges to preserve the proper level. How too high "shimming" has weakened the holding power of the spikes. To this was due the inability to resist the tremendous strain of heavy locomotive and train rounding a curve at high speed and the resulting spreading of the tracks producing a derailment)

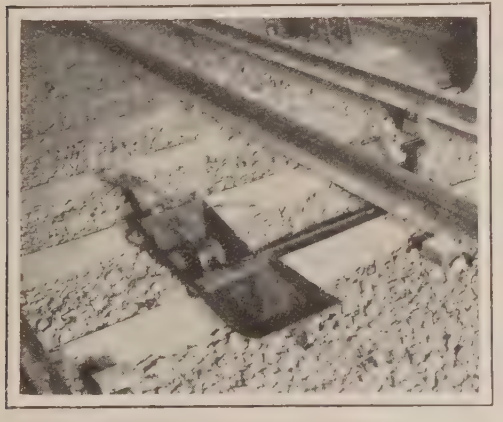
apparatus and methods of application which, if put to use by railways, would quickly develop to a degree of efficiency adequate to meet all reasonable demands. Such devices properly installed and maintained would add materially to safety in the operation of trains. In many situations under conditions existing in this country, the board is convinced that the use of automatic train stops is necessary to the safety of trains.

Of course it is realized that much further experimentation is needed before a satisfactory device can be evolved for all railway lines. The feeling has been growing that such a step is necessary and the Interstate Commerce Commission, in its formal report of the accident at Westport, Conn., on October 3, 1912, said, "Railroads ought to unitedly experiment with the automatic train stop until a device of practicability for general use shall be evolved."

The automatic stop is in practical and successful use, and the experience of the Boston Elevated, the Interborough Rapid Transit Company of New York, the Hudson & Manhattan Railway in the Hudson River tubes and the Pennsylvania in its electrical sections about New York, and especially in the tunnels under the rivers, was mentioned. All of these lines handle a vast traffic at small headway and without delay; in fact, in the New York subway express trains are run under a headway so low as one minute and forty-three seconds, and more than a million passengers a day are handled, some three-fourths of whom are carried in express trains, protected by the automatic stop in connection with the automatic-signal system.

AUTOMATIC STOP AND SIGNALS IN THE NEW YORK SUBWAY

(Automatic Block Signal and Automatic Train Stop on the New York Subway. If the motorman passes the visual signal indicating danger, the automatic stop sets the brakes on the train. The automatic stop on the New York Subway is said to have failed but once in 277,846 movements, and the automatic signal but once in 401,115 movements)



MECHANICAL TRIP IN SUBWAY

(Mechanical trip which sets the brake on the train. The lever on the right is swung to a vertical position by gravity when the danger signal is set and comes in contact with a movable arm on the truck connected with the brake mechanism)

It must be admitted, however, that these trip signals, which are connected with the electro-pneumatic automatic block signals for the most part, are installed either in a tunnel or on an elevated structure and are not exposed to such conditions of weather and temperature as would be experienced on open track, but there is every indication that

this or some other form can be developed to a point of practical usefulness and absolute surety.

In the electric railway at Spokane, Wash., a device is in use whereby an arm extending out from a semaphore post breaks a glass tube on the roof of the motor car which permits air to escape from the brakepipe.

IS THE AUTOMATIC STOP DESIRABLE?

The questions, however, are brought up immediately, Are such devices in the interest of good railroading and will they not tend to weaken the skill and responsibility of the engineer, who to-day is one of the most respected and efficient of railway employees? Will not his status, and incidentally his salary, be reduced toward the level of the subway and elevated engineer, or motorman, who, as a cynical manager remarked with a degree of exaggeration at the time of a strike, could be reproduced with some two hours of training? If an engineer is going to disregard signals, is he competent to handle a train with its many lives, and if he is constantly checked up automatically, will he develop the skill, keenness, and self-reliance necessary to his work? The operating men on the railways are by no means a unit in favor of automatic train stops and emergency brakes, nor are such individualists as Mr. J. O. Fagan, the author of "Confessions of a Signalman," and many of the representatives of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, who see in their introduction the opening wedge toward the automatic operation of trains and a system of central control.

ARE THE LABOR UNIONS TO BLAME?

With the responsibility for so many accidents placed directly on the shoulders of employees, it is not strange that the status and the influences of their brotherhoods and other labor organizations should enter into the discussion. On one hand, it is claimed that the growing strength of the railway brotherhoods has served to weaken discipline by preventing the discharge of offending members and by rendering the exercise of authority by subordinate officials more difficult. Furthermore, it is urged that in raising the general standard of employees the spirit of individualism and individual responsibility has been in large part diminished, so that the railroads have large groups of mediocre men where they need in the more responsible positions the services of men of considerable initiative, responsibility, and dependence. This is the argument advanced by a large number of operating officials who claim that railroads can only be ruled by autocratic exercise of authority and complete responsibility for the maintenance and discipline by the superintendent or other officer concerned.

Men of this type look upon the growth of labor union, swith their ability to make an issue of individual cases and bring them to the attention of the highest officials, as a distinct menace. A very similar position is taken by Mr. Fagan, and his own opinion expressed publicly on many occasions is very pessimistic as regards the present status and efficiency of railway employees. On the other hand, the members of the brotherhoods claim that they have increased the standard of the individual workman, that they have encouraged sobriety and responsibility, and have protected individuals from favoritism and dislike on the part of superintendents, whose unrestricted authority might mean the development of a personal machine under his control with as unfortunate results to the railway as to the men. The spirit of standardizing they may have carried to an extreme in many cases, but they have also maintained a reasonable degree of efficiency and usually their conduct of labor disputes has been carried on at a high plane. At all events in most cases the railway brotherhood seems to have the support of the general public and whatever their merits or demerits are a force to be reckoned with and one that the railroads can ill afford to antagonize, since it is one that they are unable to eliminate.

SHOULD RAILWAY WORKERS BE EXAMINED AND LICENSED?

America has not yet government ownership of railways, but government control is beginning to play an important part, and it does not require great imagination to foresee the time when railway workers may be examined and licensed just as physicians and many other professions and trades whose activities concern the entire community. If in the public estimation railway employees need regulation they will soon receive it, to judge from the present temper of the people, and as this unquestionably will become a Federal matter it doubtless will be done with such thoroughness and uniformity as is involved in the licensing of pilots and marine engineers, with corresponding penalties for shortcomings.

But aside from the responsibility of the railway employee to the public for its safety there are other points to be considered. It is

A WOODEN CAR IN A REAR-END COLLISION

(A rear-end collision where thirty-nine passengers were killed and eighty-six passengers and two employees injured. Due to failure of engineman to observe and be governed by block signals and failure of flagman to use signal torpedoes. Majority of fatalities occurred in rear car, a wooden coach, whose fragments are seen in foreground. Contrast this with steel cars in other photographs)

the employee who most often is killed or injured. His life is no less precious to him than to other men, and notwithstanding insurance and benefit systems of the railways or of the railway labor organizations, the death or incapacity of an individual means a serious loss to his family. If the number of casualties keeps decreasing there will be a corresponding decrease in the amount of the assessments. To the railway it means that if an experienced employee is killed or incapacitated his place must be taken by one less experienced and the work handled, at least for a time, less efficiently and expeditiously. An efficient employee is an asset to the railway no less than an efficient engine, and with changed conditions in operation this is becoming more important than ever.

PROTECTING RAILWAY EMPLOYEES

The large number of deaths and injuries and the knowledge that many of these were caused by defective appliances and conditions of operation, early aroused the attention of the Interstate Commerce Commission. In 1889 there was begun an agitation for the abolition of the link-and-pin coupler, for a standard height of draw bar, for grabirons on freight cars, and for power brakes on locomotives and cars, with the result that on March 2, 1893, the first Safety Appliance act was passed, which provided for power brakes and the use of automatic couplers. A reasonable amount of time, which was twice extended, was provided for the provisions of the act to go into effect and supplementary acts, aiming at increased protection and giving specific powers to the commission, have been passed. Inspection and prosecution were carried on by the Interstate Commerce Commission to enforce the various statutes and the results have been distinctly beneficial. Thus, according to Commissioner McChord, from 1893 to 1911 there has been a reduction from 11,710 to 3175 in the total of deaths and injuries in coupling accidents, or a decrease of nearly 73 per cent. This decrease has occurred with vastly increased tonnage carried by the railroads, while longer and heavier trains can be handled and time saved in their make-up and movement by the use of the automatic coupler and air brake.

After the safety of railway employees had

TELESCOPED IN A REAR-END COLLISION

(Rear-end collision between first and second sections of a trans-continental express. Accident caused by failure of flagman to protect his train properly, and in part by the action of the train despatcher in permitting the second section to enter a block not cleared by the first)

been looked out for by requiring proper appliances it became evident that many accidents were caused by working an inordinate length of time without suitable hours of rest. Accordingly there was passed the Hours-of-Service law which, approved March 4, 1910, limited hours of labor of train men and telegraph operators, the law taking effect one year from the date of its passage.

SAFETY COMMITTEES

Perhaps one of the most important agencies toward securing increased safety for passengers and employees is the active propaganda among railway men directed by safety committees where both employees and operating officials are represented. The object of this plan is to bring home to various employees the fact that they, rather than the stockholders or officials, are the ones to lose their lives and suffer injuries as the results of accidents and to impress upon them the fact that many of these accidents are caused by their own carelessness, negligence, or disobedience of orders. "Safety First" is the motto of these various organizations and campaigns, and while the work is mainly done by representative employees the higher officials take a lively interest in it and frequently announce officially such golden rules of railroading as, "It is better to cause a delay than to cause an accident." At the same time they urge upon employees that it takes less time to prevent an accident than to report one and urge a spirit of care and thoughtfulness in all operations.

This movement, which at the end of the year was participated in by forty-six railways in the United States with a mileage of 145,297 miles, has had a most thorough test on the Chicago & North Western Railway, where Mr. R. C. Richards, General Claim Agent, organized a series of committees that gradually developed into a system that extended to other railways and put Mr. Richards in the fore-front of a movement that has since become national. On the Chicago and North Western, beginning in 1910, meetings were held, first of the division officers and foremen, to which later the men were invited, and then on each division safety committees were organized with representatives of each class of labor. An effective organization was formed by January 1, 1911. It was made plain that every accident shows that a man, roadbed or appliance is wrong. Each man is responsible for the safety of others and each

man performing his functions properly increases the safety and efficiency of the entire system. Committees were formed with similar functions, also in the terminal yards and shops, as accidents were occurring there as well as on the main line, and here again it was the men rather than the bosses who were getting hurt. The members of committees are paid for their time and expenses while attending the meetings, and making trips of inspection. They are furnished with detailed reports of the various accidents as they occur and any suggestions made by the various representatives are considered carefully in the committee and if deemed desirable are recommended to the proper officials for adoption. The campaign includes lectures, demonstrations, moving picture exhibitions and mass meetings, and a banner is awarded to the division showing the best record.

The success of the safety committee movement on the Chicago and North Western Railway is shown by the accompanying tabular statement of the reduction in the number of accidents for twelve months ending June 30, 1912, the first year that the plan was in complete operation, as compared with twelve months ending June 30, 1910, or the year before the adoption of the safety committee idea.

			PER CENT.
17	fewer trainmen killed, a decrease of		44.7
1562	" " injured, "		47.
9	" switchmen killed, "		50.
111	" " injured, "		17.
3	" stationmen killed, "		50.
134	" " injured, "		18.3
7	" trackmen killed, "		25.
700	" " injured, "		40.1
2	" bridgemen killed, "		66.6
87	" " injured, "		27.7
1	" shop and round-house men killed, a decrease of		25.
190	" shop and round-house men injured, a decrease of		15.

AN INCREASE OF

1 car repairer killed in 1912.
31 car repairers injured in 1912.
1 unclassified man killed in 1912.
31 unclassified men injured in 1912.

TOTAL REDUCTION OF

37	fewer employees killed, a decrease of		34.6
2722	" " injured, "		31.5
2	" passengers killed, "		18.2
207	" " injured, "		22.3
65	" other persons killed, "		28.
119	" " " injured, "		19.5

TOTAL

104	" persons killed	"	29.5
3048	" " injured	"	34.

	1912		*1910*	
	KILLED	INJURED	KILLED	INJURED
Employees	70	5,907	107	8,629
Passengers	9	721	11	928
Other persons	170	487	235	606
	249	7,115	353	10,163

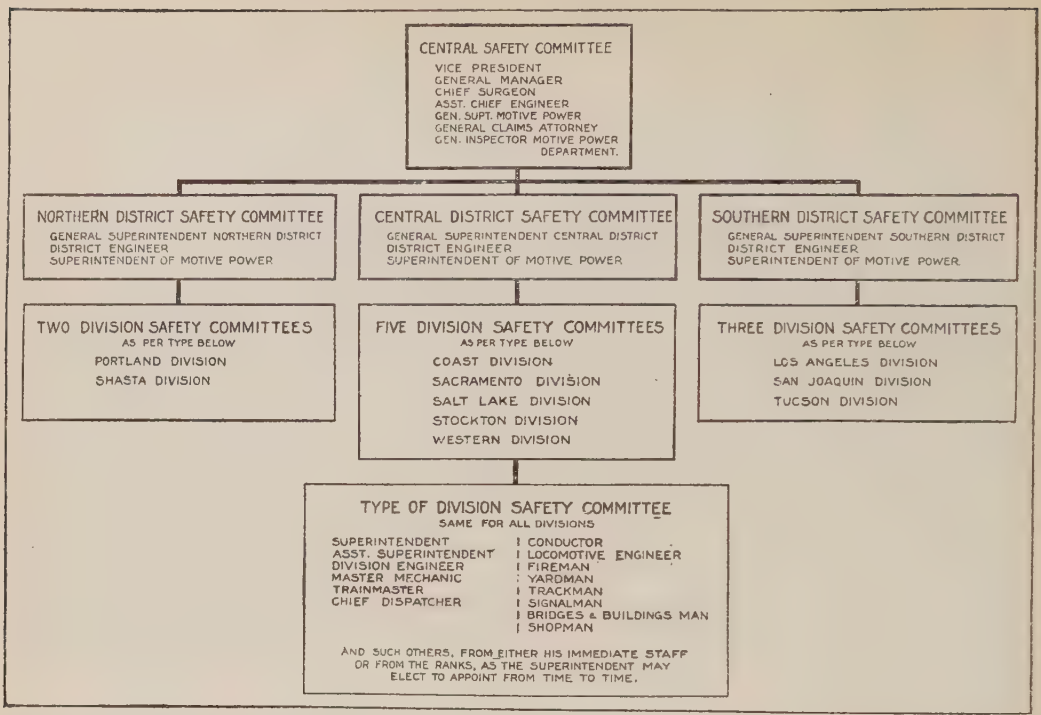
This safety committee plan has now received the general approval of railroads and the Interstate Commerce Commission, and during the year 1912 a number of enthusiastic mass meetings were held at various railroad centers, such as Kansas City, Buffalo, Jersey City and Harrisburg. The "Safety First" rally at Kansas City on October 19, was held in the convention hall and attracted some 9000 railway employees and their families, who came to Kansas City on special trains and exhibited the greatest enthusiasm. Addresses were made by operating officials, emphasizing the fact that the railroad companies did not expect men to hazard either their lives or limbs or the lives and limbs of passengers or to hazard the companies' property in order to avoid a delay or save time or expense; they wanted all rules observed.

That the idea of the safety movement has generally commended itself is well testified to by the fact that even in Japan it is being considered. Mr. Richards recently received a letter from the Vice-President of the Imperial Railway of Japan, in which he stated that he had seen a description of the work of the North Western Railway Safety Committees, and if they had been able to successfully work out the problem, the Japanese were anxious to obtain the benefit of any information in relation to the matter, so that the plan could be adopted in Japan.

SAFETY BY INCREASED EFFICIENCY

In short, the entire question of safety on railways resolves itself into the mere question of efficiency. Efficiency in maintenance and operation with due regard to both physical and human factors will cut down this waste of life and property. Economic motives, if not others, must enforce this end, for in 1911 the railways are stated to have paid for injuries to persons and loss and damage to property the not inconsiderable sum of $60,000,000, or 2.19 per cent. of their earnings, of which $26,000,000 was, for "injuries to persons."

The line and equipment of the railroad must be operated and maintained at the highest possible standard, improvements being added as required, not only by orders of railway commissions but from motives of interested economy. There is still room for improvement, and a combination of the technical and theoretical with the practical to an ever increasing degree is required for the solution of such problems as rail troubles, automatic train stops and other conditions,



From the *Railway Age Gazette*

DIAGRAM SHOWING ORGANIZATION OF THE SAFETY COMMITTEES ON THE SOUTHERN PACIFIC

(On this system no passenger has been killed or injured in an accident in nearly four years)

which coming electrification may augment rather than diminish. There must be a more thorough inspection of materials, methods and appliances, and a systematic study under normal conditions of use as well as immediately after disastrous accidents. All investigations, whether by the railways themselves or by railway or commerce commissions and the adoption of improved methods and appliances conducive to increased safety should receive the fullest publicity, and public sentiment should be aroused in favor of safety.

The efforts of employees and operating officials to this end should be recognized and the support of stockholders and bondholders should be enlisted in all movements looking to making railway transportation safer. The improvement in the composition and efforts of state railway or public service commissions should continue and these bodies should be removed absolutely from the sphere of politics and from any repetition of the inefficiency and corruption that too often clouded their labors in the past.

Let every one endeavor to realize and appreciate the importance of safety, and most of all let the individual citizen in his own conduct on railway property and in his influence on legislation and the administration of laws see that proper observance of existing statutes and regulations framed in the interest of all is obtained. Let the citizen appreciate the spirit of coöperation that should influence railway employees and officials and realize that these great public utilities can be carried on effectively only by such coöperation and by a sympathetic and discriminating support of the public, expressed both individually in daily contact and use of transportation facilities, and in their just and proper regulation through legislative and administrative channels.

Detach before cashing check

No. 24

Every employe should report promptly to his Superintendent, Foreman, some member of Safety Committee or other proper person, every unsafe condition or method. Postal cards are furnished for that purpose

Central Safety Committee

PASTER USED ON NORTH WESTERN PAY CHECK

SUGAR AND THE TARIFF

BY A. G. ROBINSON

THE world's consumption of sugar in 1912 is reported as approximately 16,000,000 tons, and the production of and for 1913 is estimated at 18,000,000 tons. Therefore, the probability is low prices for the commodity during the coming year, irrespective of possible change in the tariff. The present supply is fairly divided between the product of sugar cane and sugar beets. Cane is a product of tropical and semi-tropical countries and beets are a product of the temperate zone. The relation of the two since the beginning of the century has been as follows:

WORLD SUPPLY OF SUGAR

Year	*Cane long tons*	*Beet long tons*	*Total long tons*
1900–1	6,183,653	6,066,939	12,250,592
1901–2	6,279,742	6,913,604	13,193,346
1902–3	6,263,941	5,756,720	12,020,661
1903–4	6,234,203	6,089,468	12,323,671
1904–5	6,594,782	4,918,380	11,513,262
1905–6	6,731,165	7,216,060	13,947,225
1906–7	7,329,317	7,143,818	14,473,135
1907–8	6,917,663	7,002,474	13,920,137
1908–9	7,635,838	6,927,875	14,563,713
1909–10	8,339,888	6,587,506	14,927,394
1910–11	8,412,908	8,550,220	16,963,128
1911–12	8,765,000	6,780,000	15,545,000
1912–13(est.)	9,036,036	9,055,000	18,091,000

The price of the commodity follows the supply generally and closely rather than absolutely, but with sufficient connection to warrant the statement that prices are now regulated by supply and demand entirely and not by the juggling manipulation of corporations in this country or abroad. The quotations for those years, published daily, have averaged thus:

Year	*Duty paid 96° raw sugar*	*Refined granulated*	*Refiner's margin*
1900	4.57	5.32	.754
1901	4.05	5.05	1.003
1902	3.542	4.455	.913
1903	3.72	4.638	.918
1904	3.974	4.772	.798
1905	4.278	5.256	.978
1906	3.686	4.515	.829
1907	3.756	4.649	.893
1908	4.073	4.957	.884
1909	4.007	4.765	.758
1910	4.188	4.972	.784
1911	4.453	5.345	.892
1912	4.162	5.041	.879

The quotations for refined granulated are wholesale prices. The refiner's margin represents the difference between the laid-down, duty-paid cost of the raw material and the wholesale price of refined sugar. The sum covers the cost of converting the raw sugar into the finished, marketable product; the shrinkage occurring in that process; the overhead charges; the cost of selling, packing, distributing, and all else. For all this, the cost is estimated at 62½ cents a hundred pounds, leaving an average of approximately 25 cents to cover depreciation, improvements, and dividends. In brief, on raw material costing an average of about $4, plus refining cost and general charges of business, the refiners make a nominal profit of some 25 cents, or a margin of a little more than 5 per cent. These are facts of public record, open to any investigator, and they appear to dispute the commonly accepted notion of extortionate profits on the part of the refiners.

The profits of the producers of beet sugar are less readily measured because of wide difference in reported cost of production in different mills. The Great Western Sugar Company, of Colorado, reports an average cost of 3.76 cents for a period of years. The Owosso Company, in Michigan, reports 4.48 cents in 1910. A California concern reports its cost as 2.7 cents. An expert statistician, a specialist in beet sugar, estimates the cost as averaging 3.67 cents for beet sugar ready for the market. As the wholesale price of refined sugar has averaged a little less than 4.9 cents for the last ten years, it would appear that the profit margin of the beet people is much wider than that of the refiners of cane sugar.

On a basis of five-year averages, the sugar consumption of the United States for the last thirty years has been as follows:

Years	*Tons*	*Pounds per capita*
1883–1887	1,250,000	49.92
1888–1892	1,629,000	58.53
1893–1897	1,976,000	63.82
1898–1902	2,248,000	66.08
1903–1907	2,761,000	74.06
*1908–1913	3,329,000	81.07

*1913 estimated

Only a part of this, estimated at about fifty-three pounds per capita, enters directly into the household economy and, as far as consumers are concerned, only that part of it would be appreciably affected by a reduction

in the duty. Candy, condensed milk, sweetened biscuit, jams, jellies, canned goods, and other market preparations in which sugar is a more or less important ingredient, would sell at no lower price with sugar on the free list than they do now. The effect of reduction on a pound of candy or biscuit, on a can of condensed milk, or a glass or jar of preserves, is so inconsiderable in the total cost that no change in retail prices would follow change in the tariff.

About one-fifth of the entire world-output of sugar is required to supply the demand in the United States, now approximately 3,500,000 tons, or a little less than 8,000,000,000 pounds annually. This represents a fourfold increase in a generation. It may also be noted that present prices of the commodity are about half what they were thirty-five years ago. It is true that a part of this enormous increase in consumption is attributable to the increase in the number of consumers, but while the estimated 44,000,000 people in the country in 1875 consumed an average of forty-three pounds per capita, the estimated 96,000,000 of the present time consume more than eighty-one pounds. Fortunately, sugar is a commodity that can be produced in practically limitless quantity. It is merely a question of demand and of a reasonable profit on its production. It is purely a product of the rain and the sunshine, and neither the cane nor the beet, as far as their sugar content is concerned, take anything from the soil in which they are grown. By continuous planting, the soil in which the cane and the beet are grown reaches a condition known to soil chemists as "tired"; the plant gets smaller and less vigorous, but it goes on forming sucrose as long as the sun shines on it and the rain falls on it.

CUBA'S ADVANTAGE

To most laymen, the tariff on sugar is a mystery which they have neither time nor interest to unravel. To most of us, the paragraph in the tariff law reading, "Sugars not above number sixteen Dutch Standard in color, testing by the polariscope not above seventy-five degrees, ninety-five one hundredths of one cent per pound" and so forth, might as well be printed in Sanskrit. It means nothing to the uninitiated. It need not be explained here in all its details. Before the polariscope was invented as a means of testing the quality of sugar, a color test was used for that purpose and purity was determined by a set of color standards. The polariscope is more scientific and accurate. Seventy-five degrees by that test means 75 per cent. purity for the raw sugar, a grade of which practically none is imported. Much the greater part of our imports is ninety-six degrees by polariscope test, or 96 per cent. in purity. Seventy-five degrees is the tariff basis, with an additional charge of thirty-five one thousandths of a cent for each degree above that. On that basis, the tariff rate on the ninety-six degree sugars, commonly called "centrifugals," is 1.685 cents a pound. Cuban sugars, under the reciprocity treaty of December, 1903, are given a 20 per cent. reduction, making the rate on ninety-six degree Cuban centrifugals 1.348 cents a pound. Few other sugars are now imported except from our non-contiguous territories, Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines, and all of those enter free of duty subject only to a limitation of Philippine sugars to the free entry of 300,000 tons a year. The sum of .337 of a cent marks the advantage of Cuban sugar over that of Java, Peru, Santo Domingo, and other foreign countries. The sum of 1.685 cents marks the advantage of domestic and insular producers over all competition except that of Cuba, in which the domestic and insular advantage is 1.348 cents a pound.

THE DUTCH STANDARD WORKS NO DETRIMENT

Much has been said of late about the Dutch Standard, and its removal is urgently demanded by a few who appear not to understand its exact place and influence. The belief of such seems to be that the Dutch Standard prevents the distribution of a sugar familiar to them in their younger days, a sweet, soft, yellowish sugar, cheaper in price than the white granulated, and widely used in American kitchens forty or more years ago. The belief is entirely mistaken. Those sugars, like the old-fashioned New Orleans and Porto Rico molasses, now practically out of the market, were the product of a method of making sugar that has been almost entirely superseded by improved devices that do not and can not produce either such sugar or the old-time molasses. Neither the tariff, nor the refiners, nor the color test have anything whatever to do with that matter, and the restoration of such sugars by any form of legislation is utterly impossible. The notion that the removal of the Dutch Standard would bring into the market a supply of usable unrefined sugar at low prices is equally fallacious. Nothing could come into the

market with that standard removed that is not already on the market to a present possible extent of about 1,200,000 tons of cane sugar from Louisiana, Hawaii, Porto Rico, and the Philippines. Half a dozen refineries now sell an unrefined sugar to those who want it, at prices about one cent a pound below the price of refined. Or, wanting it in quantities, any one can buy ninety-six degree centrifugals at the price paid by the refiners.

There is no refiner's monopoly of such imports, and grocers or canners or shoemakers can bid against the refiners just as the refiners bid against one another for their requirements. On my table as I write this, there lie a dozen or more little tin boxes containing unrefined sugar, grading from a yellow-brown to an almost white, usable sugar, not unwholesome, cheaper than the refined granulated. The prices of these are quoted daily in some of the commercial papers, and anyone can buy them. The fact is that very few want them. The demand of the market, to the extent of 95 per cent. of the total sugar business of the country, is for the dry, white, pure sugar the price of which is within the reach of the poor and that is wanted by poor and rich alike. The Dutch Standard is a convenience in custom-house processes, perhaps not indispensable, but certainly working no injury whatever to consumers. Moreover it does serve materially to exclude from the market sugar that is high in color and low in sugar content, sugar that would sell at lower price but that would, because of its inferior quality, require a 10 or 20 per cent. greater quantity to afford the requisite sweetness. Most of the talk about the Dutch Standard is mere twaddle.

EXTENSIVE USE OF BEET SUGAR

Another notion prevails that beet sugar is inferior to cane sugar, and some housekeepers believe that beet sugar cannot be used for jams, jellies, preserves, etc. All this is a mistake. Pure sugar is pure sugar whether obtained from cane, beet, or sawdust. The people of Europe use beet sugar almost exclusively, and France and England use it in the production of enormous quantities of jams, jellies, etc., for domestic consumption and for export. The Germans use 1,200,000 tons or more yearly; the French, 650,000 tons or more; the Austrians 600,000 to 650,000 tons; and the British people, about two-thirds of their total requirement of nearly 2,000,000 tons. The Dutch, the Belgians, the Danes, Swedes, Italians, and Russians all use it. It is coming into constantly greater use in this country. From the 73,000 tons produced in 1900, the domestic output of beet sugar has increased to an estimated 625,000 tons at the present time. It is reported that $100,000,000 is invested in the business. The census of 1909 shows 364,000 acres planted in sugar beets that year, or nearly 600 square miles. The value of the crop, as beets for sale to the sugar mills, was $20,000,000. They are grown in twenty different States, with Colorado leading in acreage and ton production; and with Michigan and California practically tied for second place.

WHAT FREE SUGAR WOULD MEAN

There is good reason to believe that the present tariff rate on sugar can be considerably reduced without disaster to any producer who has a right to be in the business, that is, to any whose business does not depend absolutely upon an exorbitant tariff rate. For such, being injured, the community will have little concern. That some would be injured by a reasonable reduction is quite certain. A reduction in price must mean some curtailment of profit, but that involves a loss that probably all could recover by better business methods, by more efficient system in production. Even the proponents of free sugar admit the general disaster to American interests that would follow the success of their efforts. Figures of cost of production show that under such conditions most of the cane planters of Louisiana, and nearly all of the beet industry, would be wiped out. Much of the industry in Porto Rico and in Hawaii would be destroyed and sales to those islands would be heavily reduced. The Cuban reciprocity treaty would be annulled and sales to Cuba greatly cut down. In competition on equal terms, Cuban sugars would lose a large but uncertain part of their market in this country, and the economic state of the island under such conditions would almost certainly lead to political disorders. The present revenue to the Government, from the duty on sugar, is about $50,000,000 a year. If the whole, or any part, of this is taken away, a like sum must be obtained by some other form of taxation.

It is true that a sum representing at least a part of the duty is added to the price of the domestic product, and that sum goes to the producers of cane and beet sugar in the United States and to the planters in Hawaii, Porto Rico and the Philippines, but it goes

to maintain a vast industry and serves to put the United States on an almost absolutely independent footing in respect of its supply of one of its most important foodstuffs. The price now paid for the benefit received is exceedingly small.

Comparison of retail prices in this and in other countries shows that, with a few exceptions, sugar is cheaper in the United States than it is elsewhere. In the United Kingdom, Denmark, Turkey, Switzerland, and Belgium, prices for corresponding grades of sugar are a fraction of a cent lower than they are here. From data gathered by American consuls, it appears that the average retail price in this country being 5.7 cents the price of similar sugar in the United Kingdom and in Denmark was five cents. To show the higher cost in this country, it is customary to compare the price of eighty-eight degree raw beet sugar in Hamburg with one hundred degree refined granulated here. The average retail price of corresponding sugar in France and in Germany is a fraction higher than the price in the United States. Prices in Canada are practically the same as prices here. The average of the United States being 5.7 cents, the average of all Europe is 7.8 cents. The price in Russia is above seven cents; in Sweden, 8 cents; in The Netherlands, 8.7 cents; in Spain, 12 cents; and in Italy, 14 cents. These, of course, are not fixed values but are the prices given at the time of an American quotation of 5.7 cents.

The tariff on sugar is an issue far reaching and vastly important. It should not be determined on a basis of mere assertion.

THE NEW BALKAN DIPLOMACY: VENEZELOS AND DANEV

BY J. IRVING MANATT

[Mr. Manatt, who was present at some of the sessions of the recent Balkan peace conference, at London, is a well-known authority on Balkan affairs, particularly Greek. He has an intimate acquaintance with the personalities he sympathetically sketches below.—THE EDITOR]

THE members of the London-Balkan peace conference presented a body of men fit to give Europe and the world fresh confidence in the future of the Balkan states. If the war demonstrated their fighting strength, with all the national uplift and progress that implies, the men they sent to London show that in statecraft they have ample resources for the constructive work of peace. Two men at least in the Balkan delegations measured up to the highest European standards. I refer to the Greek Premier, M. Venezelos, and Dr. Danev, the head of the Bulgarian mission.

Dr. Danev has the prestige of representing the foremost Balkan state, the one that stood the brunt of the war and won its chief laurels. But he requires no adventitious circumstance to give him standing among European statesmen. Entering high public life less than ten years ago, he has been successively Minister of Foreign Affairs, Prime Minister, Professor of International Law at Sofia, Member of the Hague Court of Arbitration, and is now President of the Grand Sobranje and largely responsible for the revision of the constitution carried out by that assembly. He presided at the negotiations for an armistice at Tchatalja and, later, put himself in close touch with the cabinets of Bucharest, Vienna, and Paris. He has thus, perhaps, a more immediate grip on the whole situation than any other man in the conference, unless it were the head of the Turkish mission, the astute and amiable Reshad Pasha who has represented the Porte at Sofia, Bucharest, Vienna, and Rome, and took a leading part in negotiating the Turco-Italian Peace at Ouchy—a peace followed immediately by the Porte's declaration of war against the allies. These two champions measured swords more than once in the conference. In downright astuteness they are a well-matched pair. The Bulgarian had the advantage of position and won every trick. He is an engaging personality, very democratic and likeable, a practical idealist, a Balkan statesman and patriot, but a far-sighted European as well. If a great federal power is to rise in the Balkans and give a new balance to Europe, he is sure to play a yet greater part in history.

The central figure in the conference was, after all, a Greek. Since the fall of Tricoupis —which gave occasion for my study of "The Living Greek: His Politics and Progress" in this REVIEW nearly twenty years ago—no statesman of the first rank had risen in Greece until Eleutherios Venezelos was invited to Athens, just three years ago, to steer the country through the politico-military crisis then at an acute stage. It was not the first time Greece had called on Crete for succor in distress. Witness the old story of Epimenides and the plague. She did not call in vain. The purgation was effected; and when a National Assembly was chosen to revise the Hellenic constitution, M. Venezelos headed the poll in Attica, and on his return from Crete was acclaimed leader of the reform party and made president of the assembly. On the fall of the Dragoumis cabinet later in the year this Cretan stranger became Prime Minister and has since devoted all his energies to the rehabilitation of the country. He has carried through a radical reform of the army and navy and greatly improved the finances of the kingdom.

In the meantime, he was studying the game. He had the Ottoman situation by heart. He accurately foresaw the disastrous failure of the Young Turk and the utter demoralization, military and political, he was to entail upon the empire. He invited the French General Eydoux to do for the Greek army what the German von der Goltz had accomplished for the Turkish; and, as the sequel shows, the Frenchman improved upon the German. He knew that men and arms are not all of the sinews of war, and he managed to lay by a considerable war fund.

Meanwhile, he had use for all his tact and firmness in holding in the impatient Greeks. When his own Cretan compatriots were clamoring for annexation, in spite of the Porte and the powers, and their delegates, threatened to take their seats in the Boule, *vi et armis*, he simply sent them about their business or had them deported. But, when the psychological moment came, heralded by the Albanian rising and brought nigh in opportunity by the Turco-Italian War, no man did more to bring about the Balkan alliance or to plan the masterly campaign against the common enemy. The Bulgarian Premier has credited him as "the prime mover in the Balkan enterprise" and King Ferdinand has ascribed their success in arms to "Bulgarian pluck and Greek brains."

He is among the simplest great men I have ever met. When I called upon him at a busy hour he received me at once most cordially and when I took leave he insisted upon helping me on with my overcoat. I have known prime ministers at Washington as well as at Athens who did not always do that. His speeches are models of English.

In this simple, kindly man Plutarch would have recognized a character after his own heart and old Greece in her best days hardly knew a better. And his career has had much of the heroic in the ancient sense. At an early age (he is still on the sunny side of fifty) he threw himself into the desperate struggle for the liberation of Crete. Dr. Dillon tells of traveling over the island in 1897, "disguised as a rebel monk, in the company of M. Venezelos, who was then the soul of the insurrection." When the war-ships of the powers were bombarding Canea, he held a fortress there with a band of his friends. He was Councillor to Prince George as High Commissioner for two years; and Minister of Foreign Affairs in the island government of 1899, when I visited Crete, at the very moment of the declaration of union with Greece. By that time he had become the recognized leader of the National cause in the island; and he continued to direct the government of Crete until summoned to a larger leadership at Athens in 1909.

It was the great good fortune of Greece to have him as her spokesman in the conference. As Premier he has a unique status and his voice is the voice of Greece—with no referendum! His coming to London at all was of a piece with his whole career. Greece was the last to name her delegates; and then, when all the rest had shown their hands, he quietly announced that he would go himself! But he picked his colleagues with a keen eye to the work in hand. First among them was M. Gennadios, the most seasoned diplomat in the Greek service and long time Minister to England, where his own qualities and his English marriage have secured him a very high social position. With him stood the young Greek Minister to Vienna, M. George von Streit, grandson of a German who settled in Greece, a son of the Director of the National Bank and for a time Minister of Finance. M. von Streit is a trained jurist and went from the chair of International Law at Athens to his present post. The other delegate, M. Skouloudis, is a Chiote and a banker, settled in Athens, who has repeatedly served in the Boule and, as Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Ralli cabinet of 1897, used his great ability to mitigate the terms imposed by the victorious Turk.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

CURRENT TOPICS IN THE AMERICAN REVIEWS

AMONG the economic discussions in the *North American Review* the place of precedence is given to "Rational Tariff Revision," by Amos K. Fiske. Mr. Fiske admits the difficulty that will be encountered in any attempt to undo the teachings of several generations, but contends that for the people as a whole it would be a substantial advantage to adjust the tariff upon a basis which would yield the needed revenue at the least cost for collection, with the least interference with the natural course of industry and trade in the country, and with the smallest restriction upon commerce with other nations. This, of course, cannot be done suddenly without disastrous results. It must be done carefully and by gradual process. Although it is difficult to obtain a non-partisan treatment of such questions of public policy, Mr. Fiske suggests that if this task is to be achieved safely and within a reasonable period, either those who favor a well-defined policy must align themselves with a party pledged to carry it out and must adhere to it, or those in favor of such a policy must unite regardless of party lines which may divide them with reference to other issues.

An enthusiastic account of "Grain-Growing and Canadian Expansion," is contributed by Edward Porritt. He declares that the immigration which, since 1906, has been pouring into western Canada, has never before been equalled either in the old or the new world, in respect to activity in bringing new lands under cultivation, and in general industrial expansion. He points to the fact that nearly 20,000 men were at work on railroad construction in the western provinces of Canada during the whole season of 1912. It is predicted that no sooner will the new lines be completed and connected from coast to coast than the companies will be compelled to follow the example of the Canadian Pacific and begin at once to double-track their lines from the foothills of the Rockies to the Great Lakes.

Mr. Franklin Escher asks the question, How can confidence in railway securities be restored? His suggestion is that the public at present is under a misapprehension concerning freight rates, and that the prevalent belief that a fiscal valuation of railroads should be made and the rates adjusted accordingly is responsible, in great part, for the present unpromising state of railway credit. In his view the facts of the situation need only to be known to bring about a restoration of railway securities to the high favor that they formerly enjoyed.

Mr. Albert Fink devotes the second of his articles on "Trust Regulation" to the question of a commodity court, or commission. He concludes that the suggestion of such a court or commission, with the jurisdiction and powers proposed, is not only unnecessary, but utterly impracticable except with such fundamental changes and modifications of commercial intercourse as would meet the approval of no one.

In his "What is Socialism?" Mr. A. Maurice Low sets forth the condition of the workingman, as he conceives it, if the State should employ all labor. His argument is that socialism would destroy all individual incentive and that when that is removed men will be content merely to earn their daily subsistence.

A former official of the Chinese government, Mr. Ching-chun Wang, a Yale graduate of the class of 1908, writes on "China's Revolution and Its Effects." As he sees it, the Chinese people have shown their ability to unite and achieve just ends in a sane and systematic manner, even under great excitement.

Other important articles in this number are "Psychology and the Navy," by Hugo Münsterberg; "The Quality of Marvell's Poetry," by Francis Bickley; and "Phillips Brooks and German Preaching," by Francis G. Peabody.

In the *Forum* Mr. Walter Lippmann exposes the futility of what he calls "The Taboo in Politics," that is, a merely negative law. His point is that this kind of law is inevitably a failure because it ignores the truth that the impulses, cravings, and wants of men must be employed; you can employ them well or ill, but you must employ them. "The group of reformers lounging at a club cannot, dare not, decide to close up another man's club because it is called a saloon.

Unless the reformer can invent something which substitutes attractive virtues for attractive vices he will fail. He will fail because human nature abhors a vacuum created by the taboo."

Under the title of "Empty Churches," Cosmo Hamilton discusses one phase of the religious question in England. The chief cause of this situation he finds in the fact that the majority of the clergy of to-day are ill-adapted to the work that lies before them.

"The Man-Made Woman of Japan," by Marian Cox, is a searching inquiry into the place held by woman in the Japanese national economy, and her prospects for the immediate future. The more deplorable features of woman's degradation in Japan can hardly be reformed by any system of morality that is likely to be devised by Japanese leaders in an attempt to create new standards and new family life.

"A Southerner's Candid View of the Negro Problem," is presented by Mr. E. E. Miller. Mr. Miller holds that it was necessary for the South to disfranchise the negro, that it was a crime to give him the ballot before he was prepared for it, but that it is equally a crime to deny it to him when he prepares himself to vote intelligently. As to education, he believes that on the whole the South has done well by the education of the negro, but blames all the Southern States for not making adequate provision for the training of negro teachers. He makes no attempt to extenuate the lynching evil, and as to the lines of social cleavage, Mr. Miller argues that if the negro must have his own colleges he is entitled to a fair share of the State's contribution to collegiate education, and this he has not had. If he is to stay in his own railroad car he is entitled to decent service and this he often fails to get. If he is expected to live in his own section of the city he is entitled to more consideration as a citizen and taxpayer than he commonly receives.

There are essays in this number by George Bourne on "Our Primitive Knowledge;" on "The Higher Criticism of Karl Marx," by L. L. Bernard; and on "William Dean Howells," by W. B. Trites.

The *American Journal of Sociology* and the *Journal of Political Economy*, both published at the University of Chicago, have articles addressed particularly to the teachers of sociology and economics in the colleges and universities of the country. The editor of the *Journal of Sociology*, Prof. Albion W. Small, of the University of Chicago, opens the January number of his periodical with a suggestive article on "The Present Outlook of Social Science." This is followed by a more technical discussion of "Social Values," by Edward C. Hayes, of the University of Illinois. An illustrated description of two Italian districts in the city of Chicago with special reference to housing conditions is contributed by Grace Peloubet Norton, of the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy. Mr. Henry Fairchild, of Yale, writes on the present methods of preventing cruelty to children. There are two historical articles of general interest in the *Journal of Political Economy*—"Some Economic Aspects of Immigration Before 1870," by Thomas W. Page and "Early Canal Traffic and Railroad Competition in Ohio," by Ernest L. Bogart. The other articles in this number have to do with economic courses in colleges and universities.

THE POPULAR MAGAZINES

THE March *Atlantic* opens with an appreciation of President Wilson from the pen of "E. S.", who comments in his introductory paragraphs on the charge that Mr. Wilson is ambitious. "E. S." does not resent the allegation, yet, he asks, why should we be hypercritical, in men, of that essential quality we so ardently instill into our boys? It is not ambition itself that is objectionable, according to "E. S." but what lies behind it, and, as his critics do not realize, "it is not to possess, but to become, that has been Mr. Wilson's dearest hope. To him, his election is the symbol that the scholar has attained his largest opportunity".

I press the point because it will be found, I think, a key to Mr. Wilson's whole career. From boyhood his mind was scholarly, but while his childhood's friends were bent on growing up to be carpenters or generalissimos, this boy dreamed steadily of a political career. From the first printing-press he ever owned or borrowed, he struck off his cards, "Thomas Woodrow Wilson, United States Senator from Virginia," and when the proprieties of advancing years constrained him to a more impersonal expression of his ambition, he continually wrote and taught that he was the most sagacious scholar who oftenest left his study for the market-place, and that the wisest politician was he whose hours were oftenest passed in studious places.

Francis E. Leupp gives graceful utterance to the swan song of the Republican party.

"The passing of a dynasty" he aptly calls it. Noting the fact that with two brief interruptions, the Republican party has maintained its supremacy for fifty-two years,—a period that has "compassed two actual and several potential wars; the liberating of four million bondmen; the opening of an inland empire to development and home building; the establishment of domestic industries on a scale of which preceding generations never dreamed; the crystalization of a union of mutually jealous States into a superb national unit, the master force of a whole hemisphere; the elevation of the government's credit from perhaps the poorest to the proudest place on the international scale," Mr. Leupp points out that in every one of these changes the Republican party has been the party of advance.

President Theodore A. Vail, of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, gives an interesting discussion of what he believes to be the proper solution of the telephone service. Judging from experience, his unqualified conclusion is that the present method of private management and ownership, "subordinated to public interests and under rational control and regulation by national, State, or municipal bodies," is the best method.

In the mid-winter number of the *Century*, James Davenport Whelpley writes informingly on "Japan's Commercial Crisis." He concludes that until industrial Japan is completely modernized there will continue to be a large and important trade for American manufacturers of machinery. So far as Japanese competition in the higher civilized countries is concerned, western peoples need have no fears, but if America or any other western nation wants trade in other countries of the Far East, in such products as Japan produces, it will require hard work to get and hold it.

The progress made by Alaska in the past forty-five years as a territory of the United States is related in some detail by Alfred Holman. His conclusion is that with Alaska the United States is and may remain master in the Pacific Ocean. On the other hand, Japan, with Alaska, will be its master. Therefore, if Alaska is to remain American territory under any condition which may arise, we must have a defensive policy and defensive forces to maintain such a policy.

The presidents of Vassar, Wellesley, Mount Holyoke, and Bryn Mawr, the dean of Barnard College and the dean of women of the University of Chicago, give their views on the question of fraternities in women's colleges. Three of these college authorities are distinctly opposed to fraternities, while the other three believe that in spite of their evils, they meet a real demand and may be made to serve a useful purpose.

Mr. John Langdon Kaine describes "Lincoln as a Boy Knew Him," more than half a century ago, and the statement of an eye witness of Lincoln's assassination is now for the first time published.

In *Harper's* for February explorer Stefánsson continues his account of his researches in the Arctic. A few of the recent triumphs of industrial research are enumerated by Dr. Robert K. Duncan. Professor Thomas R. Lounsbury comments on "Scotticisms and Americanisms." Charles H. Caffin describes "Some Titians of the Prado." An Indian travel article, beautifully illustrated, is contributed by F. B. R. Hellems. We quote at some length on page 347 of this REVIEW from Mr. Robert W. Bruère's article on "A Cure for Civic Myopia."

Scribner's for February presents a series of entertaining articles having to do with the motor car,—"Discovering America by Motor," by Ralph D. Paine; "The Automobile and its Mission," by Herbert Ladd Towle; "The Pyrenees Route," by Charles W. Freeston; and last but by no means least, "Steam-Coach Days," by Theodore M. R. von Kéler, with illustrations in color. In his series of articles on Germany and the Germans from an American point of view, Price Collier treats, in this number, of the city of Berlin. Secretary Bishop of the Isthmian Canal Commission gives a good account of the sanitation of the isthmus.

These are a few of the important features in other February issues: In the *American*, Allan Pinkerton's unpublished story of the first attempt on the life of Abraham Lincoln; Brand Whitlock's autobiography; "Experiences of an Airman," by Augustus Post, and "Sarah Bernhardt," by Robert Grau; in *Everybody's* "Taking the Waters," by Woods Hutchinson, and "The Honorable, the Electors," by Frederic J. Haskin; in *Munsey's* "Leaders of A New Congress," by Judson C. Welliver; "The Advance of Surgery," by Isaac F. Marcosson; "The Kaiser As He Is," by "Baron von Dewitz;" "The Coming of the Parcel Post," by Hugh Thompson, and in *Pearson's* an article by Mrs. Caroline Bartlett Crane showing that our national meat inspection laws work to the advantage of foreign nations rather than to that of the American people who live at home.

LIGHT ON THE GOVERNMENT BUSINESS

"A CURE for Civic Myopia," is the title of an enlightening article in *Harper's*, from the pen of Robert W. Bruère, one of the experts long associated with the New York Bureau of Municipal Research, and other like institutions. The purpose of the article is to exhibit some of the wasteful financiering methods under which the government at Washington is conducted.

Mr. Bruère begins with an allusion to the common American boast that our government is one of laws and not of men, of policies rather than of personalities. We have long been in the habit of saying, and most of us have at last come to believe, that we are developing an intelligent citizenship, that our perennial political campaigns are really campaigns of education, and we are in the habit of justifying our muck-raking investigations, whether municipal, State, or national, on the ground that they have an educational value. Yet Mr. Bruère is bold enough and frank enough to admit that this very self-complacency on our part has betrayed us. Over against this prevailing confidence in our national capacity for self-government, Mr. Bruère sets this startling array of facts that form a chapter in our recent national history:

> Before January, 1912, no one, not even the President himself, knew, or had any means of knowing, precisely what the federal government was. Up to that time not so much as a study had ever been made of the vast federal agglomeration as a whole. Its properties and multifarious activities had never so much as been listed; no description had ever been made of the agencies through which these activities were hypothetically performed. In January, 1912, Congress published a survey of the federal government—the first fruit of the voyage of discovery made by the Commission on Economy and Efficiency into the hitherto uncharted seas of the federal administrative domain. The facts of this survey would be incredible from any but the highest authority.
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> After a hundred years of self-government, it required a special investigation of a special commission to reveal even to the officers of government precisely what the federal government was! While our schools and colleges learnedly expounded the Declaration of Independence and the tripartite division of federal authority under the Constitution, while our newspapers entertained their readers with cockpit gossip of inter-departmental scandals and the personal foibles of candidates and bosses, the complacent voter went to the polls and took merit to himself for dropping a scratched paper into the slit of a box, that for all he knew might just as well have been the lid of a furnace. If our government is in confusion, our public business shot through and overgrown with inefficiency, corruption, and graft, who is responsible but the complacent, self-satisfied citizen and his public-school system and his newspaper and magazine press, which, in response to his demand, purveys rumor and gossip instead of facts?

We are a business people, says Mr. Bruère, and we glory in our business success, but how far do we apply our business intelligence to that most vast of all business establishments, the federal government? To make his point more clear, Mr. Bruère introduces a characteristic fragment of the testimony taken by the sub-committee of the House Committee on Appropriations, in May, 1912, to ascertain the wisdom of continuing public support to the President's Commission on Economy and Efficiency. It was brought out in the course of the hearings held by this sub-committee that it is impossible at any time to learn what are the current liabilities of the United States Government, and Mr. Cleveland, the chairman of the Committee on Economy and Efficiency, practically asserted that it is impossible for the Secretary of the Treasury to inform himself, or the President, or Congress, or anybody else, about what is the current financial condition of the government of the United States.

As for business methods, the commission found that "the government is neither coherent as a business organization, nor efficient as an instrument of public welfare, through lack of cöordination and planning its services are in a perennial state of partial demoralization; departments, divisions, bureaus, that should be bound together by a common purpose and a conscious spirit of coöperation in the public interest, are scattered, mutually ignorant of one another's activities and equipment, often hostile, therefore, and at cross purposes. And because of this vast planlessness, millions of public money run to waste."

Mr. Bruère again finds an illustration of his argument in the Treasury Department:

> There, of all places, the Commission on Economy and Efficiency found eighteen distinct bookkeeping bureaus, operating eighteen distinct systems of accounting, running all the way from casual memoranda in pencil on loose slips of paper to a bewilderingly complicated scheme of records grown like a coral reef by planless grafting of process on process. The same incoherence riddles the entire administrative agglomeration. No attempt is made to relate federal expenditure to income, or income to proposed expenditure; no means is provided for testing the efficiency of expenditures by a tally of work accomplished.
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> What wonder that during the past eighty years Congress has found it necessary to conduct more than a hundred special investigations to discover facts concerning service activities which, under any reasonable system of record and reporting, should have been currently available. And unhappily

even these investigations have, practically without exception, been piecemeal and flash-in-the-pan affairs. They have never been undertaken with a view to a carefully considered plan of administrative reorganization. Too often, as in the recent poking about into the affairs of the Bureau of Chemistry in the Department of Agriculture, they have grown out of internal dissensions and scandals, and have been abandoned when spectacular publicity had exhausted public interest. Their general effect has been to muddle the public mind with irrelevancies and to overcast the darkness of an already benighted citizenship.

One of the chief recommendations of the commission, in which, of course, Mr. Bruère concurs, is the restoration of the budgetary function to the executive. In other words, the proposition is that the President and his cabinet shall each year prepare a budgetary program, taking the form of a detailed statement of proposed expenditures, so arranged that Congress may approve or reject them item by item. But even with a budget, Mr. Bruère does not believe it possible to have efficient government while technical positions are filled by spoilsmen instead of by non-political experts. The commission recommends that all technical positions whatsoever shall be filled, upon due test of qualification, by the President alone, that appointment shall be without term, and that removal shall follow only upon proof of incompetence. Thus the entire civil staff would be reorganized with a view solely to efficient service.

THE FARMER AND CREDIT

IN the *Atlantic Monthly* for February ex-Gov. Myron T. Herrick, of Ohio, discusses the serious lack of financial institutions in this country suited to supplying farmers with funds. He declares that in this respect the United States is the most backward of any of the important nations of the world and ascribes to this backwardness the prime reason why this country is so far behind many other countries in the production of food stuffs per acre. In the European countries farmers can readily obtain the funds they need, whereas in the United States farm financing is difficult and costly.

Mr. Herrick shows that in its capital requirements farming is not unlike other industries, and that unless these capital requirements are supplied progress will be slow and dubious. Like the merchant and the manufacturer, the farmer needs funds, first, for the purchase of property and for its permanent improvement, and, second, for temporary purposes such as financing crops. These two general divisions of capital requirements should be preserved, Mr. Herrick thinks, in the nature of the loans that are made to secure funds. Each of these divisions should support its own credit, known, respectively, as land credit and agricultural credit. For buying and making permanent improvements the farmer should be able to make mortgage loans having a long time to run and to be gradually repaid in small yearly installments. At the present time the maximum length of a farm loan in this country is from three to five years. Furthermore, mortgage loans here have a very restricted market and the borrower is frequently obliged to pay an unreasonable rate of interest and to submit to burdensome conditions.

In the case of the mortgage-loan companies of foreign countries, their obligations sell on a basis as favorable as that of bonds of the most successful railroad and industrial corporations. In Mr. Herrick's opinion, the farmers of the United States have as good claim to cheap money as have railroad and industrial corporations, because farm land constitutes as good security as a railroad or a factory.

As to the financing of temporary requirements, the personal credit of farmers should be made available. Facilities for making negotiable the personal credit of farmers are inadequate in this country at the present time. For the great majority of American farmers it is exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to secure the personal credit accommodation they need and to which their responsibility entitles them.

Mr. Herrick has made a careful examination of the land-credit systems of Europe, especially the Raiffeisen banks of Germany and the Credit Foncier in France. A Raiffeisen bank, he explains, is a mutual association, while the Credit Foncier is an incorporated company. The Raiffeisen banks loan for the most part on personal obligations, the Credit Foncier on first mortgages. The Raiffeisen banks secure most of their funds through the deposits of the farmers themselves, while the Credit Foncier, through the debenture bond issues, obtains funds from the conservative investors of all classes. After careful examination of both systems, Mr. Herrick concludes that each one possesses many features well adapted for farm-credit institutions in

this country. Neither system, he thinks, involves strange financial principles. The record of the mutual savings banks in this country proves that coöperation can be safely and wisely applied in banks. We are familiar with the principle of debenture bonds and we know something of the principle of amortization. Nevertheless, in working out the plans of such systems for this country, Mr. Herrick would be cautious in adherence to foreign models, remembering that the value and success of every institution depends upon its being in harmony with its environment.

MINIMUM WAGE PROJECTS

THERE are many indications that the principle of a legal minimum wage will be more and more widely adopted. First enacted in Belgium, in 1887, in connection with some contract work for one of the communes, the requirement that public contractors and makers of supplies for public purposes should pay certain minimum wage rates, has now been extended throughout that kingdom. In last month's issue of the REVIEW we noticed an article by Mr. Sidney Webb on the success of the minimum wage law in the State of Victoria, Australia, since 1896. New South Wales and South Australia have within the last ten years followed Victoria's lead and enacted similar measures. In England minimum wage boards, or trade boards, were established in 1910 in certain industries in which female home workers were employed, and in 1912 the extension of minimum wage legislation to the coal mines caused the miners to call off a disastrous strike which had defied all other methods of settlement. In Austria, France, and Germany, various minimum wage projects have within the last three or four years been seriously entertained in the legislatures. Minimum wage legislation in the United States is treated by Prof. John A. Ryan, D.D., in the *Catholic World* for February. "It has," he says, "found a place in the statutes of Massachusetts, been introduced in the legislatures of two other States, been inserted in the national platform of a great political party, been authorized in the new consittution of Ohio, and it will be among the bills discussed in the legislatures of several States this winter." Premising that "the State ought not to permit any considerable section of its citizens to live below the level of efficient, normal, and reasonable life," we are to-day, he tells us, "confronted with just such a condition." All recent investigations justify the assertion that "the lowest amount on which a man and wife and three children can maintain physical, mental, and moral health in any city of the United States is somewhere between $750 and $900 per year, and that a decent living for a woman wage earner is somewhere between $8 and $10 per week." Yet what do we find?

> According to Professor Nearing, of the University of Pennsylvania, who has published the latest and most complete estimates of wages on the basis of all the available statistics, three-fourths of the male adult workers get less than $750 yearly, and three-fifths of the adult females are paid a weekly wage of less than $8.

All fair-minded persons will agree with Professor Ryan when he says:

> The establishment of a minimum wage is quite as much a proper function of the State as the safeguarding of life, limb, or property. . . . To protect the health, morals, and mind of the citizen against the injury resulting from an insufficient livelihood is quite as important, both individually and socially, as to protect his life against the assassin, his body against the bully, or his money against the thief.

The notion, common throughout America, that the State may not touch the wage contract "has neither political, moral, nor logical foundation." Labor unions fix minimum wages; why should not the legislature?

Professor Ryan calls attention to one objection to a universal minimum wage which he considers has in it some elements of validity.

> It consists in the possibility that the increased wages would be followed by increased prices, and, therefore, by diminished production and diminished employment. . . . To be sure, if the wages of all the underpaid workers in America were raised to decent and living levels by one sudden stroke of legal enactment, the evil results that we are now discussing would probably be verified. Such able and uncompromising advocates of the minimum wage as Sidney and Beatrice Webb make this admission. Consequently the advance in wages effected by the law should be gradual and continuous, not quick and final. In this way the rise in prices would be confined to the products of a very few industries; for the greater part of the increased wages would probably come out of the increased efficiency of the workers, and the diminished profits of monopolistic establishments and sweating establishments. All authorities admit

that better food, clothing, and housing for submerged workers would enable them to turn out a larger product.

The Massachusetts Minimum Wage Commission found that in one candy factory in that State 24 per cent. of the girls received less than $4 a week, while in another only 1 per cent. fell below that wage; that in a third establishment 22 per cent. were paid between $6 and $8, while in a fourth 78 per cent. were in that class of wage rates; and that, if a minimum wage of $6 per week were established, Jones would be compelled to add $10 to his pay-roll for every ten women employed, but the increased wage outlay by Jenkins would be only $3. Undoubtedly Jones would suffer a considerable reduction in profits. He might even be forced out of business; but this would be a good thing, not only for his exploited employees, but for the whole candy industry.

Even a considerable rise in prices would be a smaller evil than the existence of large masses of underpaid human beings.

As between wage-fixing by the legislature and the projects of wage boards, Professor Ryan holds that the ideal arrangement would be one comprehending both methods.

VISCOUNT MORLEY AS A MAN OF LETTERS

IT is now thirty years since the subject of this article, after having been twice rejected—at his native place in 1869 and at Westminster in 1880—first found a seat in the English House of Commons, as Member for Newcastle-on-Tyne. Throughout all his activity in that arena, and subsequently in the House of Lords, in the midst of his onerous duties in the offices of Secretary of State for Ireland, Secretary for India, and Lord President of the Council, he has found time to enrich the literature of his country with numerous volumes some of which are destined to become classics. Writing of Lord Morley in the London *Bookman*, Mr. Alexander Mackintosh says: "It cannot be truly said of Lord Morley that he is known only as a man of letters among politicians, and as a mere politician among men of letters. He has won honor and fame in each sphere. No statesman has held higher rank in the realm of literature; no writer of books, except Disraeli, has risen higher in the service of the State." He indeed presents in himself a remarkable corroboration of the views expressed in his essays on Burke and Vauvenargues respectively, that "books are a better preparation for statesmanship than early training in the subordinate posts and among the permanent officials of a public department," and that "for sober, healthy and robust judgment on human nature and life, active and sympathetic contact with men in the transaction of the many affairs of their daily life is a better preparation than any amount of wholly meditative seclusion."

John Morley, the son of a surgeon, was born at Blackburn in Lancashire, December 24, 1838, and while still very young went up from Cheltenham College to Oxford, where he graduated in 1859. His literary career is thus sketched by the *Bookman* writer:

On leaving Oxford he had a considerable struggle to secure his footing as a man of letters. He combined tutorial work with journalism, taking a mastership at a school at Charlton in Kent. His literary apprenticeship was served under the Rev. Frederick Arnold on the *Literary Gazette*, the title of which was subsequently altered to the *Parthenon* and he himself became its editor before he was twenty-five. Early in the 'sixties some articles in the *Saturday Review* were attracting attention, and a selection of these formed his first volume, published without his name, under the title "Modern Characteristics," in 1865.

In 1867 Lord Morley succeeded Lewes as editor of the *Fortnightly Review*, and for a short time he edited also the Radical paper, the *Morning Star*. His literary and political power dates from the time when he assumed control of the *Fortnightly*, which he made "the organ and instrument of all that tended to progress and freedom."

Mr. Harrison wrote in its pages his powerful defense of trades unions; it contained Mr. Huxley's memorable paper on the Physical Basis of Life; and Mr. Chamberlain, the rising Radical leader, contributed to it the most pungent articles he ever penned. . . . The contributors included Bagehot and Freeman, Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer, Swinburne, William Morris and the Rossettis. The contents of several of Lord Morley's books appeared first in the *Fortnightly*, and there were, of course, from his pen contributions of a more polemical character.

Lord Morley retired from the editorship of the *Fortnightly* in 1882, having found time to produce a number of works, the result of close research and sustained thought. Among them were:

His first book on Burke (1867); biographies of Voltaire (1872) and Rousseau (1873); "On Compromise" (1874); "Miscellanies" (1871-7); "Burke" (1878), in the "English Men of Letters" series, which he edited; "Diderot and the Encyclopaedists (1878); "The Life of Richard Cobden" (1881).

As editor | Indian charmer | "Honest John," though a Lord | A St. Patrick in Ireland

LORD MORLEY IN VARIOUS ASPECTS AS SEEN BY THE CARTOONIST SIR FRANCIS CARRUTHERS GOULD

"On compromise," which was described by George McLean Harper in the *Atlantic Monthly* as "the moral portrait of the author," is said by Lord Morley himself to be "a vindication of the simple right of living one's life honestly."

From May, 1880, to August, 1883, Lord Morley edited the *Pall Mall Gazette*, Mr. W. T. Stead becoming his assistant editor. Of the work of these two distinguished men on that paper, Mr. Mackintosh incidentally remarks:

> Sedateness was aimed at by Lord Morley in journalism no less than in government. "No dithyrambs, *s'il vous plait*," he would say to his colleague Mr. Stead, when editing the *Pall Mall Gazette*.

Lord Morley's studies of English statesmen include Burke, Cobden, Walpole, Cromwell, and Gladstone. Of the last-mentioned work, published in 1903, Mr. Mackintosh rightly says: "The merits of this discreet, dignified, masterly biography are recognized as fully by one party as by another. It could not have been written by a politician who was not a man of letters, nor by a man of letters who had not been engaged in politics."

The many readers of Lord Morley will heartily endorse the *Bookman's* general estimate of his Lordship's writings:

> Character is impressed on everything that Lord Morley has written. The same individuality, serene, sedate, self-respecting, self-collected, is visible from his earliest volume to his latest. . . . There is charm in his harmony of language, in a certain archness that relieves his gravity, in his aphorisms, allusions, and precepts, and in his happy choice of words from a limitless vocabulary. . . . He is fond of recalling the maxims of Vauvenargues that "great thoughts come from the heart," and Helvetius's saying that "in order to love mankind we must not expect too much from them." Repeatedly in print he has quoted . . . Goethe's noble, majestic psalm, *Das Gottliche;*—" Let man be noble, helpful and good, for that alone distinguishes him from all beings that we know." Not only literature, but Parliamentary debate, so stilted and stunted in its language, has been enriched by his apt, animated, precise and penetrating phrases as well as by that integrity of mind and that insistence on the high moralities of life which have distinguished his whole career.

THE OREGON TRAIL

RESIDENTS of New York and other Eastern cities will recall the pilgrimage of Ezra Meeker, the pioneer trail-marker, who, in 1906 and 1907, retraced the Oregon Trail in a prairie schooner drawn by a team of oxen and continued his journey eastward to the Atlantic seaboard. Through the efforts of Mr. Meeker, who himself passed over the old road to Oregon in 1852, monuments or markers suitably inscribed have been erected at a number of places along the historic trail in Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Wyoming, and Nebraska. In *Sunset* (February) Mr. John L. Cowan gives a brief account of this famous trail and shows what it meant in the settlement and development of the great Northwest.

Mr. Cowan describes the road to Oregon as in the main a natural highway following the easy grades of the water courses. Animal life of the plains—deer, elk, antelope, and buffalo—first found the fords of the rivers, passes over the mountains, and the quickest and easiest paths between water holes on desert stretches. The Indians followed these paths, then came the fur-trappers and traders, and after them the missionaries, army officers, and home-seekers. In 1829 a fur-trapper named Sublette started from St. Louis with a caravan of ten wagons and two

THE FAMOUS OREGON TRAIL

(The Oregon Trail started at Independence, in Missouri, and for forty-one miles was identical with the older Santa Fé Trail. Where Gardner now stands, the highway turned to the northwest as the "Road to Oregon." At Fort Hall, the Forty-niners' trail turned southwest to California. From the Missouri River to the Columbia's mouth the trail was 2134 miles long)

carts loaded with merchandise, ammunition, and supplies,—each wagon drawn by ten mules. This was the first wagon train that ever went over any part of the Oregon trail west of the point of its divergence from the Sante Fé Trail. Although Sublette went no further than Wind River Mountains, he reported to the government that there was no obstacle to crossing the Rocky Mountains by way of South Pass with wheeled vehicles, should the necessity arise.

In 1832 Captain Bonneville, an army officer on leave of absence, led 110 hunters and trappers with a caravan of twenty wagons by way of the Platt River route, South Pass, and Green River crossing, to Salt Lake. Missionaries went out to Oregon in 1834 and 1836. By 1842, the year of Frémont's expedition, the trail had become a wagon road traversed safely by women and children. In 1849, the year of the historic gold rush, 25,000 emigrants reached California over the California and Oregon Trail, although it is said that not less than 5000 fell victims to the cholera in that one year, and were buried between the Missouri River and Fort Laramie. Settlers were from four to six months in making the journey. Mr. Cowan has interesting paragraphs on the successive problems in transportation that were created by this great movement of population:

The first overland mail route west of the Missouri River was a monthly stage from Independence to Salt Lake City, 1200 miles, beginning July 1, 1850. The first transcontinental stages ran by way of El Paso, Yuma and Los Angeles, to San Francisco (Butterfield's Southern Overland route), dating from September 15, 1858, covering a distance of 2759 miles in from twenty-three to twenty-five days. The outbreak of the Civil War made it necessary to transfer the mails to the shorter but more hazardous Central Overland route, by the Oregon and California Trails. Ben Holliday was the Napoleon of overland stage traffic from 1862 to 1866, with 500 stage-coaches and express wagons, 500 freight wagons, 5000 mules and horses and an unknown number of oxen, covering 5000 miles of plains, desert and mountain roads. Road agents lay in wait for stages known to carry bullion or wealthy passengers, and Indians made raids merely for the pleasure of killing, so that the lives of stage-drivers contained enough of hazard and excitement to satisfy the most strenuous; and any one who followed the vocation for long was reasonably sure to "die with his boots on." In 1866 Holliday sold out to Wells, Fargo and Company. Stage mail service then gradually came to an end, being superseded by the Union and Central Pacific railroads. The coaches started daily from the western terminus of the Union Pacific, and from the eastern terminus of the Central Pacific, the distance lessening day by day until, when the last spike was driven at Promontory Point, Utah, with the joining of the rails, the old stage line through the valleys of the Platte and Sweetwater had vanished from the land forever.

More picturesque even than the stage-coach was the Pony Express. The first Pony Express riders started from St. Joe and Sacramento April 3, 1860, at noon, following the Oregon Trail to Fort Bridger, then to Salt Lake City, Camp Floyd, Ruby Valley, Carson City, Placerville and Folsom to Sacramento. The distance was 1966 miles, the time required from eight to ten days, and the rate on letters $5 per half-ounce! Five hundred horses, 190 stations, 200 station agents and eighty experienced and fearless riders were required for the service. The Pony Express came to an end with the completion of the first ocean-to-ocean telegraph, October 24, 1861.

More important even than the overland stages and the Pony Express was the overland freight traffic.

No adequate attempt has ever been made to compile statistics of overland travel and freight traffic from 1849 to 1869. Such compilation, in fact, is not now possible; but the scattered figures and estimates for particular periods are a strong tax upon credulity. The climax of freighting was reached in the three years from 1863 to 1866, when it is estimated that the floating population on the plains was not less than 250,000! Through the 60's it was not uncommon for 500 heavily laden wagons to pass Fort Kearney, westward bound, in a day. In 1866, it is said that in six weeks 6000 wagons, each carrying from one to four tons of freight, passed that point.

SOME BALKAN OPINIONS ON THE BALKAN SITUATION

A FEW days before the downfall of the Kiamil Pasha cabinet (January 23), the Turkish press unanimously, without a single exception and with no regard of party affiliations, advised the government to resist to the bitter end. Even after the presenting to the Porte of the now famous European note, counselling her to abandon Adrianople and to leave the decision concerning the future status of the Egean Islands to the powers, the majority of the journals were constantly urging the government not to let itself be intimidated by this pressure.

Speaking of the Egean Islands, the *Ifham* (Information), a Nationalist organ, says:

The Greeks and their sponsors claim the islands, because the population speaks Greek. . . . This is true, but, if a part of the population speaks that language, is this a sufficient reason to claim the country? There are on the coast of Asia Minor a lot of people speaking Greek. Are we to abandon for that reason those places? How stupid is such a claim!

The *Ikdam* (Endeavor), another very important and serious journal, rightly considered as the mouthpiece of the old cabinet, says, concerning Adrianople:

Neither the Ottoman government nor the Turkish people can renounce Adrianople. That city has been for 600 years the second capital of the Ottomans, who have lived there by the right of conquest. It contains the graves of the Caliphs, and the greatest mosques in the world. We have defended it bravely and the enemy is very far from conquering it. Shall it be given over? No, No, No. . . .

After the note was presented by the Ambassadors to the Porte, the press ridiculed the possibility of a complete European understanding, as the note tried to make the impression, or that any effective pressure could be applied to the Turks.

The *Sabah* (Morning), a most serious journal, says:

Every man is free to follow or not the advice given him by "friends." We know to what amounts the value of the "friendly advice," which we are receiving gratuitously. It is certain that no effective pressure will be exercised on us. Such threats do not frighten us any more, since they are so often repeated.

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NAZIM PASHA, EX-MINISTER OF WAR AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE TURKISH ARMY
(Who was shot in the attack in the palace on January 23 at the overthrow of the Kiamil Pasha ministry)

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AT THE SIEGE OF ADRIANOPLE

(Bulgarian outposts in shelter on the hills outside Adrianople. These men were stationed to guard important points of communication, particularly the railroad bridge)

The *Alemdar* (Standard-bearer), a clerical organ, says:

To understand the critical situation of the cabinet [of Kiamil Pasha], let us remind ourselves that it has not made a single friend among the European powers. As long as they expected us to win the war, the "status quo" was proclaimed, sung and decreed. But, as soon as we had the first reverses the status quo had a first-class funeral.

The same journal, commenting on the "exorbitant demands of the allies," and the note of the powers, says:

It is too much. It is simply telling us to commit suicide. We do not abandon Adrianople, because, without that city, the Straits and the security of Asiatic Turkey become empty words. We shall not commit suicide. We shall die if we have to, but bravely, gloriously. At least they will not say that we do not know how to die!

The *Yeni Gazetta* (New Journal), which is very vigorous in its comments on the demand of the Bulgarians for Adrianople, observes:

Let us admit that Adrianople falls by starvation, while peace negotiations are going on, or even that it should be taken by the Bulgars in war. Or, let us suppose that Turkey, under European pressure, should be obliged to sign a peace treaty giving over Adrianople to the Bulgars. In this case, everyone in Turkey will think only about one thing: Revenge. We shall work only for one aim: Revenge. . . . On some questions an equally honorable solution for all parties may be found, but Adrianople does not belong to that category. . . . Either Adrianople will continue to remain Turkish, or Bulgaria and Turkey shall be separated by an abyss, which nothing will be able to fill.

Some Greek and Servian Opinions

Since the opening of the Balkan Peace Conference in London there have been symptoms of more or less distrust of Bulgaria among the Greeks and Servians. A Greek paper, the *Nea Imera* of Athens has been asking whether it would not be better to stop the fighting round Janina, seeing that the delimitation of the Albanian frontier on the side of Greece will have to be settled by the European powers. Another Greek paper, *Embeas*, frankly expressed its mistrust of Bulgarian intentions, regarding Bulgaria as arriving at a position in the Balkans similar to that of Prussia in Germany.

Later on the Servian press began to have apprehensions, and the *Pravda*, of Belgrade, said:

Why do we leave our delegates so long in London pocketing big allowances? Our duty was already terminated on November 23. We have no longer any dispute with Turkey. Notwithstanding this, we are keeping under arms 300,000 men at a terrible expense. Why? Because the Bulgarians want Adrianople and the Greeks the islands. Yet for all that the Greeks and the Bulgarians have not moved a little finger to change our situation on the Adriatic and in Albania. Pachitch cannot be unaware that the day when the Greeks and Bulgarians shall have obtained their object, they will disarm, leaving us alone to face Austro-Hungary.

Probably the complaint of the *Pravda* is well founded so far as the Greeks and Bulgarians are concerned, but according to statements from Bucharest they can still

rely on Russia. Galatz reported that several Russian steamers had passed there going up the Danube loaded with war material for Servia, and quite recently a large number had passed carrying money, cannon, uniforms and medical supplies for Bulgaria and Servia. From this it may be inferred that the armistice was availed of to bring from Russia some of the heavy guns being used in the bombardment of Adrianople, and put in the Servian batteries on the Danube and towards the Austrian frontier.

THE THREE STRATEGIC CENTERS OF ISLAM

IN the estimation of every faithful Moslem, three cities stand high above all the other cities of the earth: they are Mecca, Constantinople, and Cairo. With these three capitals of the Moslem world every true believer has almost daily personal relations. If he reads the Koran, the probability is that it was printed in Cairo; on Fridays he prays for the ruler at Constantinople; and every day, when he prostrates himself in prayer, it is toward Mecca that his prayer-carpet is stretched. The Rev. Dr. Samuel M. Zwemer in the *Missionary Review of the World* describes Mecca as the heart, Constantinople as the hand, and Cairo as the head of the Moslem empire.

THE SHEIK-UL-ISLAM, HEAD OF THE MOSLEM CHURCH

The Religious Capital—Mecca

The importance of Mecca lies in the number of pilgrims that visit it from every nation of Islam every year. Turkish official estimates give the total of these for 1907 as 281,000. Dr. Zwemer remarks:

> What Jerusalem and Palestine are to Christendom, this, and vastly more, Mecca and Arabia are to the Mohammedan world. Not only is this land the cradle of their religion and the birthplace of their prophet, the shrine toward which, for centuries, prayers and pilgrimage have gravitated; but Arabia is also, according to universal Moslem tradition, the original home of Adam after the fall, and the home of all the older patriarchs. Here Allah constructed for them a tabernacle, on the site of the present Kaaba. The Sacred Mosque (Mesjid el Haram) containing the Kaaba is the prayer-center of the Mohammedan world. . . . The Kaaba proper stands in an oblong space 250 paces long by 200 broad. This open space is surrounded by colonnades, used for schools and as the general rendezvous of pilgrims. It is in turn surrounded by the outer-temple wall, with its nineteen gates and six minarets. The Sacred Mosque and its Kaaba contain the following treasures: the Black Stone, the well of Zemzem, the great pulpit, the staircase, and the two small mosques of Saab and Abbas.

As is generally known, Mecca is to Christians a "forbidden" city. Such as have entered it have done so at peril of their lives. It is even said that "scarcely a pilgrimage takes place without some persons being put to death as intruded Christians." An educated and pious Moslem informed Dr. Zwemer that when he went on pilgrimage and took pictures of the city, even his life was more than once endangered by the fanaticism of the inhabitants. Mecca, in Dr. Zwemer's view, stands as "a challenge to faith and Christian heroism." It is "the sink-hole of Islam."

> All witnesses agree on the flagrant immorality which pervades the streets and even the mosque of the sacred city, on the prevalence of the slave trade, on the fleecing of pilgrims, and the corruption of the local government. If Mecca is the glory of the Moslem world, they glory in their shame. The Christ who wept over Jerusalem and had compassion on the multitudes is surely waiting for some one to go to this great city and to stand amid its hundred thousand pilgrims and point them away from the reeking shambles of their yearly sacrifice to the Lamb of God that taketh

away the sin of the world; away from the well of Zemzem to the Water of Life!

The Political Capital—Constantinople

Besides being the capital of Turkey, Constantinople is the residence of the *Imam-el-Muslimin*, the supreme pontiff of Islam.

Even at the present day Constantinople and its politics are the cynosure of Islam from Morocco to the Philippine Islands. The fall of Constantinople would be interpreted by Moslems everywhere as the direst disaster. This accounts for the enthusiastic response and almost fanatic response in every part of Moslem India to the appeals to help the Sultan during the war in Tripoli and in the Balkan States.

As a strategic center for Christian work "calculated, directly and indirectly, to reach the 200,000,000 who bear the name of the prophet of Arabia," Dr. Zwemer considers no place can compare with Constantinople. Of its 1,106,000 inhabitants, scarcely more than one-half are Moslems. On the work of American missionaries here, he quotes the late William T. Stead as having said:

How many American citizens, I wonder, are aware that from the slopes of Mt. Ararat all the way to the shores of the blue Egean Sea American missionaries have scattered broadcast over all this distressful land the seed of American principles? They are here everywhere teaching, preaching, begetting new life in these Asiatic races.

The present situation in Constantinople "calls for an enormous expansion of all the existing missionary agencies to win the political capital of Islam for Christ."

The Intellectual Capital—Cairo

The Moslem population of Cairo is larger than that of any other city in the world, 90 per cent. of its 700,000 inhabitants being Mohammedans. It has 206 mosques, not counting the smaller ones, and in the Khedivial Library "one can trace the literary history of the city in priceless MSS. of the Koran and other books." Cairo is the center from which pours out a flood of Moslem literature.

Millions of pages of the Koran in many and beautiful editions, commentaries and books of devotion by the hundred thousand, ten thousand books and pamphlets attacking the Christian faith or defending Islam and propagating its teaching, come ceaselessly year after year from the Moslem presses of this great center of Moslem learning. Books printed in Cairo are read by the camp-fires of the Sahara, in the market-place of Timbuctoo, and are treasured as authorities in the mosques of Java, Burma, Cape Town, and Canton.

Another factor in the city's strategic influence is its journalism. Cairo has more than eighty daily newspapers, including two women's journals and three medical. In the year 1909 more than 2,500,000 copies of newspapers and periodicals went from Egypt into other Moslem lands.

Cairo is the Gibraltar of the Moslem faith; but it "is also becoming a Gibraltar of the Christian faith, not only for Egypt but for all Africa." The census for 1907 showed 25,000 Protestants. Cairo is to be the seat of the future Christian university for the Nile Valley. The Nile Press, established in 1905 for the distribution of books and periodicals in Arabic and special literature for Moslems, has "grown with startling rapidity, and more than fulfilled the hopes of its founders." All of this enables Dr. Zwemer to speak optimistically of the situation from the Christian standpoint. He says:

Mecca represents the unoccupied fields of Islam, and challenges faith and heroism. Constantinople, with its mosque of St. Sophia, appeals to our loyalty. We must win back what was lost to the Church of Christ. And Cairo is the city of opportunity, of the open door and the beckoning hand. . . . The three cities voice the appeal of three continents, Asia, Europe, and Africa, to be freed from the thraldom of Mohammed and welcomed into the glorious liberty of the children of God.

THE BIRTH OF THE NEW HELLAS

THE victories of the Greeks in the Balkan War, surprising though they have been to the rest of the world, are accounted for in many ways in a highly interesting letter addressed from Greece to the *Süddeutsche Monatshefte* (Munich) by Dr. George Karo, director of the German Archeological Institute at Athens. The observation of this scholar, based upon long experience, exhibits the Greek as endowed with far more good qualities than he is generally credited with—in particular, warm family affection, and hospitality, and an intense patriotism.—The writer records the fall of Salonica, conquered by the Turks about 500 years ago. The capture of Constantinople alone, he remarks, could dim the luster of this victory of Greek arms.

No foreigner, says the German writer in the *Süddeutsche* has a better opportunity to learn the real character of the Greeks than the archeologist.

It is this student who, with no self-seeking aims, traverses all parts of the country, speaks their language, mingles in the life of people of every class, comes in close touch in the course of many years' work and travel with hundreds of Greeks in the capacity of subordinates.

It can be no mere accident, therefore, that it is among archeologists of all nations that we find the warmest friends of Greece. Their testimony is specially significant at this crisis of her history, since they can "base their explanation of her astounding victories upon psychological grounds."

The writer disclaims the idea of giving a character-sketch of the Greek nation, wishing, only, by pointing out certain traits—above all, love of family and country—to make recent events more comprehensible.

Nothing, he observes, strikes the stranger more forcibly than the strictly regulated structure of the family—the authority of the parents, the reverence paid them by their children, seem as if ordained by unalterable laws.

Strict rules govern other family matters, too: the younger sister may not marry before the older one, the brother not until he has provided for his sisters, and so on.

These old-time customs which are, of course, disappearing in the towns, spring from an extraordinary moral austerity. Not only is adultery a grave crime, not only does a father or brother regard himself justified in killing a girl who has gone astray—mere celibacy is considered regrettable, almost immoral. There are few European countries where primeval morals and customs hold such undiminished sway, not only in the family circle but as the basis of human intercourse. Hence the ceremonious politeness among even the simplest country-folk, ancient forms of greeting, etc., recalling the Homeric mode of speech. Owing to this highly civilized intercourse, Greece, despite the great wealth of the few, the grinding poverty of the many, has practically no Socialists. And nobody benefits more than the stranger by their courtesy. In his case the ancient Hellenic hospitality is revised. Astonishing as it may sound, there is no country where tipping is less demanded, and so often refused. These customs, vitiated by the tourist in much-frequented points, are in vigorous force in the rural districts. Such traits reveal some of the virtues of the Greek character—a human helpfulness, unselfish hospitality, and a keen sense for the honor of their country.

Patriotism animates all, even those who leave their home because it can not sustain them. In their struggles abroad to amass a fortune, their one dream is to return, to end their days on native soil. They take pride on their return in erecting, in large towns and small, fine hospitals, schools, museums. Of what tremendous significance this loyal attachment is to Greece, is obvious. For by far the greater and richer part of the Greeks live in Turkey or are scattered throughout the world: that her scattered sons finally gravitate home constitutes her greatest and best strength.

But this very strength is rooted in misfortune and weakness. In their war of liberation, ninety years ago, the Greeks wrested only a small part of their country from the tyrant. The young kingdom was maimed, incomplete; care for her undelivered sons has constantly checked her development, absorbed her best forces. Devastated, decimated as she was at the close of the war, she needed all her strength to insure her existence. How great her sacrifices have been for her sons in Turkey will probably never be known.

In their difficult political development, the dark sides of the Greek character became especially evident to the foreigner—failings not surprising to the historian, so fully do they reflect in modern guise the antique disposition. The boundless individualism, lack of discipline, a blind rivalry which prefers destruction with an antagonist to union with him, the sudden change from grateful friendship to bitter hatred—all are reminders of ancient history, and all this was shown in the revolution of 1909, repelling the friendly witness and clouding his judgment as to the essential good in the movement—a passionate, even if at times unjust and awkward, protest against intolerable conditions, a mighty kindling of patriotism.

The writer was in Tyrnavos when the first rumors of the present war were broached. All the workmen desired peace, hoped for succor from the great powers, which, as usual, was not forthcoming. Instead, came the order to mobilize. There was no evidence among the many peasants and small people he met of any enthusiasm for war. Nearly all felt a mistrust in their own strength, a gloomy expectation of new disasters. Yet not a single one held back or shirked his duty. "We may be ruined but we can no longer allow our brethren to suffer. We must help them," was the constant cry.

Not only was the army mobilized, in admirable order, some days before the time assigned; not only did full contingents present themselves without exception; from all sides, every section of Europe, from Egypt, Asia, America, from all over the globe, the reserves, the volunteers streamed in. Rich as well as poor; a Prince Ypsilanti entered as a private; wealthy owners of automobiles placed them at the country's disposal, they acting as chauffeurs; 500 emigrants bound for America turned back from Brindisi, sacrificing their passage-money, to fight for their country, which they were on the point of leaving, because it could not support them. Just because so many had no faith in victory, because the Greek is generally peace-loving, unwarlike, must this unconditional devotion to his native land arouse our admiration.

When the news of the first victories reached Athens, one who had witnessed the last war thought he beheld another nation. There was no "vainglorious bluster; calm and quiet everywhere, only a happier expression on the

earnest faces. Undisturbed sobriety even after continued conquests. Only when Salonica fell, when what seemed an unattainable dream became a reality, did the enthusiasm burst its bounds, and for hours the streets surged with happy multitudes." The writer conversed with many wounded officers and soldiers. He found them calm, rejoicing over their victorious arms, and the hopeful prospects, but heard "no boastful accounts, no patriotic cant."

All this was new and astonishing—not so much to the archeologist, for in the course of his experience he grew to know the assiduity, endurance, honesty, and loyalty of the people.

Nor has the conqueror been wanting in magnanimity.

Many in Europe, and notably in Germany, do not believe in the "alleged" bloody deeds of the Turks. It is vain to argue the point. In Greece, at any rate, they are universally believed, and if in spite of that the Turkish wounded are cared for, the prisoners kindly treated, all honor is due to the humanity of the Greeks.

From a storm so violent that it carries a whole nation with it, uproots defects and releases virtues, the survivor must emerge chastened and fortified. This may be expected of Greece. The moment was, to be sure, rarely auspicious, the complete collapse of the Turkish army a joyous surprise; but even more than of individuals is it true of nations that Fortune favors the deserving. And thus we wish that Greece may continue to enjoy much well-earned luck.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL POETRY AMONG THE CZECHS

IT is to be expected that racial feeling should be strong in the Balkan nations which are not only independent individually, but are strengthened by their mutual proximity and by the long continued struggle against a common foe, but it comes as something of a surprise to find that the fires of patriotism still burn so high in another Slavic people which has long ceased to enjoy autonomy.

That such is the case is clear from the specimens of Bohemian poetry given by Louis Leger in an article in the well-known Swiss review, the *Bibliothèque Universelle* (Lausanne). The article is based on the contents of two recent books, the "Czeska Livra," a Bohemian anthology published at Prague, and a volume in French, by M. Jelinck, on "Contemporaneous Czech Literature," published by the *Mercure de France* in Paris. Prof. Leger writes:

Bohemia, like Belgium and Flanders, is a country of great industry and exploitation of mines. It is the theatre of a double struggle. On the one hand the Czech would fain emancipate himself from the German; on the other hand the workman desires to emancipate himself from the capitalist who exploits and oppresses him, and who is most often a foreigner. Their poetry endeavors above all to express these two tendencies, which sometimes complement, and sometimes contradict, each other.

Professor Leger thus expresses his reasons for confining himself to the topics given:

Men sing of love, of poetry, of nature, and of God in every land and in every tongue. What I here particularly desire to study is the manner in which this people, so patriotic, has sung of its fatherland —the manner in which this people, so laborious, has sung of labor. . . .

The first poet quoted is Joseph Fricz, who was born at Prague in 1829, and died there in 1890. Of his race, he sings:

The Slav is a serf, a slave. So be it!
But God also was a slave upon the cross.
Persecuted, condemned, scourged,
He yet bore the future in His great heart.

Yes, the Slav has been a serf.
He has been bowed beneath the weight of the yoke.
But the day of Judgment is come.
The awful Lord of Lords asketh in wrath
Why ye have bound the poor Slav to your chariots,
Why he has been beaten and nailed upon the cross.
You! Races of Cain! What will you answer?

Of another distinguished poet, Sviatopolk Czech, the author of "Songs of a Slave," Prof. Leger says: "He is interested not only in his compatriots of the kingdom" of Moravia; he embraces in his work his Slavic brothers, perhaps the most unhappy and the most forgotten of the Slavic people. He associates them with the vows which he utters for the future of his country.

It matters little, sons of Carpathia, that the course of history has separated us. Nothing will break the thousand ties that have bound us for centuries; we are a single people, a single tongue, a single branch of the Slavic stock. Nor use nor violence can separate us. . . . Shoulder to shoulder, flank to flank! That all the world may know we are brothers, that the enemy may find us a united group.

An even greater poet, perhaps the greatest of Bohemian, is Jaroslav Vrchlicky. We are grateful for the footnote which tells us that his name is pronounced Verchlitsky! He is given a place of honor in both the books under consideration. But he, we are told, is a "cosmopolite artist of the *genre* of Leconte de Lisle, or of Victor Hugo, and the patriotic inspiration is possibly that which has visited him most rarely."

He has, however, written one beautiful sonnet in which he evokes the splendors of the royal crown of Bohemia, which now rests in the cathedral of Saint-Vit, and says: "The present sovereign is the first, who, in spite of formal promises, has neglected to have himself crowned with it." This sonnet reads in part:

How long wilt thou languish in thy retreat, O splendid jewel, sacred symbol of our nations? . . . How long wilt thou slumber in thy cell? It is not in vain that upon thy circlet gleams the brilliance of our precious stones. Our love is the ruby; our faith is the sapphire; the emerald our hope, and the pearl our silent abdication. . . .

Even more interesting are the examples given of the poetry voicing social unrest. The nobility and beauty of labor are thus glowingly phrased by Simaczek:

Labor is a duty which of beasts makes men;
Labor is as necessary to man as love;
Whoso soweth labor reapeth joy,
And guardeth in his heart eternal peace.

When comes the trump of doom God will not ask of man
Whether he hath broken stones or written verse.
Whoso saith "I have labored" shall be saved,
Whether he hath furrowed his brow with thought, or his field with the plowshare.

Another poet writing under the pseudonym of "Liberté," gives this sombre and menacing description of the burial of one of the victims of a mining disaster:

The priest prayed, but alone, all alone.
All of the people were dumb
Once they looked vainly to Heaven,
Now they look only upon the earth.

There was one grave more in the miners' cemetery
And a new debt was written in the account of the proprietors.

With yet louder threats the mine-owners are assailed by the poet writing under the pen-name of Petr Bezrucz.

All you people of Silesia!
You, masters of the deep mines!
The day will come when the depths shall vomit flame and smoke,
The day when we shall settle our account!

THE DRAMA OF FRENCH INDO-CHINA

M. PAUL LOUIS HERVIER, a French traveler with a taste for original investigation, has been visiting the eastern part of the Malay Peninsula within the last twelve months. While there he cultivated the acquaintance of the native literary class and, guided by influential members of that class, managed to gather at first hand some interesting information about the native drama in Anam—which is the southernmost division of French Indo-China. To judge by the audiences at the native theaters, the drama flourishes in that remote, and not much talked-of, region; though M. Hervier's report to the *Temps* reveals a woefully low standard of remuneration for actors and playwrights. Historically, the Anamese drama derives from that of China; but it has not by any means reached the end of its productive period. One native playwright was so obliging as to present M. Hervier with a sketch of his latest work, and the French traveler has communicated a summary of it to the *Temps*. Its author, he says, seemed particularly well pleased with his own choice of the title—"A Sentimental Piece,"—which may strike the Western taste as vague even to blindness. The raw material of this Anamese production of 1912 is, like that of most Anamese dramas, Chinese: it is to be found in that classical work "The Holy Chamber: or Extraordinary Thoughts." How altogether extraordinary, when considered from a Western viewpoint, are the thoughts of China and of Anam on human life and duty, will be apparent from the following summary of "A Sentimental Piece":

An aged widower wishes to find a wife for his son, but is embarrassed by poverty. This son, being very well educated, entertains a deep regard for his father. One bright moonlight night, while his father sleeps, the young man goes out to recite some verses which he has composed in the ancient classical style. Suddenly he perceives in the moonlight a beautiful damsel coming toward him. Never having seen her before, he asks her why she comes in the night time to him, a stranger.

The girl—who is in reality an immortal fairy, and who has for some unintelligible reason fallen in love with him—replies: "I live in this place. I

listened to your verses, and they were sweet to me. I have followed an impulse to come and seek your friendship."

The poet nothing loth, they meet again and again by night. Their mutual affection grows, and they exchange promises of marriage. But one night the father surprises them in the midst of a poetical conversation, and, being very indignant, drives the girl away with expressions of contempt.

"If thy heart be indeed capable of filial sentiments," he says to his son, "I forbid thee such behavior. We are poor, it is true, but we are of the scholar caste. Thou shouldst indeed marry, but let it be in accordance with precedent, asking the consent of the maiden's family."

Before re-entering the house the young man craves one last word with his lady love.

"Go," she tells him, "and seek the hand of a fair and virtuous maiden of your own age who dwells in the next village."

"But we are poor," he answers, "and cannot defray the expenses of the wedding ceremony."

"Let not that hinder you," the girl reassures him. "My father is rich. Take this bag of gold, it is yours. And be happy."

At this the young man bursts into tears.

Then says the girl: "Which of our two hearts has in it the truer love—yours, who weep, or mine, who am willingly sacrificing my dream? Come, be not downcast; you are rich now, and soon you will have a lovely wife."

Straightway she departs to make her preparations. For the house in the next village, the beautiful and virtuous maiden and her parents are as yet only imaginary, and all have to be created. The fairy creates them and, while she is about it, throws in a brave man, who is to play his part later on.

At daybreak the young man (not the brave one) tells his father everything, and asks his permission to go to the next village and seek the hand of the beautiful and virtuous maiden. The quest is accomplished, and all is happily arranged.

One year later the young scholar is the father of a boy. His wife is a good wife to him, and more beautiful than ever. Their home is happy. But in the same village dwells a retired mandarin, a man of great influence—apparently with the Police. On the Festival of the Dead this mandarin encounters the young man with his wife and child, who have been to sweep the tomb of their ancestors. Attracted by the wife's beauty, the mandarin offers to buy her, and being refused, throws down the money and makes his attendants carry her off to his splendid palace. The husband feels unequal to fighting, so, to prevent further mishap, he goes home with his little son.

The old father, on the contrary, loses no time in attempting to rescue his daughter-in-law. He is killed. The inconsolable husband alone shrinks from a struggle with this powerful enemy. Helpless, but unresigned, his sorrow reaches its culmination with the news that his wife has killed herself.

Then it is that the brave man so thoughtfully created by the fairy makes his appearance. Coming to the young scholar, he says: "They have killed your father and driven your wife to suicide; and yet you do not resist! You prefer your own life to the pains of the conflict. You live like a mere animal without reason. Were I in your place, I would kill my adversary. If you are not capable of that, then kill yourself, for in that way you will rejoin your father and your wife in the other world."

"As for fighting," replies the man of letters, "I am very weak. And I hesitate to kill myself because of my little son, over whose life I must watch."

"Cowardice inhabits your soul," exclaims the brave man, who knows the worth of his own muscles, is familiar with the mysteries of fencing, and can plant a knife with unerring aim in an object five or six yards away.

That night the mandarin is stabbed to death in his bed. When he hears of it, the young scholar, fearing that suspicion will fall upon him, runs away with his child into the forest. He is tracked by the authorities and brought back to the village, his child being abandoned in the forest. After a long judicial process, his innocence is at last established; he is set free, and returns to his empty house, to mourn his father, his wife, and his child.

One night he hears a knock at the door. He opens it and beholds the lady love whom he had abandoned at his father's behest. She leads by the hand a little child—his little son, safe and sound. His benefactress—his sweetheart of other days—will vouchsafe no answer to the young scholar's thousand hurried questions.

"Your troubles are past," she tells him. "You are now alone in the world—without father, without wife. Will you take me for your wife? I will try to make myself useful in the house, and watch over everything, while you apply yourself with courage and perseverance to the completion of your education."

So we have a happy ending, at least according to Anamese ideas.

THE CENTENARY OF GRIMM'S FAIRY TALES

IN the apt phrase of Ellen Key this is "the century of the child," and in nothing is that more manifest than in the literature of the day written for children and about children.

Gone are the tales of "Meddlesome Mattie" and "Greedy Dick" which edified our forebears, and in their place we have the charming whimsicalities of "Peter Pan," of "Snowwhite," and "The Seven Dwarfs," of "Hansel and Gretel," of the "Königskinder," and "Racketty-Packetty House," not to mention "Uncle Remus," the "Jungle Tales," and a score of others.

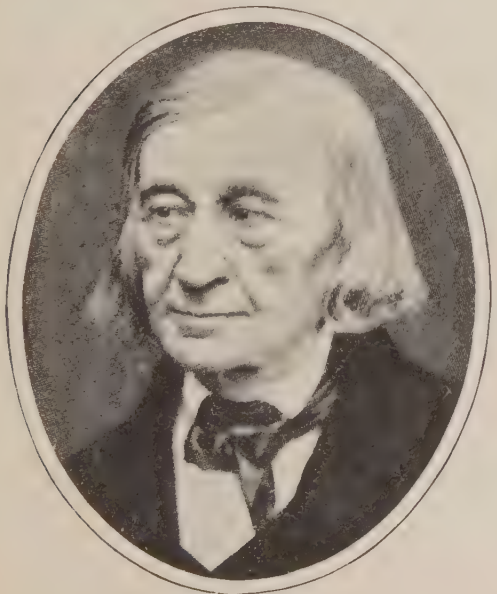
In short, the children of the race are being entertained and instructed by variants of those folk-tales which entertained and instructed the childhood of the race.

This is scientifically correct according to the modern biological notions which declare that the child passes through, in the course of its development, all those stages through which the race has climbed upward during the long eons of evolution.

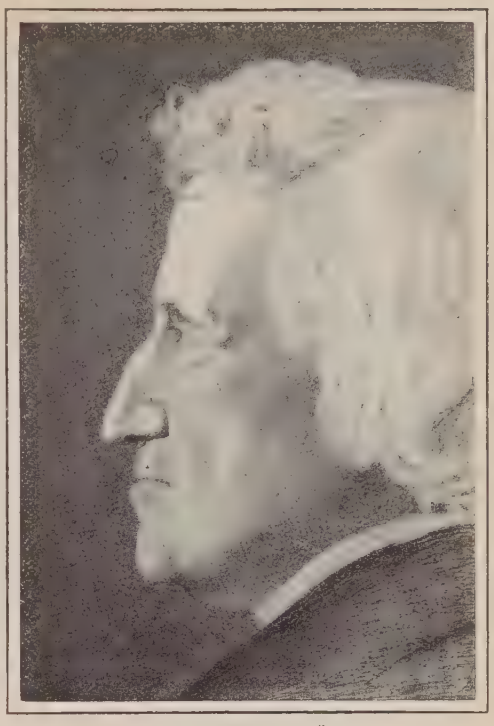
It is fitting, then, that we should remember to honor the devoted labors of those patient German scholars, Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, who issued just one hundred years ago that collection of folk-tales which, under the modest title of Kinder- und Hausmärchen (Tales for Children and Household), was to achieve a worldwide fame and stimulate a thousand others to gather from living lips the precious lore of an immemorial past.

In a recent number of the *Deutsche Rundschau*, Erich Schmidt gives an account of this monumental undertaking of the learned brothers—an account whose contents are weighty to the student of folk-lore, and whose style is correspondingly heavy for the general reader.

We analyze it briefly and quote a few excerpts. The interest taken at this time in folk-tales both by men of letters and men of science Mr. Schmidt finds to be an outgrowth of the larger movement of romanticism which was the dominant feature of that era. He discusses learnedly the works of Herder, Uhland, Tieck, Hoffmann, Goethe, Brentano, Arnim, and others, some of whom warmly encouraged the brothers in their enormous undertaking.



WILHELM GRIMM
(From a photograph)



JACOB GRIMM IN 1855
(From a drawing by Herman Grimm, his nephew)

The vast stores of learning possessed by the Grimms well fitted them for an enterprise which involved not only the patience and enthusiasm of the collector but wide knowledge of philology, history, and literature. Wilhelm may be said to have possessed the former qualities in the higher degree, and to him is chiefly due the charming colloquial style of the stories, while Jacob was pre-eminent in scholarship.

The tales were gathered largely by word of mouth, chiefly from women, among whom may be mentioned with special honor the sturdy and long-memoried "cattlewife of Schwelm," Maria the sewing-maid, and the little maiden, Dorothea Wild, whom Wilhelm later married. Other sources were sixteenth century jest-books and anecdotes, simplified translations of medieval Latin poems, and modified versions of the rollicking stories of the cobbler of Nürnberg, Hans Sachs. Others were picked up here and there by learned confrères.

To express in homogeneous style matter of such heterogeneous origin was naturally a difficult affair. Apropos of this Mr. Schmidt remarks:

> On the whole, however, a harmonious style was achieved—popular, not vulgar; strong, even

rough, but never crude; childish, but free from puerility; with the genuine hallmarks of antiquity, yet without affected archaisms. Here is the pure German mother-tongue. . . . This prose, often broken by refrains in the ancient meter of the folk-song, showed the most wondrous things to be the most believable, and captured the imagination by the simplicity of the sentence-structure.

Other features are the use of simple connectives, such as *and* and *but*, and the avoidance of the involved dependent and relative clauses which render so cumbrous much German literature. There is much conversation and it is seldom indirect.

Simplicity is gained, too, by the use of monologue—"*I said to myself*," etc.

The narrator introduces the dramatic element of suspense by pauses, with such phrases as "*Just think!*" "*What do you suppose he found?*" etc.

Emphasis is gained especially by the chief expedient of all ancient poetry, mere repetition: "*A long, long time*"; "*She sang and sang*"; "*He fished and fished.*"

Besides the frequently recurring rhymes there are devices of accentuation by means of sound, such as alliteration and imitative or onomatopoetic syllables: *ritze, ratze,* and *plitsch, platsch,* for example.

As in proverbs and folk-songs the mode of expression is picturesque and imaginative, though without detailed imagery and metaphor. The endings are frequently jocular, as the sentence, "Anybody that don't believe this story must pay a dollar," a threat that brought one skeptical but honest little girl to the good brothers' door one day with her thaler in hand.

Though without expressed "moral" there is evinced a naïve poetic justice. The wicked are punished, often with shocking penalties, while the good are rewarded, generally by fortunate marriage and "living happy ever after." Marriage is usually based on true love, rank and wealth proving no obstacles.

The scientific power of the collection is also great. Translated first into English, it has stimulated throughout Europe and gradually throughout the world the zeal of the collector.

THE PUBLIC SPIRIT OF THE LEGAL PROFESSION IN CUBA

A RECENT issue of the illustrated weekly, *Figaro*, of Havana, is devoted to the Colegio de Abogados, an association of Cuban lawyers first officially established in 1886, under the Spanish régime. Another association of the legal fraternity, of more recent foundation, the aims of which were essentially social, was the Circulo de Abogados, founded somewhat on the lines of the Lawyers' Club of New York. In 1900, as the result of a protest against the action of the new republican administration in removing certain judges, the Colegio was dissolved and lost its official character, but was soon reorganized as a private association, its activities being at the same time widened so as to include those of the Circulo. In 1909, its official status was restored.

As one of the original founders of the Colegio de Abogados, and as a foremost representative of the Havana bar, it is but natural that a prominent place is given to Dr. Antonio González de Mendoza, whose recent death in Havana, at the ripe age of seventy-eight, was mourned by the whole legal profession of his native island. The task of briefly recounting his career has been sympathetically performed by Dr. Luis Azcárate:

Eminent both for his legal acumen and for his brilliant eloquence, as well as for his sterling rectitude, Dr. Mendoza occupied an exceptionally high place among Cuban legists. He gave early evidence of his devotion to professional studies. When but twenty years old, in association with six of his fellow-students, he founded what was called the "Academia de Estudios," the aim of the little coterie being the establishment of a library and of a place of reunion, where they could review the university lectures they had attended. Here they were wont to assemble every evening, except on Sundays, one of the number acting the part of professor. This is an example that Dr. Azcárate regards as worthy of recommendation to the young Cuban students of to-day.

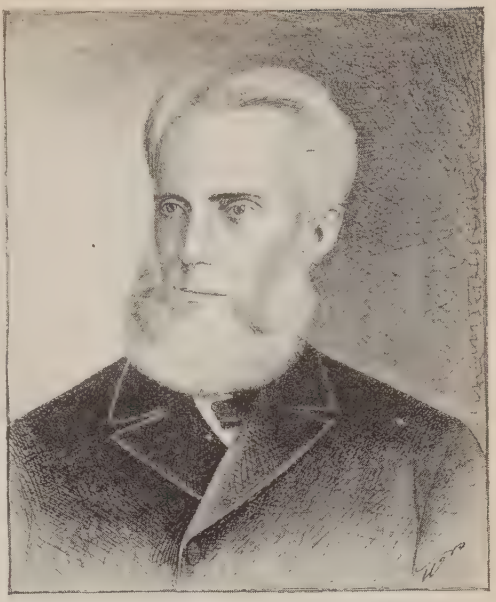
When still quite young, Dr. Mendoza was appointed relator in the court termed the Audiencia in Havana, and in 1856 he entered a competition for the vacant professorship of jurisprudence in the Royal University of Letters, the leading institution of learning in Cuba at that time. The theme chosen for the theses was: "Are degrading punishments allowable for the suppression of crime?" Dr. Mendoza was adjudged the winner in this contest and secured the professorship.

In 1879, he was elected to the office of Alcalde Corregidor of Havana, by both liberal and conservative votes, a notable testimony to his reputation for strict impartiality and calm judicial poise. However, he only administered this office for six months, as he felt that his more immediate duty lay in the line of his regular legal practice. He refused to accept any share of the considerable sum allotted as salary for this office.

During all the troublous times preceding the final establishment of the Cuban Republic, Dr. Mendoza was almost the only Cuban of note who constantly and consistently rose above the political passions of the period, and in this way he gained the unlimited confidence of the leading Cuban families, with many of whom he was either related or connected. The long-continued disturbances caused a number of prominent Cubans to absent themselves from the island at this time, and Dr. Mendoza was entrusted with the management of many large estates during their owners' absence.

A striking demonstration of his devotion to principle is given by Dr. Azcárate. Many years ago, when slavery still existed as an institution in Cuba, he showed the depth of his abolitionist convictions by granting freedom, in a single day, to some 300 negro slaves on his plantation Santa Gertrudio, an act entailing a nominal loss of approximately $300,000, according to the ruling price of slaves at that time.

During the first American occupation of Cuba, he was appointed President of the Supreme Court in Havana. He was also consulting counsel of the Casa de Beneficios y Maternidad. Gen. Martinez Campos selected him as a member of the Council of Administration, and by his thorough command of all judicial questions and his indefatigable activity, he rendered great and important services to the young republic in this capacity.



THE LATE DR. PEDRO LLORANTE, ONE OF THE FOUNDERS OF THE LAWYERS ASSOCIATION OF HAVANA

NORWAY'S INDUSTRIAL FUTURE

NORWAY has long been popularly associated in the public mind with maritime expeditions; and the exploits of Norse adventurers have furnished many a theme for the poets and much material for the historians; but, said Björnstjerne Björnson, not long before his death, "the future of Norway is not in her white sails, but in her waterfalls that drive the wheels of modern industry." This view is endorsed by Dr. Samuel Eyde in the *American-Scandinavian Review*. He writes:

> For centuries our forefathers have won their living from the sea; whole cities have grown up around the shipping industry. The highest type of workmen have put all their skill of hand and brain, all their mechanical genius into the construction of ships made from the timber of our own forests, and our sailors have carried Norway's name all over the world. . . . Now all this is changed. . . . A few decades ago it was the greatest ambition of the Norwegian boy to command his own ship; now the active, intelligent boy seeks something better than the sailor's life has to offer him under the changed conditions. It was clear that if Norway should advance, or even save herself from retrogression, she needed a fresh impulse to healthy activity. It came, just at the right time, through the modern inventions that have made it possible to wake, as with a wizard's wand, the powers that sleep in her waterfalls.

The Norwegians' first manufacturing industries were naturally those associated with the sea. Canneries followed the fisheries; in the interior of the country timber has been utilized for paper pulp; an excellent class of laborers was developed; and engineers mastered the science of utilizing water power. Norway was thus prepared to receive the electro-chemical industry with which Dr. Eyde is associated and of which he gives a lengthy description in his article. A beginning was made on a small scale.

> In July, 1903, the first small factory was started at Frognerkilen for the producing of nitrates from the air by the Birkeland-Eyde method. I venture to say that it was not only the mother of all the nitrate industries of Norway, but that it has given the impetus to the many-sided activity which is fast transforming Norway from a thinly settled country into one of the great manufacturing communities of the world. . . . The saltpeter industry, which had its beginning at Frognerkilen less than ten years ago, has grown to large proportions. We began with a plant utilizing twenty-five horsepower in the Birkeland-Eyde furnace; now our two plants at Rjükan and Notodden use 200,000 horse-power. . . . We began with two laborers and two other employees; now we have 1340 laborers and 143 other employees. Our task is to catch the nitrogen in the air by bringing about its union with oxygen, and thus create chemical nitrogen combinations that can be put to practical use.

Dr. Eyde describes the Birkeland-Eyde method of producing nitrates, which has

THE VILLAGE OF RJÜKAN, NORWAY, IN 1908

developed into an extensive industry. Calcium nitrate, which is the artificial fertilizer known as Norway saltpeter, is shipped from his company's shops at the rate of 2000 barrels a day, or 100,000 tons in a year. Carborundum manufacture and the manufacture of copper and nickel by electrolysis, and the smelting of iron by electricity bid fair to prove important industries.

In order to secure a permanent class of laborers, the experiment has been tried of providing good homes at reasonable rates for them. The results have been successful. At Notodden and Saaheim, where there were 500 and 50 people living a few years ago, today there are 5000 at the former place and between 5000 and 6000 at the latter.

Dr. Eyde acknowledges the aid received from foreign banks, without which the industrial development of Norway would have been impossible. In the nitrate industry, for instance, the amount of capital invested is 100,000,000 kroner.

The new industrial Norway is but ten years old. Dr. Eyde believes that within a very short period "the tide of immigration will be turned backward, and the red, steady stream of lifeblood which has poured from our country to your beautiful United States will remain at home to enrich the motherland." Norwegian writers, musicians, artists, and discoverers "have been recognized as among the world's greatest." Norway should now "come out of her long seclusion and take her part as a power not only in art and literature, but also in the industrial world."

SOME NEW PHASES OF THE WOMAN MOVEMENT THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

AMONG the things that "they order better in France" must now be included feminism. We are assured by Héra Mirtel in the *Renaissance Contemporaine* (Paris), that, above all, "French feminism is disinterested and pacific." Also—and this with palpable allusion to events on the other side of the English Channel—that, "without setting fire to letter-boxes, or smashing street lamps, and without laying a needlessly violent and stinging hand on the cheeks of members of Parliament and policemen, the women of France have, slowly, perhaps, but definitively, regained the *liberty* of salaried employment, if not the *equality* in labor, assured by the old corporate laws."

French feminism has other things to its credit: it has "conceived, elaborated, and

RJÜKAN AS AN INDUSTRIAL CENTER
(Showing the transformation wrought in four years from the conditions shown in the picture on the opposite page)

published the best projects of economic, social, and parental laws, which other nations are quick to adopt and promulgate. This was recently the case in Norway, where a minister introduced a motion for labor legislation which has long since been operative in France." In Norway, "the waiting-maids are more alive to their social interests than the richest *bourgeoises* in France."

According to this writer, in France the most implacable enemy of feminism is woman herself. But there is some excuse for this:

> The French townswoman has recovered in private life, among the members of the family over which she rules so autocratically, social kingdoms and lost politics. It is she who directs the child toward a career, marriage, and the destiny of her choice. It is she who by the dot, by the management of the family budget, withholds the true economic right of her race. And, consciously or unconsciously, she fears to compromise, in this feminism which speaks to her of conquest or a social and political kingdom, the intimate sovereignty of her home, so dearly maintained, so jealously defended. But, whether she will or will not, she ultimately will be forced to adapt herself to the exigencies of new social realities, of inexorable modernizations of certain matrimonial devices which embody the prayer of the Roman matrons: "Occuluit!" Now a minor and irresponsible before the law, she will be forced to become free and responsible in society in an evolution toward a desirable equilibrium of rights and duties.

This was thoroughly well understood by the Union Fraternelle des Femmes, in seeking to realize an alliance between all classes, all feminine hopes soaring toward the new or remodeled kingdoms which await us. This society, of which the writer of the article in the *Renaissance Contemporaine* is vice-president, is reckoned among the most important and the most sympathetic of all the Paris feminist bodies. It was founded December 31, 1901. The name of the founder, Mme. Marbel, indicated both that the very advanced tendencies of the society would be accepted and that its members would be animated by a fine spirit of conciliation; also, that solidarity and tolerance would be their principal rules of conduct. The following details of the history and operations of the Union will be of interest to American sympathizers with the women's movement:

> The Union began by holding monthly reunions at the home of the founder. Three years later the president obtained the use of a room at the town-hall. This municipal hospitality conferred in a way a brevet of respectability, and served to reassure those timorous persons in whose eyes feminism represented a subversive and dangerously revolutionary doctrine. Public seances, held once a month, are devoted to communications and general matters relating to feminism at home and abroad, and to "talks" or conferences on propaganda and various other questions. But besides engaging primarily in oral propaganda, the Union has contributed to the written propaganda of feminism by (1) editing a feminist almanac and (2) in contributing to the foundation of an important feminist library. The *Petit Almanach Féministe illustré* which appeared from

1906 to 1909, was a brochure for propaganda, composed by members of the Union, and in which was included a feminist calendar. In this calendar, the first of its kind to be published in France, the names of the usual saints were replaced by those of "the saints [both masculine and feminine] of feminism." The library (*Bibliothèque Féministe*) is directed by Mme. Marbel herself, she having resigned the functions of president of the Union in order to devote herself entirely to the library, which now contains several thousands of volumes.

The Union Fraternelle des Femmes gives evidence of intense vitality in each of its fields of operations.

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT AND FOREIGN MISSIONS

"NO modern phenomenon is more significant in its relation to the foreign missionary cause than the women's movement of Europe and America: no movement is more worthy of careful and sympathetic study on the part of missionary leaders," says Miss Ruth Rouse in the *International Review of Missions*. As well study European politics neglecting the labor party, or world politics neglecting the spirit of nationality, as study world missions neglecting the women's movement. In noting the action and interaction of the forces of this movement with those at work in the mission field, six main characteristics of it are discussed by this writer:

1.—*The women's movement is international in its scope and in its ideals.* The aims and undertakings of the modern woman, however different their promoters may be in environment, occupations, national temperament, and in religion, are everywhere spontaneous in their origin and fundamentally alike. As Dr. Alice Salmon, the secretary of the German National Council of Women, has said: "The same convictions animate the women of all lands: they strive after the same objects: they are everywhere dominated by the same ideas: they are pushing the same demands." Miss Rouse is the traveling secretary among women students for the World's Student Christian Federation, and her own experience amongst the women students of forty-two different countries confirms this verdict. "It is most significant," she says, "that to-day the women's movement is making a conscious propaganda, definitely aiming to capture the women of the East for its ideals."

2.—*There are two spiritual forces behind the women's movement in the West, and both are distinctly Christian in origin.* The first of these is "a striving for the development and expression of personality." The various liberating movements which have been a distinctive feature of the Christian era, such as the abolition of slavery, the enfranchisement and education of the middle classes in the eighteenth century, and now the women's movement, have all, directly or indirectly, sprung "from the permeation of human thought with our Lord's teaching on the value of the human soul." To quote from the article:

> The movement for the liberation of women has swept round the world. . . . The opening of the professions has rapidly followed that of the universities, so has the opening of many kinds of administrative work; the municipal vote is granted almost everywhere, the parliamentary vote is rapidly following in country after country; in Norway and Finland women sit in parliament; the time is not far distant when women will be legally permitted to do anything of which they are capable. The battle for the right of women to express their own personality is more than half won. That the movement is one of the outworkings of the teaching of Christ concerning the human soul can hardly be denied.

The second force is a "striving for opportunity to serve the community."

> To the question "To what end?" the women's movement answers clearly and universally: "To the end of service." Christ's teaching on the law of love is working out in the movement, unconsciously or consciously, far more dominantly than even His teaching on the value of the human soul. Nothing strikes the observant student more forcibly than the way in which the note of self-expression is rapidly transcended by the note of service, if indeed the note of service be not dominant from the first.

3.—*The dominant note in the movement is the interest of the community rather than the interests of one sex.* Miss Rouse thinks this proposition may be disputed, and that "possibly the writings and actions of a few women at the present time in Great Britain give some color to a fear of sex war. Nevertheless, the serious literature of the women's movement support the contention: its dominant note is an emphasis on the differing gifts of men and women and the need for securing the free play of both for the highest good of the community."

4.—*The movement affords a direct training for carrying out certain of the best missionary ideals.* Under this head Miss Rouse quotes a passage from the Report of the Commission on the Preparation of Missionaries, presented to the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference in 1910:

"A vision of the place of women in the building up of the whole fabric of national life, and a statesman-like conception of the way to realize the vision, is urgently demanded. In the work of national regeneration to which we have set our hand the woman missionary has a place of primary importance. She works indeed for to-day, but she must be trained to know and act upon the knowledge that, down to the smallest detail, her life and her work belong to the great future." For this aspect of her future work, where can the woman missionary find better training than in women's organizations of the West?

5.—*The movement is a strongly moral one.* Recognizing the fact that the movement has been attacked as tending to undermine the institutions of marriage and the family, Miss Rouse shows what has been its influence in these directions.

The women's movement in every country makes the abolition of the "white slave" traffic and the suppression of the social evil one of its main aims. In this, and in their endeavors to combat impure literature and pictures, overcrowded dwellings, and insanitary conditions, women are entering the lists for the protection of their homes and those of others, and striving to make possible a pure and strong family life. The most powerful incentive to the demand for women's suffrage in land after land has been the conviction, gradually arrived at by women, that the vote was necessary if they were to ward off the evils that threaten the home. . . . In Finland and other lands the movement has been, until recently, demanding the recognition of civil marriage, the refusal of which drives many honorable people into *marriages de conscience*. . . . The fact cannot be denied that there are in many countries to-day considerable numbers of thinking women who are either supporting the recognition of *unions-libres*, or frankly putting the claims of passion before all other claims. . . . Novelists whose main contention is for erotic rights . . . are all enemies and critics of the women's movement. The one British woman's organ which advocated anything like such views, *The Freewoman*, has just expired, abjuring female suffrage and all its works.

6.—*The movement is in no way anti-Christian or irreligious.* As indicated above, "the two main driving forces of the modern women's movement—a sense of the value of human personality and a passionate desire for service—are the direct product, even when the debt is not acknowledged, of the teaching of our Lord."

Finally, it is claimed by the writer that "if she would Christianize one main source of the ideals of her own future workers and of the women of the East, the Church has nothing to lose and everything to gain by entering into sympathetic and understanding relationship with the leaders of the women's movement."

WHAT JAPAN IS DOING FOR THE EDUCATION OF HER WOMEN

FOR centuries the women of Japan were taught the "three stages of obedience": When young, obey your parents; when married, obey your husband; when old, obey your son. Up to recent times all the books written for the edification of Japanese girls were those of ethical instruction—the teaching of the daughter how to behave toward her parents, of the wife to her husband, and the mother to her children. This idea of womanly obedience, writes Jinzo Naruse, President of the Japan Women's University, in the *Oriental Review*, "has undergone a decided change in modern Japan, although the principle remains that moral culture have the position of supreme importance in woman's education." For the correct understanding of conditions in Japan it is necessary to bear in mind that moral culture has always been the all-important object.

Under these circumstances it is only natural that various religions and ethical teachings that have at times found acceptance in Japan should have formed the basis of education, both for men and for women. Buddhism, first introduced into Japan about a thousand years ago, included in its tenets an outrageous dogma about women. This was that woman was full of sin. Confucius, the founder of the school of the Chinese ethical teachings that has had so wholehearted an acceptance in Japan for the past two centuries, did not show much improvement in his estimation of womanly virtues. He paid the fair sex the negative compliment that its individuals were as difficult to manage as was every person of small mind. As a logical conclusion of such teachings being accepted in Japan, the Japanese women could do nothing in way of asserting their own character and originality without meeting with the disapproval of their friends. Their instructions were to be as quiet as quiet could be; as obedient as could be; and as meek as could be.

Of course, one result of such a system was that women had a unique schooling in self-

restraint, discipline, and devoted loyalty to their superiors; and history records the acts of devotion and virtues of hundreds of Japanese women who have thereby become immortal. These, however, were exceptions.

With the introduction of Western civilization into Japan the modern idea of the status of woman found entrance also; but, says President Jinzo Naruse, "in view of the fact that a reactionary spirit is present in every country, the change from the old to the new idea has been gradual in Japan." It seems that even at the present there are some Japanese who "think that the sole object of women's education is to make them good wives and mothers." There is, however, ample evidence that this view is not generally accepted in the following statement of the *Oriental Review* writer:

> At present there are more than 200 girls' high schools of 500 students each in Japan. There are many schools devoted to training girls for earning independent livelihood; such as those teaching music, the arts, medicine, bookkeeping, sewing, pedagogics, and many other kinds of work. The Japan Women's University which I was able to establish in 1901 with the support of the leading men and women in every walk of life in Japan, has now 1,100 students, divided into Departments of Pedagogics, Literature, English Literature, and Housekeeping. The University intends to organize in the near future departments of music, art, and medicine. At the time of the organization of the University, the Empress Dowager made a liberal donation in the institution, and the leading statesmen, educators, and business men of Japan helped in one way or another to make the school a success.

Since the founding of the University twelve years ago, the whole strength and energy of the president have been directed to this point —"a spiritual training to form a fundamental education"; for she believes in "the unity of the essence of all religions and philosophies." She herself was converted to Orthodox Christianity when she was 17 years of age, and about twenty years ago, "no longer satisfied with her narrow dogmatic faith," she came to the United States. "While at Andover," she says, "it came clearly to my mind that women's education in Japan must be based upon a strong foundation of religion—a new living religion." Jinzo Naruse has carried out this idea. Her experiences of the past twelve years have caused her to adopt a particular method for the ethical teaching of the students at the University.

> The idea is to encourage the students to lead spiritual lives, drawing their inspiration from whatever religion they might happen to believe in and to discourage them from the sordid influence of materialism. The method was founded on the belief that different religions, different creeds, and different technical teachings, though conflicting in minor points, are similar to one another in the essential points such as seeking after Truth and higher spiritual life. This belief also forms the basis of an international movement recently started by the Association Concordia of Japan. Among our girl students there are some who seek their spiritual salvation through Buddhism. There are others who are leading a Christian life. Again, there are others who would rather be conservatively Confucianists; while a majority profess no religion. But they are not only tolerant to each other regarding their faiths but are united in spirit. All these women of different faiths are mingled together in one room, all in one body, all in one hope, one in the great principle, and one in the same love of God and Man.

THE DECLINE OF CANADIAN POETRY

CANADIAN poetry is in a bad way, a very bad way; the meretricious Vaudeville School is in the ascendant; and both the Canadian poets and the Canadian poetry-reading public should promptly turn over a new leaf. Such is the burden of an essay from the pen of Mr. J. D. Logan in the *Canadian Magazine*. This well-known critic groups Canadian poets, since Confederation, into three schools which he labels with characteristic sobriquets. Lampman, W. W. Campbell, and D. C. Scott he calls the Great Lakes School, from their native environment or from their themes, or from both. C. G. D. Roberts and Bliss Carman he calls the Birch-bark School, a sobriquet jocosely applied to them by the London critic, Mr. E. B. Osborn, because "they use the mottled scrolls of the Red Man's papyrus to build a canoe, or as a vehicle for verse, with equal dexterity." Following Mr. Osborn's lead, Mr. Logan dubs "the throng of verse-makers, poetasters, and (some) poets who have flourished within the last decade (1903-1913) the Vaudeville School both on account of their themes and their appeal to popular taste." He sketches the history of Canadian poetry from 1840, in part as follows:

> In the poetic work of Mr. Mair and Dr. Reade Canadian poetry of the period from 1840 to 1870 attained its acme. But from John Breakenridge to Alexander Rae Garvie poetry was only an avoca-

tion (not a systematic vocation) of the Canadians who essayed the art. On the other hand, Roberts, Lampman, Carman, Campbell, and the two Scotts were the first poets in Canada, native born, to begin the *systematic* cultivation of the technique of fine poetry, to adopt the writing of poetry as a professional career; but they were not able to "make it go," and were forced to turn to other fields in order to obtain the necessary income which would allow them to practise the systematic writing of poetry worthy to be called fine art. . . . Fate had added insult to injury by flaunting in their faces the astounding phenomenon of a poet of the Vaudeville School not only earning his daily sustenance from his poetry, but also so enriching himself from the royalties that relatively to other poets Mr. Robert W. Service is to be regarded as a member of the plutocratic class in Canada.

The characteristic poetry of the last decade, represented at its best by the work of Mr. Service and Mr. R. J. Stead, and at its worst by that of the Rev. Hamilton Wigle and Mr. Paul Agar, between whom are at least a hundred other poetasters, is "all serious and sincere, but it is all abortive and impossible, having been written by men and women who possessed neither the philosophic perception of values, nor the true poet's vision of nature and of life, nor the master-craftsman's skill in shaping beautiful form." The causes of this abortive or decadent poetry are "objective or public and subjective or personal." The former "are for the most part the *privative* conditions under which twentieth-century Canadian poets must write —the natural defects of an adolescent civilization." Chief among these are:

(1) The refusal of the Canadian people to create leisure for imaginative recreation and for the cultivation of fine taste in the appreciation of poetry; (2) the refusal of the Canadian people to cultivate and exercise rigorously the æsthetic conscience; (3) the recourse in Canada to the pages of an uncultured and uncritical press as the ever-ready and primary medium for the publishing and the disseminating of poetry; (4) the decentralization of genuine literary taste and criticism in Canada, or the refusal even of the cultured to adhere, in their literary preferences, strictly to the standards and methods of *belles-lettres*, and by this refusal promoting the baneful influences of the periodical press which, were it assisted by the cultured to maintain in its pages the ideals of *belles-lettres*, would soon centralize literary authority and criticism and effect in Canada a universal refinement in poetic taste; (5) the substitution of vicarious and academic judgments on the part of cultured Canadians for the natural and genuine appreciations dictated by their own tastes and consciences; (6) the shifting of the center of poetic inspiration in Canada from the more cultured and æsthetically experienced East to the inchoate and unsettled West; (7) the apathy—apparent but real in effect —on the part of the Canadian people to the function of poetry and the work of their poets; the felt absence of public sympathy which either kills poetic instinct or deflects it from true art to the making of verse which "sells."

Regarding the period beginning with the publication of Roberts' "Orion and Other Poems" (1880) as a Renaissance in Canadian poetry, Mr. Logan thus alludes to its close:

Roberts and Carman and their confrères came and sang, but the Canadian people refused to create the leisure to listen to their singing; and so the first Renaissance in Canadian poetry died from public neglect. Then came Mr. Robert W. Service, Mr. R. J. C. Stead and their less gifted colleagues. The whole world turns to wonder at the most astounding commercial phenomenon in literary history; namely, the fact that more than 200,000 copies of Mr. Service's two volumes of verse, according to the publisher's statement, were sold in Canada within a period of five years. Do not decry Mr. Service; he has great natural gifts; but in view of his astounding vogue reflect what a saddening revealment and criticism of the culture and æsthetic conscience of the Canadian people lies in the fact.

I am not objecting to our poets writing about homely and humorous themes, if they treat them with art. I am observing that the Canadian people show a preference for vulgar social documents in verse, and are thus seducing our poets away from noble themes and causing them to treat in verse subjects which are not worthy of fine workmanship. As sometimes the beautiful face and voice of a vaudeville singer, or the winning melody she sings, may appeal to the heart and imagination and redeem the words of a vulgar song; so art may redeem a poem which deals with a homely, vulgar, or ignoble theme; but not the art of angels could add a jot or tittle of beauty to Mr. Service's satiric poem, "The Idealist," in which he descends to "sing" (?) the philosophy of

" . . . thê louse that longed to dwell
In the golden hair of a queen."

This poem is not humorous or satiric; it is only idiotic. Further, it is unclean and immoral. For we do not call a creature who is sensual or beastly by nature and who only seeks a higher form of sensual life an idealist; such a creature is still a sensualist. How, then, are we to explain Mr. Service's choice of such a theme and of similar low themes as his chief subjects for treatment in verse? Only thus: He knew that a majority of the Canadian people prefer that *genre* of verse and greedily read it, and that an uncultured and æsthetically uncritical press would hail it as "great stuff," and reprint it with the glee and front-page display, scare-heads and all else, that a newspaper devotes to a "big scoop."

The subjective or personal causes of the decadent poetry of the past decade in Canada are "positive moral defects and inartistic *incapacities* in the poets themselves."

The subjective or personal causes of the decadent poetry of the past decade in Canada are "positive moral defects and inartistic *incapacities* in the poets themselves."

RECENT ENGLISH VERSE

IF you have to miss reading every other recent book of English verse, do not fail to read the latest work of John Masefield—"The Story of a Round House and Other Poems."[1]

Masefield's Sea Story

The title poem, some 186 pages of rhymed irregular stanzas, relates the story of "Dauber," a house-painter who has shipped on a clipper for a voyage around the Horn. Dauber is young, less than twenty-two, a weakling and a dreamer. He has come to sea to learn to be a marine painter—to know the leaping light of the waves, the life of the decks, the movement of ships, the look of a storm, all the mystery and wonder of the sea. When he sketches, the hardy sailors scoff and at night while the boatswain makes Dauber wash the dishes, they destroy his canvases. He protests and they insult him with coarse ribaldry. Finally he becomes a despised creature—a pariah on board the ship.

As the clipper approaches the Horn, the mate bids Dauber lock up his paints and join the watch, for the clipper needs more seamen around the perilous cape. The storm and gale come on with swirls of Polar snow and Dauber is sent aloft to furl the mizzen top-gallants. He is kicked and cursed along,—a miserable, sodden wretch clinging for his life to the icy shrouds. Again and again in alternate watches freezing on the yards or buffeted about the deck by the waves, he suffers the cruel torment of the sea until there is scarcely breath left in his body. At last he learns his lesson; fear is forgot; he conquers his task like a man and earns the respect of his mates. The last time he is sent aloft, just as they are emerging from the dangerous seas, he falls from the fore top-gallant yard and is killed—dies before the dream's fulfillment is begun, dies merely a "Dauber," one who dreamed he might become a master-painter and had learned but one thing—to reef a top-sail.

He dies crying, "It will go on." The seamen do not understand. They think he means the ship. They sew him up in sail-cloth, lay an old red ensign over him, and consign him to the sea. This is all of the bare story. Dauber is Everyman, he who dreams greatly, who suffers to achieve and who dies with unfulfilled dream, grasping only the import of some simple lesson that the God-of-Things-As-They-Are deems of more use to his soul than the dream. As for the poem, it is a matchless pæan of the sea—nay more, the very sea itself. There is perhaps nothing in the English tongue, not of Swinburne's, nor of Noyes' magnificent epic of the sea,—"Drake,"—that excels it. John Masefield knows the sea intimately and well. At the age of fourteen he was indentured by his family to a sea captain for the consideration of "one shilling a month and certain other compensations consisting mostly of relief." For several years he sailed in square riggers over all navigable waters, encountering such hardships that he tired of the sea and became a tramp. But the soul of the changeable element had entered into his blood; the land soon wearied him and back he went to the sea and sailed around the world again. Then he disappeared for a time. Once in this otherwise blank space in his life-history he came to light as a bartender and handy man in a Sixth Avenue saloon in little old New York. The turning-point in his life was his meeting with the poet-maker, one W. B. Yeats. Masefield and Yeats spent a long English summer together in Devonshire, and the fruit of this comradeship is the expression in poems, stories, and plays of the extraordinary literary genius of John Masefield. His poem, "The Everlasting Mercy," was awarded the annual Edmond de Ploignac prize of $500. Stephen Phillips, writing in the English *Poetry Review*, accuses Masefield of "playing to the galleries." He does play to the gallery, inasmuch as he writes in a rough, simplified strain that stabs an arrow of poignant emotion into the common, untutored mind. Shakespeare favored this gallery of the common people with some of his best lines. Masefield is now thirty-eight years old, the literary lion of the hour in England, and his work only just begun.

The following lines from "Dauber" describe the approach to the Horn:

So the night passed but then no morning broke,
Only a something showed that night was dead,
A sea-bird cackling like a devil, spoke,
And the fog drew away and hung like lead:
Like mighty cliffs it shaped, sullen and red,
Like glowering gods at watch it did appear,
And sometimes drew away and then drew near.

Like islands and like chasms and like hell,
But always mighty, and red, gloomy and ruddy,
Shutting the visible sea in like a well,
Slow-heaving in vast ripples blank and muddy,
Where the sun should have risen it streaked bloody;
The day was still-born; all the sea-fowl scattering
Splashed the still water, mewing, hovering clattering.

The Polar snow came down little and light,
Until the sky was hidden by the small,
Most multitudinous drift of dirty white
Tumbling and wavering down and covering all,
Covering the sky, the sea, the clipper tall,
Furring the ropes with white, casing the mast,
Coming on no known air, but blowing past.

And all the air seemed full of gradual moan
As though in those cloud chasms the horns were blowing,
The mort of gods cast out and over-thrown,
Or for the eyeless sun plucked out and going.
Slow the slow, gradual moan came in the snowing,
The Dauber felt the prelude had begun,
The snow storm fluttered by, he saw the sun.

Show and pass by, gleam from one towering prism
Into another vaster and more grim,
Which in dull crags of darkness had arisen
To muffle-to a final door on him;
The gods upon the dull crags lowered dim,
The pigeons chattered, quarreling in the track.
In the southwest the dimness dulled to black.
Then came the cry of: "Call all hands on deck."
The Dauber knew its meaning; it was come:
Cape Horn, that tramples beauty into wreck
And crumples steel and smites the strong man dumb.

[1] The Story of A Round House. By John Masefield. Macmillan. 325 pp. $1.80.

Down clattered flying kites and staysails: some
Sang out in quick high calls; the fairleads skirled,
And from the southwest came the end of the world.

A complete edition of Mr. Alfred Noyes' poems also,—"The Tales of the Mermaid Tavern,"—is being published this spring by the Frederick Stokes Company. Mr. Noyes has been acclaimed the greatest English poet of the present generation and has the unusual distinction of having been able for several years to earn his living entirely by writing poetry. At his sequestered home in Rottingdean, in Sussex, he writes verse with the same admirable industry that characterized the literary career of the indefatigable Anthony Trollope. It is interesting to know, especially in the light of his having written "Drake," a master-epic of the sea, that he has never traveled, that his coming visit to America this spring will be his first journey outside the limits of the islands of Great Britain. Within a decade Mr. Noyes has published "The Loom of the Years," "The Flower of Old Japan," "Poems," "The Forest of Wild Thyme," "Drake," "The Forty Singing Seaman," "The Golden Hynde," "Sherwood," "The Enchanted Island," and a "Life of William Morris." The "Forest of Wild Thyme" and "The Flower of Old Japan" are fairy tales in verse for children.

Alfred Noyes

It is stimulating to the mind to compare the work of two such virile men as Noyes and Masefield in the field of literature. They breathe the air of freedom and vision,—eternal things that are yet to come. Over them Nature flings her panoply of light and shade, dawn and twilight, sun, moon, and stars. They are "master-mariners"—theirs the mystery, the marvel, the mighty presence of the unchanging sea.

JOHN MASEFIELD, ONE OF THE MOST VIRILE OF ENGLAND'S YOUNGER POETS

ALFRED NOYES
(An English poet who has the distinction of earning his livelihood by his pen)

From Mr. W. B. Yeats comes a book of verse, "The Green Helmet and Other Poems."[1] "The Green Helmet" is an heroic farce which has a deeper meaning than the lines at first seem to imply. The scene is a house built of logs on the coast of Ireland. Through the door, beyond the rocks, is the "misty moonlit sea." Laegaire and Conall, two Irish warriors, watch the sea and relate an agreement they have had with an apparition of the sea—the "Red Man," who demanded that they knock off his head, and then in return for the sport he has furnished them, says he will come and knock off theirs. Cuchulain, Sualtim's son, enters the house, and they tell him of their pact with the Red Man. The Red Man appears and leaves a helmet for the bravest man. Cuchulain fills it with ale and makes a drinking cup of it, but Laegaire and Conall quarrel as to who shall wear it. Their serving men enter and brawl over the respective merits of their masters; the wives of the warriors come upon the scene, also quarreling, for the Red Man has sown dissension in all their hearts. Then the Red Man comes again with his troop of cat-headed men that swarm over the rocks out of the sea to demand a head. Cuchulain offers his own to make peace, whereon a black-cat-headed man holds out the Helmet to Cuchulain and the Red Man foregoes his demand. He has not wanted a head, but only to find the bravest—"the heart that knows no bitter although betrayed by all."

Yeats and His Red Man

The "Cutting of An Agate," a new book of essays by Mr. Yeats, is concerned with the Celtic renaissance and particularly with the art of the Abbey Theater. Mr. Yeats says: "I have been

[1] The Green Helmet and Other Poems. By William Butler Yeats. Macmillan Co. 91 pp. $1.25.

busy with a single art, that of a theater, of a small, unpopular theater; and this art may seem to practical men of no more account than the shaping of an agate; and yet in the shaping of an agate, whether in the cutting or the making of the design, one discovers, if one have a speculative mind, thoughts that seem important and principles that may be applied life itself."

W. B. YEATS, THE IRISH POET

Our American poets of the present generation may be likened to those priests of ancient pagan temples, who, when the temples had fallen to decay and the old faiths were outworn, still tended the sacred fires upon the ruined altars. The poets, who in the early youth of the republic drew inspiration from the splendid traditions of the English race, have left among us few if any lineal descendants, while the ardent souls of that later period which might be termed the Civil War period (although much of the poetry that relates itself to that time antedates the actual years of the war)—among them, Bayard Taylor, Paul Haynes, Sidney Lanier and Walt Whitman—are all gone. While we are in process of achieving the ideal democracy of which Whitman sang, in our years of transition and social revolution, poetry must of necessity languish, for all poetry, at least all lyrical poetry, is the music that emanates from cloisteral minds. We are so far from quietude in the tumult of modern life, that our emotions have neither the calmness nor the strength to find lofty expression in metrical forms. Then, too, a common bond of national joy or sorrow is required to open the sealed springs of song. We have become too selfishly individualized to write great poetry. The poet is not so much for himself as for mankind.

The American poet must reveal certain sturdy adherences to type if he desires to be truly American. He must possess a basic trend toward that wholesome Puritanism that is the underlay of the American character; he must be a seeker after righteousness and a lover of austerities, not as such, but because they lead on to the high spiritualized passion that uplifts and creates, which is the still, marmoreal rapture of the human soul. To such a poet all traditions, all beauty belong by right of seizure. He is lord of the Empyrean, the kingdoms of the earth and the islands in the sea. He alone may gather to our hearts the innermost meanings of all that lies about us in the familiar and the commonplace, for it is truth that he whose ears are dulled to the voice of that which lies nearest to him hears no other voice, try as he may

Judged from a multiplicity of angles the most typically American in spirit and in expression of recently published poetry is the work of the late William Vaughn Moody. The pure gold of Moody's poesy was in his lifetime hidden—save to a few appreciators—beneath the popularity of his rather trivial play, "The Great Divide," which achieved an accidental success. His second play, "The Faith Healer," was a complete failure notwithstanding that its construction and content were superior to that of the earlier play. But Moody was not essentially a playwright. What he was or would have been had he lived longer, was a great dramatic poet. His touch is too heavy for light lyricism, although some of his early imitative verse has many singing lines. Thought conquered rhythm in his mature poesy, thought that comes to us in rich, full-toned organ music. One stanza of his familiar "Gloucester Moors" brings the realization of the tremendous sweep of our planet through space.

William Vaughn Moody

"This earth is not the steadfast place
We landsmen build upon;
From deep to deep she varies pace
And when she comes is gone,

Beneath my feet I feel
Her smooth bulk heave and dip;
With velvet plunge and soft upreel,
She swings and steadies to her keel
Like a gallant, gallant ship."

This is movement leaping out of the artificial bonds of words just as the march of men in St. Gaudens' Robert Shaw Memorial is movement escaping eternally from the mold of bronze that confines its expression.

According to many critics Moody's greatest poem is a fragment of a dramatic trilogy left unfinished at his death, entitled "The Death of Eve." This fragment is truly magnificent and reveals the full promise of his ripe genius. He was intensely patriotic—one who believed in our democracy, its ideals and ultimate ends. To our statesmen, he wrote: "Oh, ye who lead, take heed. Blindness we may forgive but baseness we will smite." By birth he was a Hoosier, born at Spencer, Ind., in 1869. John Manly, in his introduction to Moody's work, describes the poet:

"He was of more than medium height with a vigorous, well-knit body—an epicure of life, a voluptuary of the whole range of physical, mental and spiritual perfections with wonderful eyes, light, clear, blue, shining like large gems because of the sailor-like ruddiness that wind and sun had laid upon cheek and brow."

"Uriel," the title poem of Percy Mackaye's little volume of twelve poems, commemorates the death of William Vaughn Moody. It is a fine tribute of poetic beauty that touches upon all that was noblest in Moody's character and life. In the sixth stanza there is reference to Moody's projected new drama on the theme of St. Paul which had come to him "splendidly as a vision." Mr. Mackaye's fine poem, "The Fire-Bringer," is also commemorative of this poet-dramatist whose death was a great loss to American letters. Other poems in this collection are: "The Trees of Harvard," "The Sibyl" (to Edward Gordon

Craig), and finest of all—"Browning to Ben Ezra," a centenary soliloquy, the question being, "To pass away is it to cease?" The final answer from the shade of Pippa's creator is, "Through men's dear world with Pippa still I pass."

John Hall Wheelock

John Hall Wheelock has written two rather remarkable books of verse—"The Human Fantasy" (previously noticed in this magazine) and "The Beloved Adventure."[1] He is one of the younger poets of whom it is safe to prophesy continued expansion and growth. His poems are delightful to read, not alone for the poetic faultlessness of phrase and rhythms, but also for the lavishness of inspiration and the uplift of high idealism. "The Beloved Adventure" contains two poems of sustained power and mature beauty—"The Descent of Queen Isthar Into Hades" and "The Last Days of King David." Of the shorter poems none is more lovely than "Nirvana":

WILLIAM VAUGHN MOODY MADISON CAWEIN

TWO AMERICAN POETS OF DISTINCTION

Sleep on, I lie at heaven's high oriels,
Over the stars that murmur as they go
Lighting your lattice window far below—
And every star some of the glory spells
Whereof I know.

I have forgotten you long—long ago,
Like the sweet, silver singing of thin bells
Vanished or music fading faint and low.
Sleep on, I lie at heaven's high oriels
Who loved you so.

A Nature Poet

Madison Cawein, the nature poet-painter of Kentucky, offers a collection of poems, "The Fool and the Faeries." His own lines from a poem, "The Common Earth," best describe the content: "Here shall my soul go singing all day long with wren and thrush." He knows as much about faeries as Peter Pan and to him all the wild flowers answer to their names and the elves and gnomes and the great silver moon-moths know his voice. The scene of a one-act lyrical drama of ancient Greece is given as—"A deep and mighty Forest near the Vale of Tempe in Thessaly." There you have Mr. Cawein's atmosphere in a few words—the atmosphere of the old, classical nature-reverence, now almost obliterated from the heart of man. We may venture without fear of contradiction that the lyrical eclogue of the Poet, the Fool, and the Faeries[2] ("The Common Earth"), is a great poem. Here is the "Poet" speaking:

"When I am dead, my soul shall haunt these woods,
As bird or bee,
These dim grey forests where no foot intrudes
Irreverently.

Here shall my soul go singing all day long
With wren and thrush,
Or with the bee hum honey-sweet among
The hyssoped hush.

Or all night long wild with the whippoorwill
Wail to the moon;
Or with the moth slip glimmering, white and still,
Where flowers lie strewn.

Here I shall watch and see the ghosts go by
Of all the loves,
The forest lovers who have loved as I
Deep woods and groves.

And they will know me—not as bee or bird—
But for a soul
Through whom the forest speaks an ancient word
Of joy or dole."

From Dr. William Henry Venable we have "June on the Miami," a little volume that with true poetic beauty follows the course of Ohio's fairest stream, "Miami prattling in her sleep." Dr. Venable was seventy-six years old on April 26, 1912. For many years he has occupied a prominent position in the world of letters.

"The Unconquered Air" is a collection of fine and thoughtful lyrics by Florence Earle Coates. The tribute to the memory of Richard Watson Gilder strikes a very lofty note of poesy—that of high-visioned faith that death is perhaps our greatest friend—the "vital way" the "door to waking."

Bliss Carman, in collaboration with Richard Hovey, has given us three volumes of "Songs of

[1] The Beloved Adventure. By John Hall Wheelock. Sherman, French & Co. 242 pp. $1.50.

[2] The Poet, The Fool and the Faeries. By Madison Cawein. Small, Maynard & Co. 259 pp. $1.50.

Vagabondia." Now we have "Echoes from Vagabondia,"[1] by Bliss Carman. These poems are beautiful, but if a fault is felt in them it is that they are slender stalks of poesy, like buds of spring rather than summer's full-blown flowers. We have always been waiting for Bliss Carman (who possesses so many essential, poetic gifts) to do something that shall surpass the fragile loveliness of his early lyrics, such as "Yvanhoe" and "The Sweetest Singer."

William Ellery Leonard, who has already given us a blank verse translation of the entire six books of Lucretius, offers "The Vaunt of Man and Other Poems."[2] Mr. Leonard is primarily a thinker. His art is the child of a deep knowledge and experience, and heart and mind join hands in his verse. His use of the sonnet form differs slightly from the accepted formula, in that they do not so much bind rare moments of emotion into metrical forms as they teach his own gospel of freedom and reveal a love for all that is fine and best in human life.

Delicate and beautiful as the tracings of frost on the window panes or the 'broidering of the wings of gauzy moths are the lyrics in the volume "A Dome of Many Colored Glass," by Amy Lowell. A portion of the book is devoted to verses for children.

"The Nativity" is a well-sustained poem in Miltonic blank verse, by John Bunker. "Sweet Songs of Many Voices" is an excellent compilation by Kate Wright (Mrs. Athelstan Millers). "The Voice of the Garden," by Lucy Cable Bikle, with a preface by George Cable, gives much of poetry and prose that concerns gardens.

Rudyard Kipling has collected into a single volume the greater part of his verses scattered through his novels and stories. They include such popular selections as "The Looking Glass," "Mother O' Mine" and "The Only Son."

The "Mortal Gods and Other Dramas" is a new volume of poetic dramas by Olive Tilford Dargan. Least successful as poesy is the powerful drama "The Mortal Gods," which deals with social and moral philosophy in an imaginary country. "A Son of Hermes" is a drama of the time of Alcibiades. Kidmir or "The Sword of Love" is a drama of fierce love and bitter hatred in one of the Crusades in the twelfth century. The closing scene is poetically the finest in the volume.

"Cowboy Lyrics," in "roundup edition" dedicated to the Range Riders, is a breezy volume of songs that are as American as sage brush. They were really written while the author was drifting, as he says, from ranch to ranch and from cow outfit to cow outfit. Mr. Carr is a true poet although his muse is hobbled to Cowboy dialect. A quatrain on the alkali desert of the West is well worth quoting:

> "A dusty trail, a burning sky,
> A spot of leprous alkali;
> Gray, silent wastes that touch the rim
> Of Somber-land, vast, vague, and dim."

"The Buccaneers"[3] is a swaggering book of piratical chantey and songs by Don C. Seitz. It is bound in inky black and has a cover picture, frontispiece and decorations by Howard Pyle. It is a book that grown-up boys and those who are not grown up will want to read more than once. It invades Stevenson's own land "of—Schooners, Islands and Maroons and Buccaneers."

Mrs. Bettie Keys Chambers, "full of age and honors," writes of Southern courage and sacrifice in a volume of poetry—"Idylls of the South." Bettie Keys was a Southern girl, the daughter of Colonel Washington Keys of Decatur, Alabama. Her initial poem, "Eva Landeneau", is dedicated to The United Daughters of the Confederacy. Its heroine was a Southern woman and the poem tells of her experiences from the commencement of the war to the yellow fever epidemic in 1878. Another lyric—"Bend Low, O God," is a passionate plea for the deliverance of the South from this scourge.

Elsa Barker's latest collection of verse, "The Book of Love," contains one of the finest of modern sonnet sequences. For lyrical beauty and power of passion, it resembles Rossetti's "House of Life"; for worshipful reverence of love, it may be compared to Mrs. Browning's "Sonnets from the Portuguese." Mrs. Barker's poems are more especially for the poet and the lover of delicate imaginative thought than for the general public. With intentional frankness she tears away life's veils that we may see love's miracles.

"The Pilgrimage" is the sixth book of English verse by the Japanese poet—Yone Noguchi. This cosmopolitan writer was born in Japan about 1876. He came to America when he was twenty and made friends with American authors. In 1898 he published "The Voice of the Valley," a book inspired by his stay in the Yosemite. In 1902 he went to England and lived with the Japanese artist, Mr. Yoshiro Markino. The cover design of "The Pilgrimage" is from a painting by Mr. Markino. Delicacy and fragility characterize his lyrics. They might be aptly termed the Cloissonne ware of poesy. The *Fortnightly Review* praises him for the "using of English words with the same daring of the Irish peasants on whom Synge modeled his prose." He casts poetic images up over a mirror of sensuous reflection, choosing always symbolism to impress the spirit of his thought. The poem entitled "The Shadow" illustrates the Oriental turn of expression used in his verse.

> "My song is sung but a moment. . . .
> The song of voice is merely the body (the body dies)
> And the real part of the song, its soul, remains after it is sung.
> Yea, it remains as the vibration of the waves of heart-sea
> Echoing still my song, (O shadow my song threw)
> In my heart's thrill, I see my far truer and whiter soul,
> And through my soul thou soarest out of thy dust and griefs.
> . . . . . Spring passed
> (Spring in roses and birds is merely the body)

[1] Echoes from Vagabondia. By Bliss Carman. Small, Maynard & Co. 65 pp. $1.

[2] The Vaunt of Man and Other Poems. By William Ellery Leonard. B. W. Huebsch. 192 pp. $1.25.

[3] The Buccaneers. By Don C. Seitz. Harper & Brothers. 54 pp., frontis. $1.

And I see the greater spring (O soul-shadow she left)
In the summer forest luminous in green and dream:
Oh to be that Spring over the world's Summer valley,
O Shadow I may cast in the after-age, O my Shadow of soul."

HISTORY, CHIEFLY AMERICAN

AMONG a score of recent historical publications all but two are concerned with topics in the field of American history. Beginning with an exposition of "Causes and Effects in American History,"[1] by Edwin W. Morse, these books traverse the colonial and revolutionary periods, touch on social conditions in the South preceding the Civil War, and, in one or two instances, give a rapid survey of some phases of that great conflict itself. Mr. Morse's little volume, which is appropriately illustrated, sketches, in a vivacious way, the nation's story from the era of discovery and exploration to these modern days of business expansion. Seldom has such a review been so graphically accomplished within the space of three hundred pages.

A genuine contribution to our knowledge of the ante-revolutionary period is afforded by Elizabeth Christine Cook's "Literary Influences in Colonial Newspapers."[2] Few Americans have any definite information regarding the newspapers of colonial times and fewer still have the slightest acquaintance with the literary influences at work in that period, whether through newspapers or other channels of publicity. A meritorious feature of Miss Cook's treatise is the introduction of quotations from essays and verse published in colonial journals, the originals of which are accessible only in special collections. A good example of the modern application of historical methods in school work is a text-book on "American Beginnings in Europe,"[3] by Wilbur F. Gordy. Through such a medium as this the pupil is brought to learn where many of the elements of our American civilization had their beginnings, and how they have permanently entered into American life. An elaborate study of "The Old Colonial System"[4] (1660–1754), is contained in a two-volume work by George Louis Beer. Such institutional developments as are described in these two volumes must, of course, be understood more or less perfectly before there can be any exact knowledge of the beginnings of American history. A glimpse of the picturesque side of our colonial history is offered by Clarence Walworth Alvord and Lee Bidgood in a volume entitled "The First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Regions by the Virginians"[5] (1650–1674). One of the points brought out by this narrative of adventure is the fact, practically unknown heretofore, that English explorers were in the Ohio Valley almost as early as the French beyond the Mississippi.

Life in the Colonies

The third volume of Prof. Edward Channing's "History of the United States"[6] covers the period of the Revolution. This volume, like its predecessors, is valuable for its careful examination into social and economic conditions rather than as a purely political or military narrative. The work as a whole is developed on a scale and by a method that is sure to make it, in the result, one of the standard histories of our country.

The Young Republic

Another group of historical works deals with the early social life of American cities and States. One of these is wholly given over to the "Colonial Homes of Philadelphia and its Neighborhood,"[7] and it is truly surprising that so much information and so many interesting photographs have been collected in this comparatively narrow field. Probably no American community at the present time is richer in survivals of our colonial origins than the city of Philadelphia and its environs. In the volume entitled "Romantic Days in the Early Republic"[8] Mary Caroline Crawford outlines in a vivid way the social customs that prevailed in the principal American cities in the first half-century of our national life. Chapters are devoted to Philadelphia, New York, Washington, Baltimore, Charleston, Richmond, New Orleans, and Boston, with briefer references to a few of the smaller New England cities. Two little volumes of special interest to residents of the Great Lake region are "Early Mackinac,"[9] by Meade C. Williams, and "The Story of Old Fort Dearborn,"[10] by J. S. Currey. Those who are in any degree familiar with the history of the Lakes do not need to be reminded that the Island of the Straits between Lakes Michigan and Huron has been a center of historic associations since the seventeenth century, while Fort Dearborn, built in 1803, on the present site of the city of Chicago, was, for more than three decades, a frontier post of the United States Government.

Coming to a later period in our history, Miss Eliza Ripley's recollections of girlhood are contained in a volume on "Social Life in Old New Orleans,"[11]—a subject comparatively unfamiliar in the North, although by no means lacking in picturesqueness and novelty. Miss Ripley reverts to the New Orleans of the early 40's, describing various social institutions of that era and recalling features of a

Social and Literary History

[1]Causes and Effects in American History. By Edwin W. Morse. Charles Scribner's Sons. 302 pp., ill. $1.25.
[2]Literary Influences in Colonial Newspapers 1704–1750. By Elizabeth Christine Cook. New York: Columbia University Press. 279 pp. $2.50.
[3]American Beginnings in Europe. By Wilbur F. Gordy. Charles Scribner's Sons. 336 pp., ill. 75 cents.
[4]The Old Colonial System. By George Louis Beer. Macmillan Company. 2 vols. 763 pp. $4.
[5]First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Regions by the Virginians 1650–1674. By Clarence Walworth Alvord and Lee Bidgood. Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co. 275 pp. $4.
[6]History of the United States. By Edward Channing. Macmillan Company. 585 pp. $2.50.
[7]The Colonial Homes of Philadelphia and Its Neighborhood. By Harold Donaldson Eberlein and Horace Mather Lippincott. 366 pp., ill. $5.
[8]Romantic Days in the Early Republic. By Mary Caroline Crawford. Little, Brown & Co. 438 pp., ill. $2.50.
[9]Early Mackinac. By Rev. Meade C. Williams. Duffield & Co. 182 pp., ill. $1.
[10]The Story of Old Fort Dearborn. By J. Seymour Currey. A. C. McClurg & Co. 174 pp., ill. $1.
[11]Social Life in Old New Orleans. By Eliza Ripley. D. Appleton & Co. 332 pp., ill. $2.50.

life that is now almost forgotten. "Women of the Debatable Land,"[1] by Alexander Hunter, is a tribute to the Virginia women of Civil War times, while Mrs. La Salle Corbell Pickett has brought together in "Literary Hearthstones of Dixie"[2] a group of sketches of the homes of Southern poets and novelists. Mrs. John A. Logan's thick volume entitled "The Part Taken by Women in American History"[3] contains the life sketches of hundreds of American women in the various professions and in other honorable employments from the time of Mary Washington down to the present day.

"On Hazardous Service"[4] is the title given to a series of graphic sketches of scouts and spies of the North and South in the Civil War, by William Gilmore Beymer. This is a phase of war history ignored, for the most part, by historians of those stirring days. In a little book on "Numerical Strength of the Confederate Army,"[5] Dr. Randolph H. McKim, of Washington, a Confederate veteran, examines the arguments of the Hon. Charles Francis Adams and others to the effect that the usual Southern estimate of the strength of the Confederate army is far too small. It is admitted on both sides that data are lacking for the precise estimate, and that the actual size of the Confederate army must always be largely a matter of conjecture.

The Civil War

The biographies of the Presidents of the United States, together with a history of their office, are included in the volume, "Our Presidents and Their Office,"[6] by Dr. William E. Chancellor. Speaker Champ Clark writes an introduction. The official report[7] of the proceedings of the Republican National Convention, held in Chicago last June, contains all the reports of the Committee on Credentials, of the roll calls, the party platform, and speeches of notification and acceptance. This volume possesses a peculiar interest for all Republicans, since the proceedings that it records were so frequently the subject of heated debate in the campaign of 1912.

The Presidency

A "History of the Jews in America,"[8] by Peter Wiernik, discloses the little-known fact that there were less than 10,000 Jews in the New World three centuries after its discovery, and that about two-thirds of them lived in the West Indies or in South America. It was, of course, unavoidable that the portion of this work devoted to the United States should be disproportionately large. Two important books for college and university students of European history are "The Source Book of Ancient History,"[9] by George Willis Botsford and Lillie Shaw Botsford, and "Parallel Source Problems in Medieval History,"[10] by Frederic Duncalf and August C. Krey.

BIOGRAPHY, MEMOIRS AND LETTERS

ONE of the noteworthy events of the year 1913 in the publishing world is the appearance of the first volume of the "Writings of John Quincy Adams,"[11] edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford. Although no American statesman of the past generation has left more voluminous memoirs than John Quincy Adams, it is a rather singular fact that much of this material remained for many years unpublished; the famous "Diary" itself was not published until 1874, and in the present series of letters many are now going into print for the first time. John Quincy Adams gave more than fifty years of his life to public service, almost half of that service being in Europe as diplomatic representative of the United States in Great Britain, Holland, Prussia, and Russia. Letters included in the first volume, dated before the writer had reached the age of thirty, show remarkable acquaintance with American politics and with the changes then going on in the interrelations of European nations. There is likely to be no diminution of interest as the successive volumes of the new series make their appearance.

J. Q. Adams' Own Story

This is a most appropriate time for the republication of President-elect Woodrow Wilson's admirable and entertaining biography of George Washington.[12] A biography of the first President of the United States by a successor in the office is something new in our literary history.

An "Authoritative Life of General William Booth, Founder of the Salvation Army,"[13] by G. S. Railton, who during forty years was First Commissioner to General Booth, is more than a biography. It tells the whole story of the Salvation Army as a movement, and that story is indeed inseparable from the narrative of its founder's life. The book's chief appeal to the broader public is its delineation of General Booth as a social reformer.

General Booth

A new volume in Holt's series of "Biographies of Leading Americans" is "Leading American Inventors,"[14] by George Iles. The careers of most of these inventors have been set forth in various books before now and some well-known men who are usually grouped in the same category are here

American Inventors

[1]The Women of the Debatable Land. By Alexander Hunter. Washington, D. C.: Cobden Publishing Company. 261 pp., ill. $1.50.

[2]Literary Hearthstones of Dixie. By La Salle Corbell Pickett. J. B. Lippincott Co. 305 pp., ill. $1.50.

[3]The Part Taken by Women in American History. By Mrs. John A. Logan. Wilmington, Del.: The Perry-Nalle Publishing Co. 927 pp., ill. $5.

[4]On Hazardous Service. By William Gilmore Beymer. Harper & Brothers. 287 pp., ill. $1.80.

[5]The Numerical Strength of the Confederate Army. By Randolph H. McKim. The Neale Publishing Company. 71 pp. $1.

[6]Our Presidents and Their Office. By William Estabrook Chancellor. Neale Publishing Company. 603 pp. $3.

[7]Fifteenth Republican National Convention: Chicago, 1912. New York: The Tenny Press. 460 pp., ill. $2.

[8]History of the Jews in America. By Peter Wiernik. New York: The Jewish Press Publishing Company. 449 pp., ill. $1.50.

[9]A Source Book of Ancient History. By George Willis Botsford and Lillie Shaw Botsford. Macmillan Company. 594 pp. $1.30.

[10]Parallel Source Problems in Medieval History. By Frederic Duncalf and August C. Krey. Harper & Brothers. 250 pp. $1.10.

[11]Writings of John Quincy Adams. Edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford. Macmillan Company. Vol 1. 508 pp., por. $3.50.

[12]George Washington. By Woodrow Wilson. Harper & Brothers. 333 pp., ill. $3.

[13]The Authoritative Life of General William Booth, Founder of the Salvation Army. By G. S. Railton. George H. Doran Co. 331 pp., por. $1.

[14]Leading American Inventors. By George Iles. Henry Holt & Co. 447 pp., ill. $1.75.

conspicuous for their absence. Nevertheless, it is a most useful collection of biographies, containing as it does a surprising amount of wholly fresh material. Note, for example, the sketch of Ottmar Mergenthaler, the inventor of the linotype machine, and also that of Christopher Latham Sholes, the Milwaukee printer who devised the Remington typewriter.

Medical Biography

To the meager list of works on medical history and biography in the English language has been added Victor Robinson's "Pathfinders in Medicine"[1] a volume of fifteen essays, each devoted to one of the great names in the history of medicine. The introduction is supplied by Dr. Abraham Jacobi.

A Socialist's Recollections

H. M. Hyndman's "Further Reminiscences"[2] supplements the first volume of his reminiscences, which appeared several years ago and was most favorably received. In speaking of recent events and well-known persons still living, the author exhibits the same frankness which characterized his earlier volume. The author's point of view is distinctly his own, and whatever may be one's personal predilections, Mr. Hyndman's comments are always interesting.

The First Napoleon

The scholarly Lowell Lectures of 1912 on "The Personality of Napoleon,"[3] by Dr. J. Holland Rose, (University of Cambridge) now appears in book form. The "Memoirs Relating to Fouché,"[4] who was Minister of Police under Napoleon, have been translated from the French by E. Jules Méras. These Memoirs first appeared in 1824, nearly four years after the death of Fouché. When first published, the Memoirs were accepted as Fouché's own work, but were later admitted to be that of Alphonse de Beauchamp. In the opinion of authorities, however, these Memoirs were undoubtedly based on Fouché's own notes and figures.

"The Story of a Good Woman"[5] is the title given to a little book about the late Mrs. Jane Lathrop Stanford, by President David Starr Jordan, of Stanford University.

TRAVEL, EXPLORATION, DESCRIPTION

THE lure of the world's new and strange places, together with the persistent human desire to set down appreciatively impressions of old and familiar scenes seen in new lights, contribute to keep up the steady stream of books of travel and description that come from the press, and which have for their field the great wide world itself.

California

Mr. Bradford's "Field Days in California"[6] is made up of impressions and sketches which originally appeared in a number of monthlies and weeklies. These impressions have for their subject the travels of Mr. Torrey through less-known California. It takes a mind of distinction to impart interest to description such as he gives us in this volume, but his love of nature has enabled him to give some of this distinction to his text. The volume is illustrated. Another book on California is J. A. Graves' "Out of Doors: California and Oregon."[7] It also describes the "great out of doors."

Panama

The authoritative "Story of Panama"[8] from the statements of which there is no appeal, comes from the pens of Frank A. Gause, Superintendent of the Public Schools of the Canal Zone, and Charles Carl Carr, principal of the Canal Zone High School. Frequent references to old Spanish records regarding the early days of Panama and chapters on Columbus, Balboa, Drake, and Morgan's raids and pirates, add glamor to the story of this great engineering feat. The book is copiously illustrated. William R. Scott's work, on the other hand,—"The Americans in Panama,"[9]—confines itself largely to the work done since the American diggers took possession.

South America: Canada

During recent years the number of observant travelers visiting South America has greatly increased. Three or four years ago Mr. Harry Weston Van Dyke traveled extensively throughout Latin America, paying special attention to the southern continent, and he has just brought out a portly volume, with many illustrations, entitled "Through South America,"[10] to which the Hon. John Barrett, Director of the Pan-American Union, has contributed an introduction. "Trails, Trappers, and Tender-Feet in the New Empire of Western Canada,"[11] by Stanley Washburn, is a rather vivid account of adventure in the Canadian Rockies.

European Sight-Seeing

The peculiar interest Americans may take in old-world social conditions is emphasized by Dr. Francis E. Clark (founder of the Christian Endeavor Society) in his new travel book, "Old Homes of New Americans."[12] Dr. Clark traces many of the ethnic units of our immigrant population back to Austro-Hungary, and tells us much of

[1]Pathfinders in Medicine. By Victor Robinson. New York: Medical Review of Reviews. 317 pp., ill. $2.50.
[2]Further Reminiscences. By Henry Mayers Hyndman. Macmillan Company. 456 pp. $5.
[3]The Personality of Napoleon. By J. Holland Rose. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 383 pp. $2.50.
[4]Memoirs Relating to Fouché. Translated from the French by E. Jules Méras. Sturgis & Walton. 315 pp., ill. $1.50.
[5]The Story of a Good Woman; Jane Lathrop Stanford. By David Starr Jordan. Boston: American Unitarian Association. 57 pp. 75 cents.
[6]Field Days in California. By Bradford Torrey. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 235 pp., ill. $1.50.
[7]Out of Doors: California and Oregon. By J. A. Graves. Los Angeles: Grafton Publishing Co. 122 pp., ill. $1.50.
[8]The Story of Panama: The New Route to India. By Frank A. Gause and Charles Carl Carr. Silver, Burdett & Co. 290 pp., ill. $1.50.
[9]The Americans in Panama. By William R. Scott. New York: The Statler Publishing Company. 258 pp., ill. $1.35.
[10]Through South America. By Harry W. Van Dyke. Thomas Y. Crowell Co. 446 pp., ill. $2.
[11]Trails, Trappers and Tender-feet in the New Empire of Western Canada. By Stanley Washburn. Henry Holt & Co. 350 pp., ill. $3.
[12]Old Homes of New Americans. By Francis E. Clark. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 266 pp., ill. $1.50.

their history and their national traits. The volume is illustrated. "Seeing Europe on Sixty Dollars,"[1] by Wilbur Finley Fauley, is mainly an account of a leisurely trip through the British Isles, which was accomplished on an almost incredibly small purse. "Saints and Places,"[2] by John Ayscough, is mainly devoted to Italian historic shrines. Mr. Ayscough is already known to a large circle of readers as philosopher, poet and wit, and he has not hoarded his store of these charms in writing "Saints and Places." A more special interest attaches to E. V. Lucas' "A Wanderer in Florence."[3] Mr. Lucas has really given us in this work a high-class illustrated guide-book for people of artistic sensibilities. "Gallant Little Wales,"[4] by Jeannette Marks, with many pictures reproduced from old paintings in the possession of the author, is also a guide-book which serves as an introduction to Wales, particularly the North.

Two recent books on African travel and hunting which deserve mention are James Sutherland's "Adventures of an Elephant Hunter"[5] and Stewart Edward White's "Land of Footprints."[6] Mr. Sutherland writes from a hunting experience of many years on the dark continent, and illustrates his work with photographs taken by himself. Mr. White had many "good lucks" in Africa. His chapter on "The First Lion" is particularly graphic. His volume is also illustrated from photographs. With the object of writing a book such as he himself would have been very glad to know of before starting for a leisurely tour through Egypt ("but for which I sought in vain") Philip Sanford Marden prepared "Egyptian Days."[7] This does not attempt to be a guide-book, but a "collection of material which may prove of practical use, as well as a source of entertainment." The volume is illustrated. Alexandre Moret's more recent work on the Nile Valley is entitled "Kings and Gods of Egypt."[8] M. Moret, who is Professor of Egyptology at the Ecole des Hautes Études of Paris, has already written several works on Egypt. The present one is illustrated and is translated by Madame Moret.

Africa

Northern India, its life and social conditions, are described entertainingly by Michael Myers Shoemaker in his new book "Indian Pages and Pictures."[9] These sketches and illustrations refer particularly to the provinces of Rajputana, Sikkim, The Punjab, and Kashmir. A splendidly illustrated and printed account[10] of the recent expedition of the Duke of the Abruzzi to the Karakoram range of the Himalaya mountains has been printed in England and imported by Dutton, for the general purpose of finding out just how high man can attain in mountain climbing, and under what low pressure of air he may exist. The royal explorer made this expedition to the interior of the Himalaya region, and spent with his expedition more than two months on the Karakoram glaciers. The travelers had to cross the vast mountainous regions between Kashmir and Chinese Turkestan to reach the peaks sought. Their descriptions open up wide fields of new mountainous country in Asia, and the photographs and scientific data which they brought back will undoubtedly be of vast permanent import and usefulness. The translation from the Italian is by Filippo de Filippi, one of the expedition, and there is an introduction by the Duke of the Abruzzi himself. A separate enclosure, with many maps and illustrations and an index, accompany the work. Elizabeth Kendall's "A Wayfarer in China" is an account of a journey from a point on the Trans-Siberian railroad southward through Peking and Hankow to Hanoy. Miss Kendall is the head of the History Department of Wellesley College, and her expedition was suggested to her not by love of adventure so much as by genuine sympathy with the Chinese people.

India and Asia

NATURE BOOKS

MOST seasonable among the nature books of the opening year is "Trees in Winter,"[11] by Albert Francis Blakeslee, of the Connecticut Agricultural College, and Chester D. Jarvis, of the Storrs Experiment Station. One should not be misled, however, into thinking that the book is applicable only in the months of December, January, and February. The suggestions given in this volume have reference to the entire "period of resting" for the trees, from the shedding of the leaves in the fall to the bursting of the buds in the spring. The general rule is laid down that the buying, planting and care of trees should take place only in their dormant state. There are many photographic illustrations which should be of great help to the reader in identifying species.

The Tree at Rest

"Our Vanishing Wild Life"[12] is the rather startling title of a new book by Dr. William T. Hornaday, director of the New York Zoölogical Park, on the subject of the extermination and preservation of our wild animals and birds. Dr. Hornaday has reached the conclusion that we are now exterminating our finest species of mammals, birds and fish by the authority of law. He finds that in every State of the Union, in every province of Canada, the existing legal system for the preservation of wild life is fatally defective. The state-

Game Preservation

[1]Seeing Europe on Sixty Dollars. By Wilbur Finley Fauley. New York: Desmond FitzGerald. 167 pp., ill. 75 cents.

[2]Saints and Places. By John Ayscough. New York: Benziger Brothers. 477 pp., ill. $1.50.

[3]A Wanderer in Florence. By E. V. Lucas. Macmillan Company. 390 pp., ill. $1.75.

[4]Gallant Little Wales. By Jeannette Marks. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 189 pp., ill. $1.25.

[5]The Adventures of an Elephant Hunter. By James Sutherland. Macmillan Company. 324 pp., ill. $2.25.

[6]The Land of Footprints. By Stewart Edward White. Doubleday, Page & Co. 440 pp., ill. $1.50.

[7]Egyptian Days. By Philip S. Marden. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 324 pp., ill. $3.

[8]Kings and Gods of Egypt. By Alexandre Moret. Translated by Madame Moret. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 290 pp., ill. $2.

[9]Indian Pages and Pictures. By Michael Myers Shoemaker. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 467 pp., ill. $2.50.

[10]Karakoram and Western Himalaya 1909: An Account of the Expedition of H. R. H. Prince Luigi Amedeo of Savoy, Duke of the Abbruzzi. By Filippo de Filippi. Translated by Caroline de Filippi and H. T. Porter. 2 vols. E. P. Dutton & Co. 469 pp., ill. $15.

[11]Trees in Winter: Their Study, Planting, Care and Identification. By Albert Francis Blakeslee and Chester Deacon Jarvis. Macmillan Company. 446 pp., ill. $2.

[12]Our Vanishing Wild Life. By William T. Hornaday. Charles Scribner's Sons. 411 pp., ill. $1.50.

ment that everywhere game is being shot to death much more rapidly than it is breeding, is abundantly fortified by the evidence, in the form of text and photographs, with which this volume is packed. Point is given to Dr. Hornaday's warning by the actual records which he produces of the virtual extermination of many important species, including the passenger pigeon, the great auk, and the Labrador duck. These and other birds were virtually wiped out of existence in the seventy years intervening between 1840 and 1910. Countless other valuable species are going the same road. Dr. Hornaday makes definite suggestions as to State and national legislation to check this needless waste.

Noxious Insects

Closely related to the slaughter of our American birds is the subject of injurious insects,[1] as was brought out in an article by Mr. Gladden in the December number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS. An important and valuable volume on the recognition and control of such insects has been written by Prof. Walter C. O'Kane, of the New Hampshire Experiment Station. Professor O'Kane's work is illustrated with 600 original photographs, which afford, in connection with the text, an entirely new presentation of a matter of the utmost importance to American agriculture.

Fabre on the Spider

"The Life of the Spider,"[2] by the well-known French naturalist, J. Henri Fabre, the author of "Insect Life," has been translated into English by Alexander Teixeira de Mattos, and appears in connection with an appreciation of Fabre by Maurice Maeterlinck, in a volume of 400 small pages. Fabre was almost the first naturalist to observe in real life and to investigate thoroughly the various phases of many of the most common insects. Furthermore, his literary skill invests his scientific writings with a rare degree of "human interest." "One of the glories of the civilized world" Maeterlinck calls Fabre. Rostand characterizes him as the "*savant* who thinks like a philosopher and writes like a poet." He has made even the spider's story thrilling and dramatic.

Teaching Biology

An excellent text-book of biology for the elementary schools and for beginning classes in agriculture and horticulture is concealed under the rather unconventional and unscholastic title "Plant and Animal Children: How They Grow,"[3] by Ellen Torelle. We are quite ready to accept the author's assertion that instruction such as this little book conveys is greatly needed in all our schools. This book "aims to make clear the ideas of evolution, heredity, variation, effect of environment, and the evolution of sex without once mentioning these names."

Aldrich's Floral Poems

"The Shadow of the Flowers,"[4] a selection from the poems of Thomas Bailey Aldrich, has an interesting history. The selection was made in answer to a request for a list of the flowers mentioned by Mr. Aldrich, in order that the garden of the memorial to the poet at Portsmouth might possess every flower so mentioned. In each case the lines in which mention of the flowers was made were found to be peculiarly apropos, and, as stated by the publishers, "to shadow forth subtly yet clearly a double story—the story of the changing seasons of the year, and of the seasons of the poet's life." The illustrations of the volume are drawings by Talbot Aldrich and Carl J. Nordell.

BOOKS OF REFERENCE

Greatest of Catalogues

OF the new reference books, one of the most important from the literary worker's point of view is the "United States Catalogue of Books in Print January 1, 1912."[5] In this quarto volume of over 2800 pages (three columns to the page) we have, in a single alphabetical arrangement, more than 450,000 entries under author, subject, and title, with particulars of binding, price, date, and publisher. The 3000 publishers listed in the directory at the end of the volume suggest the extent of the book-publishing industry in America, but the catalogue does not confine itself to their output, for it includes many of the publications of the Federal and State governments, as well as volumes privately printed. Typographically the catalogue is a model, and as a means of ready reference in all cases where exact information is required regarding any American publication now available, we cannot hope for anything better.

Completion of the "Catholic Encyclopedia"

The fifteenth and last volume of the "Catholic Encyclopedia"[6] marks the completion of a most creditable undertaking, and one which reflects no little credit on American scholarship. The concluding volume contains articles on the Vatican, the Council of Trent, the United States, and many other topics of general interest, all of which are treated from sympathetic points of view. There is in this volume a reproduction in color of Raphael's Sistine Madonna.

Who's Who in England

"Who's Who, 1913,"[7] England's annual biographical dictionary, which is now in its sixty-fifth year, keeps pace with the American biennial publication of similar name in the number of sketches included in this issue. The new annual is of almost equal bulk with the American "Who's Who" and gives an extraordinary range of information regarding living personalities in the British Empire.

[1] Injurious Insects: How to Recognize and Control Them. By Walter C. O'Kane. Macmillan Company. 414 pp., ill. $2.

[2] The Life of the Spider. By J. H. Fabre. Dodd, Mead & Co. 404 pp. $1.50.

[3] Plant and Animal Children: How They Grow. By Ellen Torelle. New York: D. C. Heath & Co. 230 pp., ill. 50 cents.

[4] The Shadow of the Flowers. Illustrated by Talbot Aldrich and Carl J. Nordell. $2.

[5] The United States Catalogue: Books in Print January 1, 1912. Edited by Marion E. Potter. Minneapolis: The H. W. Wilson Co. 2837 pp. $36.

[6] The Catholic Encyclopedia. Edited by Charles G. Herbermann. Robert Appleton Co. Vol. XV. 800 pp., ill. $6.

[7] Who's Who, 1913. Macmillan Company. 2226 pp. $3.

"The Music Lovers' Cyclopedia,"[1] edited by Rupert Hughes, is now a single volume of nearly 1000 pages, containing a pronouncing and defining dictionary of musical terms, an explanation of and introduction to music for the uninitiated, a pronouncing biographical dictionary, stories of the best-known operas, and several essays on musical topics by distinguished authorities. The cyclopedia proved its usefulness in its old two-volume form, and the change makes it the more practical as a standard reference work.

Music

The "Navy Year Book," issued by the Government at Washington, contains in addition to a compilation of annual naval appropriation laws, 1883 to 1912, many tables showing the present naval strength in vessels and personnel, together with statistics and tables of foreign naval establishments.

The Navy

The last "Annual Report of the New York State Bureau of Labor Statistics"[2] contains an interesting history of the famous Typographical Union No. 6, together with a survey of its predecessors.

Two new books on golf coming from the press within a few days indicate the popularity of this game. In his book, "How to Play Golf,"[3] Harry Vardon describes the method more than the science of play. Horace G. Hutchinson's "New Book on Golf"[4] begins with a prologue on "How to Learn." An illustrated little volume of interest to children is "Children at Play in Many Lands,"[5] being a description of games "from China to Peru." "Auction of To-Day,"[6] by Milton C. Work, author of "Whist of To-Day," gives an exhaustive discussion of the game. New York evidently regards Whist as the king of all games and worth serious study.

Games

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: LEGAL HISTORY

IN his study of "The International Mind,"[7] Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University, strikes the keynote of modern world relations. In the first sentence of his preface, he says: "The substitution of justice for force in settling the differences that arise between nations has become a question of practical politics." Dr. Butler, in the aforesaid volume, which is a modest one in size and is made up mainly of addresses before peace conferences at Lake Mohawk, calls attention to the fact that the modern peace movement has its rise, first in the obstacles to constructive statesmanship raised up by militarism, and second, in the growing moral sensitiveness of men. These points are elaborated in his book. Lucia Ames Meade, in her earnest history of the peace movement which she has entitled "Swords and Ploughshares"[8] presents this truth more in argument than in fact. She argues well, however, and her monograph is enforced by some excellent illustrations and an introduction by the Baroness Bertha Von Suttner. Julius Moritzen takes a narrower but equally important field in his title, "Peace Movement of America."[9] It attempts to present "the growing American sentiment for peace instead of war," as "real news."

World Peace

The Far Eastern question has so long been a prime subject of international concern that such a thorough, exhaustive, and entertainingly written work as Lancelot Lawton's "Empires of the Far East"[10] is an extremely useful work. Mr. Lawton lived for thirty years in China and Japan. His treatment in this work is of the most thorough kind. An excellent map, in a separate portfolio, adds much to the usefulness of the work, which is in two volumes. J. O. P. Bland's "Recent Events and Recent Policies in China"[11] is packed full of just what its title indicates. It is an exceedingly useful book for students of Far Eastern conditions.

The Far East

In a series being brought out by Scribner's, under the general title "The South American Series," we are now offered "Latin America:[12] Its Rise and Progress," by F. Garcia-Calderon, a painstaking Latin American scholar and diplomat. The entire question of "people making" in the Southern Continent of the Western Hemisphere is treated by Dr. Calderon. There are stimulating chapters on the "Latin Spirit" and "The Problem of Race." The volume is illustrated and there is an introduction by M. Raymond Poincaré, just elected president of the French Republic.

Latin America

A law student who wishes to extend his studies beyond the works in English on the different phases of English and American jurisprudence, will find in "The Continental Legal History Series," which Little, Brown is bringing out, a great deal of documentary and historically interpretative matter about the various codes of the European

Legal History

[1] Music Lovers' Cyclopedia. Edited by Rupert Hughes. Doubleday, Page & Co. 948 pp. $1.50.

[2] Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics 1911. Albany: J. B. Lyon Co., State Printers. 717 pp., ill.

[3] How to Play Golf. By Harry Vardon. Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Co. 298 pp., ill. $2.

[4] The New Book of Golf. Edited by Horace G. Hutchinson. Longmans, Green & Co. 361 pp., ill. $2.

[5] Children at Play in Many Lands: A Book of Games. By Katherine Stanley Hall. New York: Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada. 92 pp., ill. 75 cents.

[6] Auction of To-day. By Milton C. Work. Houghton Mifflin Co. 289 pp. $1.25.

[7] The International Mind. By Nicholas Murray Butler. Charles Scribner's Sons. 121 pp. 75 cents.

[8] Swords and Ploughshares. By Lucia A. Mead. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 249 pp., ill. $2.

[9] The Peace Movement of America. By Julius Moritzen. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 419 pp., ill. $3.

[10] Empires of the Far East. By Lancelot Lawton. Small, Maynard & Co. 2 vols. 1598 pp. $10.

[11] Recent Events and Present Policies in China. By J. O. P. Bland. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. $4.

[12] Latin America. By F. Garcia-Calderon. Charles Scribner's Sons. 406 pp.

Continent. We have it in two bulky volumes in this series; "A General Survey of Events, Sources, Persons and Movements, in Continental Legal History"[1] and a history of "French Private Law."[2] The first volume is by various European authors, the second by Jean Prissaud, late of the University of Toulouse. The same house brings out a "History of Roman Law,"[3] by Dr. Andrew Stephenson, and "A Short History of English Law,"[4] by Dr. Edward Jenks, an English barrister of learned reputation. A work of more specific and concrete interest to the general American reader is Hugh E. Willis' "Farmers' Manual of Law."[5] This is adapted for the use of farmers and students in agricultural colleges. It has been conveniently arranged and indexed for references.

BOOKS ON VARIED THEMES

A NEW book on "The Woman Movement,"[6] by Ellen Key, is always a real contribution to the ever-growing literature on that subject. The point of view of this Swedish writer is well known. Briefly stated, it is that the claim of woman to exert the rights and functions of man is of comparatively little importance. What is of vast significance, is the claim of woman's rights as the mother and educator of each succeeding generation of mankind. This present volume is not a history of the woman movement. It is a statement of what Miss Key considers the present phase. Woman, Miss Key insists, must cease to imitate man. She must claim her right to be more and more a woman. The translation is by Mamah B. Borthwick and there is an introduction by Havelock Ellis. Dr. F. W. Foerster, a special lecturer on ethics and psychology, at the University of Zurich, who is a well-known writer on social questions, in his new book on "Marriage and the Sex-Problem,"[7] takes direct issue with Miss Key's ideas. He works out his thesis on the basis of Christian principles. He believes that the new radical theories are wrong and that the Christian marriage ideal is the highest.

Sex Problems

Dr. Ira S. Wile writes a useful, direct little volume on "Sex-Education,"[8] largely intended for the use of parents. Three recent volumes on "The Rights of Children" from a moral and physical standpoint, worth mention are, "The Elements of Child Protection,"[9] by Sigmund Engel, who is Official Guardian and Juvenile Advocate in the Courts of Budapest (a translation from the German); "The Right of the Child to be Well Born,"[10] by Dr. George E. Dawson (Harvard), and "The Prospective Mother,"[11] A Handbook for Women During Pregnancy," by J. Morris Slemons (John S. Hopkins).

One of those monumental tributes to an artist who stood for more than the mere work of his brush,—great as that was,—and which at the same time interprets an age and a tendency in art, is a biography of George Frederick Watts,[12] which has been written by his wife and just brought out with many fine illustrations. Watts has been described as a Wagner among painters. A born dreamer, he "took the naked ugliness of machinery and modern science and gave to it the symbolism of prophecy. He made it the dominant idea of his life to deal in art with the great problems of human existence." In this work, which is the first complete biography of Watts, we have intimated to us the great influence that Watts has already begun to exert, influence that is bound to increase with time. The three volumes are, as has been said, finely illustrated with reproductions of his paintings, pictures of his various homes, and snapshots of him in the intimacy of his domestic relations.

Watts the Painter

A couple of concise, excellently illustrated studies of French artists have been brought out by Lippincott, "Puvis De Chavannes"[13] and "Edouard Manet."[14] These are in a series of the "French Artists of our Day." Besides being biographical, they give some critical interpretation. A compact, encyclopedic history of "Art in Egypt,"[15] by G. Maspero, who is Director General of the Service of Antiquities of Egypt, comes to us as one of the Scribner series on the "General History of Art." It is most copiously illustrated and provided with an excellent index. There is still another new book on "Playing Cards," this time with the somewhat ponderous title, "Prophetical, Educational and Playing Cards."[16] The writer, Mrs. John King Van Rensselaer, attempts the ambitious task of presenting a history of playing-card development, from the days of the ancient Egyptian to the present. The book is fully illustrated.

Art History

[1] A General Survey of Events, Sources, Persons and Movements in Continental Legal History. By Various European Authors. Little, Brown & Co. 754 pp. $6.

[2] A History of French Private Law. By Jean Brissaud. Translated by Rapelje Howell. Little, Brown & Co. 922 pp. $5.

[3] History of Roman Law. By Andrew Stephenson. Little, Brown & Co. 513 pp. $3.

[4] A Short History of English Law. By Edward Jenks. Little, Brown & Co. 390 pp. $3.

[5] Farmers' Manual of Law. By Hugh Evander Willis. New York: Orange Judd Co. 458 pp. $2.

[6] The Woman Movement. By Ellen Key. Translated by Mamah Bouton Borthwick. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 224 pp. $1.50.

[7] Marriage and the Sex Problem. By Dr. F. W. Foerster. Frederick A. Stokes Co. 228 pp. $4.

[8] Sex Education. By Dr. Ira S. Wile. Duffield & Co. 148 pp. $1.

[9] The Elements of Child Protection. By Sigmund Engel. Macmillan Company. 276 pp. $3.50.

[10] The Right of the Child to be Well Born. By George E. Dawson. Funk & Wagnalls Co. 144 pp. 75 cents.

[11] The Prospective Mother. By J. Morris Slemons. D. Appleton & Co. 343 pp. $1.50.

[12] George Frederick Watts: The Annals of an Artist's Life. By M. S. Watts. George H. Doran Co. 3 vols. 1011 pp., ill. $10.

[13] Puvis de Chavannes. By Andre Michel. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 94 pp., ill. $1.

[14] Edouard Manet. By Louis Hourticq. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 96 pp., ill. $1.

[15] Art in Egypt. By G. Maspero. Charles Scribner's Sons. 313 pp., ill. $1.50.

[16] Prophetical, Educational and Playing Cards. By Mrs. John King Van Rensselear. Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Co. 392 pp., ill. $3.

FINANCIAL NEWS FOR THE INVESTOR

PROMINENT in all the business and financial news of the last few weeks has been the concerted, country-wide attack upon monopoly. President-elect Wilson in several notable public speeches arraigned monopoly with an eloquence rarely equalled, and at his instance several bills were introduced in the New Jersey Legislature designed to make impossible the formation of any more great monopolistic holding companies in that State. The investigation of the "Money Trust" by the Pujo Committee of Congress has been for the purpose of discovering what degree of monopoly exists in the banking world. Through the activities of this committee, as well as through newspaper "campaigns" and the work of the Governor and Legislature of New York, the alleged monopolistic tendencies of the New York Stock Exchange have been questioned, and finally there have been highly suggestive disclosures in regard to the monopolistic powers of certain of our great industrial combinations through testimony taken in suits against them under the Sherman Law.

Many corporate practices or devices, such as voting trusts, holding companies, syndicate underwriting, and interlocking directorates, have been bitterly attacked. One thing is certain, that radical and perhaps tremendous changes will be forced by public opinion upon the world of "big business." A large, very large, proportion of securities held by small investors, men and women who know no more about "big business" than a cat, have been issued by corporations, the activities of which or of whose promoters have been recently held up to serious challenge. Thus the question is being everywhere raised. Will investors suffer as the result of this great era of business and financial investigation, awakening, and reform?

New laws affecting business and finance are not expected to be retroactive. They will mostly affect only future operations. And if they prevent monopoly, they will prevent overcapitalization, which has been the bane of the investor. If the investor can be sure that the stock or bond he purchases has no "water" behind it, but only intrinsic worth, he has solved the hardest problem which confronts him.

Says John Moody, an authority on financial subjects:

> The conditions which existed from 1898 to very recently were such as to make it both logical and irresistible for business men to become high financiers, and instead of exerting their best energies to improvements in methods of production and distribution, to do everything possible in the direction of monopolizing opportunities, and then capitalizing these monopolies. For the capitalizing of monopoly is all there is to "over-capitalization." Had it not been easy for men to acquire and construct monopolies during the past fifteen years, it would never have been possible for them to rear the great structures of capitalization which overspread the country to-day. Wherever attempts have been made during this period to float enormous capitalizations without the possession of some monopoly or element of monopoly, the attempts have resulted in signal failure.
>
> It is entirely unlikely that during this day and generation we will witness the elimination of monopoly, or of the monopoly-element in this country. But one thing seems certain. The days of extraordinary expansion in monopoly power are over, or soon will be over. From now on we are unlikely to see the great capitalization movement grow with the rapidity which has characterized it during the past decade. Hereafter, instead of men looking for securities which have nothing back of them except "potential possibilities" or monopoly profits, we will more and more find men looking for securities which have tangible values back of them. In the selling of securities in the future, the main argument is going to be more along the line of intrinsic worth, efficiency of management, legitimate earning power under up-to-date and modern methods, instead of the argument that this or that company has a "monopoly" of this thing or that thing. In other words, the interest of financiers and captains of industry in the future will be more away from instead of in the direction of monopoly.

The investment markets are at this very time adjusting themselves to new conditions imposed upon them. For example, the Moline Plow Company, one of the largest manufacturers of agricultural implements and wagons, has just sold $7,500,000 of preferred stock to investors through banking houses, the proceeds of which went partly to pay for the purchase of Adriance, Platt & Co., another well-known firm engaged in similar manufacturing. But the bankers are very careful to point out that Adriance, Platt & Co. is not a competitive plant, as it makes a line of binders, mowers, and corn harvesters, none of which was made by the Moline Plow Company itself. In the last few months a large number of concerns making agricultural

implements have sold their stock to the public, and in most instances part of the proceeds was used to buy other plants. But in each case care was taken not to buy plants which made the same products. There is no reason whatever, to judge from the revolution which is going on in this trade, why business should not be big, nor any reason why one concern should not make a great variety of products. But this is not monopoly. This is merely utilizing the unquestioned advantages of working on a large scale.

The great bulk of securities now being offered to investors are of the non-monopolistic variety and such as need not be affected by whatever punishment is inflicted upon the "Money Trust," the Stock Exchange, or the New Jersey incorporation laws. From the very nature of the case, mail-order firms or department stores cannot be monopolies, and yet their preferred shares may prove good investments. And if we glance at the bonds of public utility companies, we find the same situation. The popularity of these bonds seems to grow by leaps and bounds. In the last few months it has been notably rapid. The forthcoming census report on the electrical industry will prove astonishing in its story of the growth of this industry. But one can hardly think of a street or interurban railway, a gas company, or a hydro-electric company which is an interstate monopoly. Many of them are local monopolies, but only with the consent of the locality. The telephone business is practically a monopoly, but the Attorney-General of the United States has just decided that its regulation by the careful and scientific Interstate Commerce Commission will be far better than its attempted breaking up by the Sherman Law.

While investors are turning more and more to public utility bonds and preferred shares of manufacturing and trading companies, both because of their high income and perhaps because of their freedom from the suspicion of "high finance," other classes of securities are by no means going into discard. Railroad earnings have been increasing rapidly of late and the mild winter has made railroad operation far less expensive than it often is. One of the largest and strongest of our steam railroad systems has just offered a great quantity of convertible bonds to its shareholders at a price which returns about 5 per cent.—a high return considering the class of security offered. Bonds which are convertible into stock at option of the owner form what speculators call a "straddle." Many economists agree that in a period of high living costs such as the present, stocks, or bonds which partake of the nature of stocks, form a better investment than regular bonds. Thus the railroads, which have had no little trouble in raising capital by bond issues, are meeting the difficulty by selling bonds which one can retain as a bond if bonds continue in favor, or can change into stock if stock becomes the more popular investment.

Such a general broadside of attack as that which is now being made upon the New York Stock Exchange cannot fail to arouse interest among investors, but they should know all sides of the subject before becoming particularly excited. A revised edition of Sereno S. Pratt's "The Work of Wall Street" has come off the press at a most opportune time. It explains the fundamentals which every investor should know about markets, stock exchanges, and the banking questions which Congress has been so energetically investigating with the aid of the astute corporation lawyer, Samuel Untermeyer.

TYPICAL INQUIRIES AND ANSWERS

No. 425. "MORTGAGE NOTES"

There are offered for sale "mortgage notes" in denominations of $500, each note being one of a series, which series totals the amount of a mortgage taken by a brokerage firm. The specific notes I have in mind seem to be secured by first mortgage on improved city real estate, and yield 6 per cent. Insurance policy, title, etc., are retained by the bankers, the separate notes being registered in the name of the purchaser thereof. Interest is paid directly to the note-holder by the mortgagor. Is there any reason why these notes are not as good as the original mortgage?

As a general proposition, no; provided, of course, the notes are drawn strictly in accordance with the terms of the mortgage, and with all of the necessary legal formalities. This method of handling loans on improved city real estate has been in vogue for a good many years, perhaps more especially in the Middle West, and has proved very satisfactory from the individual investor's point of view. Of course, whether in connection with the notes or with the mortgage, itself, the ultimate safety of the investment would depend upon the character of the property, the ratio of the total amount of the loan to a conservatively appraised valuation of the property, and to some extent upon the responsibility and experience of the mortgage brokers. In the absence of specific information about the proposition you have in mind, it is possible for us to report only in this general way.

No. 426. MARKETABLE HUNDRED-DOLLAR BONDS

Is it possible to secure safe hundred dollar bonds that are readily marketable? If so, please mention some issues. I shall need cash at sometime in the future, but meantime I wish my money to be earning something.

There are a good many standard investment bonds, obtainable in hundred dollar pieces, which one ought to have little, if any, difficulty in disposing of at any time with reasonable facility. To mention a few representative issues:

Colorado & Southern ref. and ext. 4½'s to net about 4.85 per cent.; Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul conv. 4½'s to net 4.25 per cent.; Norfolk & Western first consolidated 4's to net about 4.10 per cent.; Southern Pacific—San Francisco Terminal 4's to net 4.50 per cent.; American Telephone & Telegraph coll. tr. 4 per cent. ctfs. to net 4.60 per cent.; Liggett & Myers and P. Lorillard debenture 5's to net 5.20 per cent.; General Electric debenture 3½'s to net about 4.70 per cent.

All of these are parts of widely known and well established issues that have a satisfactory market on the New York Stock Exchange. For that reason, they would probably be found more readily salable than a large number of others, perhaps no less secure and satisfactory in other respects, but enjoying markets only such as can be made by the banking houses among whose "specialties" they are numbered. You doubtless know that there are several reputable firms of investment bankers which devote particular attention to bonds of small denominations.

No. 427. SIX PER CENT. UTILITY BONDS

I have from eight to ten thousand dollars for investment. Can you recommend any public utility bonds paying 6 per cent? I should prefer them not to mature under ten to twenty years. I am investing for income only.

We should hesitate to recommend by name any public service corporation bonds yielding income at the rate of 6 per cent., for we do not recall ever having had occasion to examine any bond of that kind, yielding such a high rate, that we believed to be entitled to the rating of a strictly conservative investment. The best bonds of this type do not yield much more than 5 per cent. There are a good many such as we are accustomed to refer to as "middle grade" bonds, which may be had to yield from 5¼ to possibly 5¾ per cent. But when you go above that rate, you are likely to encounter a class of low grade, and more or less speculative securities. Of course, we do not mean to say that there might not be found occasionally a good public utility bond selling on that high basis of net income for reasons entirely aside from any marked deficiency in underlying security; but that would be the exception, rather than the rule, and would call at once for closer scrutiny than the average investor is wont to give to his purchases.

We think, if you examine the lists of offerings of the big, strong investment banking houses which have specialized in this type of securities for so long that their judgment can be accepted as the most expert, you will find our suggestions confirmed in practically all respects.

No. 428. FARM LOANS AND MORTGAGE PARTICIPATIONS

For a young man, who does not care to leave his money in a savings account, do you recommend farm loan and first mortgage participations, when offered by trust companies that are reliable? How much interest should they bring? I am getting 5 per cent. for first mortgages and 6 per cent. for farm loans. Should I confine myself to the 5 per cent. mortgages, or are the 6 per cent. farm loans just as safe? What do you think of trust company and National bank stocks? Do you think I should seek other fields for my funds, and wait until I get together $500 and then buy bonds?

Especially in cases where there is no necessity for giving serious consideration to the feature of ready convertibility, we believe properly selected farm loans and first mortgage participations to be among the best things into which a small, and necessarily conservative, investor can put his money. You doubtless appreciate that there is no market for securities of these types, as there is for standard railroad, industrial and public utility bonds, for instance. In a general way, the rates of income you are getting on the mortgages and farm loans which you now hold, indicate that they may be representative high grade securities of their respective types. It would be impossible to say which of the two classes was affording you the soundest security of principal and interest without analyzing each on its own merits.

We have never been inclined to look with a great deal of favor upon bank and trust company shares as securities for people, to whom we are accustomed to refer as "average investors." Stocks in this category seem to us to be better adapted as a rule to the investment of the surplus funds of business men.

Your own suggestion about $500 bonds is timely. Making your next investment in that way would give you a start toward the kind of diversification that is held to be of great importance by every scientific investor nowadays.

No. 429. DENVER & RIO GRANDE REFUNDING FIVES

What do you think of Denver & Rio Grande first and refunding 5 per cent. bonds?

We consider that they have to be classed as second grade railroad securities, but that they are not without promise. For the last few years the Denver & Rio Grande has had a problem on its hands by reason of the way in which it committed itself financially to the construction of its Pacific Coast extension, the Western Pacific Railway. As you may probably know, the "Denver" itself furnished a considerable amount of money for this new line, and in addition to that, obligated itself to make good any deficiency in the interest on the Western Pacific's $50,000,000 first mortgage bonds. The new road has not yet been able to earn the full interest requirements on these bonds, and in order to stand by its guarantee, the Denver & Rio Grande found it necessary to omit the payment of dividends on its own preferred stock, temporarily. There is no indication, however, that the "Denver's" position in this, or other respects, is such as to endanger any of its bonds. It seems reasonable to expect that, unless something entirely unforeseen occurs, during the next two or three years the Western Pacific will be able to pay its own way, and that the Denver & Rio Grande will, therefore, be able to devote surplus earnings that are now being used to help carry the new property through its first stages of development to the building up of equities back of its mortgage debt.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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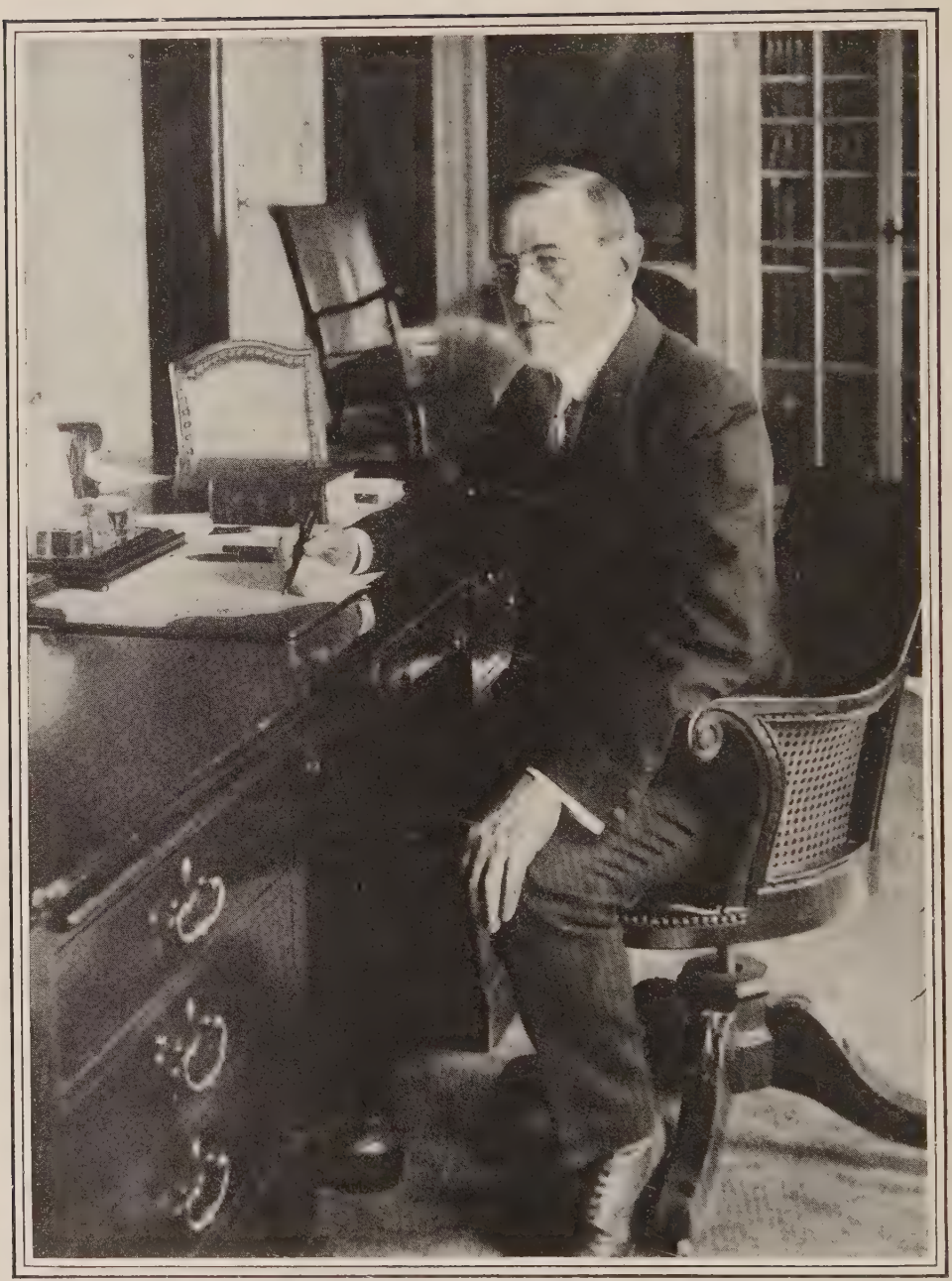

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WOODROW WILSON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
AT HIS DESK IN THE WHITE HOUSE

THE AMERICAN
REVIEW OF REVIEWS

VOL. XLVII NEW YORK, APRIL, 1913 No. 4

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

The New Administration

The new administration is at work, and the Democratic party has come into power, the country having felt not the slightest sense of shock in the transition. There has been little harshness in the tone of recent political discussion. While the succession to Presidential authority has meant civil war and inestimable disasters in the neighboring republic of Mexico, we have transferred power from a Republican to a Democratic administration with partisanship laid aside and good will expressed on all sides. President Taft, who departed on the afternoon of Inauguration Day for Augusta, Ga., had done everything in his power to make the incoming of the new President convenient and comfortable. The new cabinet members were aided by their predecessors or by other high department officials in taking up the current business pertaining to their respective portfolios. Until the morning of March 4 there had been only conjecture about the new cabinet appointments. President Wilson had kept his counsel well, in order that he might not be embarrassed in case of changes at the last. He was wise enough to conceive of his cabinet as a whole, having in mind its relation to the country and to Congress, as well as the fitness of its individual members for their several departments. We have elsewhere in this number discussed at length this new cabinet, and President Wilson's views of the nature and functions of the administrative group in our scheme of national government.

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MR. TAFT GREETING MR. WILSON AT THE WHITE HOUSE DOOR

Quality of the Cabinet

The cabinet selections, in our opinion, are not only good ones, but even better upon the whole than the country has yet realized. Every man of the ten is a worker, alert, vigorous, and fit for his job. Taking them as a group, they are in close touch with current affairs and public opinion, and they are in sympathy with scientific methods and progressive policies. It is no small advantage to the country to have a really intelligent cabinet. Under Presidents Roosevelt and Taft some notable men of brilliancy, power and high patriotism were brought to Washington and put into offices of lower rank than the cabinet. Two of these men, Lane and McReynolds, have now been assigned to portfolios. Washington is the home of a great number of scientific men and scholars, whose services have become indispensable to the government in many fields of work. It is pleasant to know that under the new administration there will be no lack of appreciation shown for high

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THE PRESIDENT WITH MRS. WILSON AT THE INAUGURATION CEREMONIES

(Mr. Thomas Nelson Page, of the reception committee, stands next to Mrs. Wilson)

training and expert knowledge in every place where such qualities can be made available.

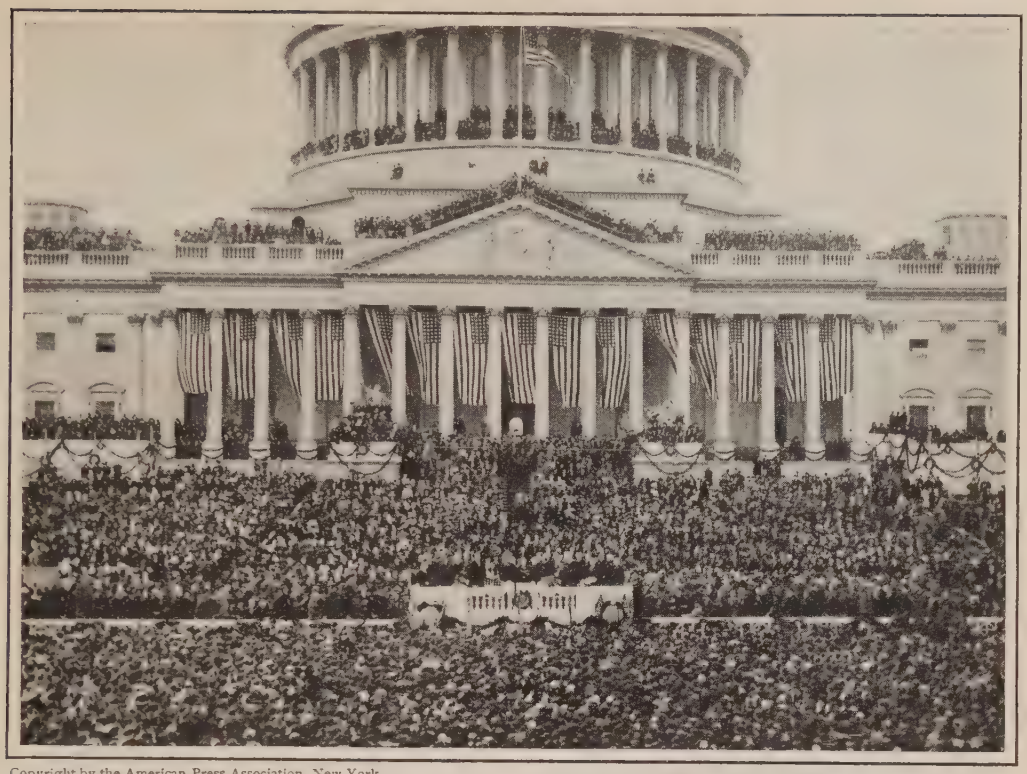
High Conceptions of Public Duty

President Wilson's inaugural address was brief, eloquent, and lofty in its sentiment. If Mr. Wilson and his cabinet can but live and work in the spirit of that address, squaring their conduct to its principles of unswerving justice and unselfish duty, we shall have indeed a great administration. It is frightful to feel that men are in power as our rulers who knowingly abuse that power and habitually perpetrate or condone injustice. Something like despair is in the hearts of men when they know that they cannot go to government officials, and state a case in terms of right and wrong, with a sense that they are speaking the language of the functionaries whom they address. The great thing that characterized Mr. Roosevelt as President was his quick and eager response when things were put plainly in terms of good and evil. His purpose and his instinct were for public justice; and the Government was not to his mind an agency for the aggrandizement of its officials or for the distribution of private benefits. Again we are to have an administration conducted openly, fearlessly, honestly, in the sunlight, with industry, attention to business, respect for oath of office, and great ideals of public service. These are the closing words of President Wilson's inaugural address:

> This is not a day of triumph; it is a day of dedication. Here muster, not the forces of party, but the forces of humanity. Men's hearts wait upon us; men's lives hang in the balance; men's hopes call upon us to say what we will do. Who shall live up to the great trust? Who dares fail to try? I summon all honest men, all patriotic, all forward-looking men, to my side. God helping me, I will not fail them, if they will but counsel and sustain me!

Referring to the political changes by which the country has given the Democrats first the House, and next the Presidency and now the Senate, Mr. Wilson characterized in broad terms the forces of development and progress that had been at work, and interpreted the Democratic victory in the sobering aspect of its responsibilities:

> It means much more than the mere success of a party. The success of a party means little except when the Nation is using that party for a large and definite purpose. No one can mistake the purpose for which the Nation now seeks to use the Democratic party. It seeks to use it to interpret a



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THE INAUGURATION OF PRESIDENT WILSON AT THE EAST FRONT OF THE CAPITOL

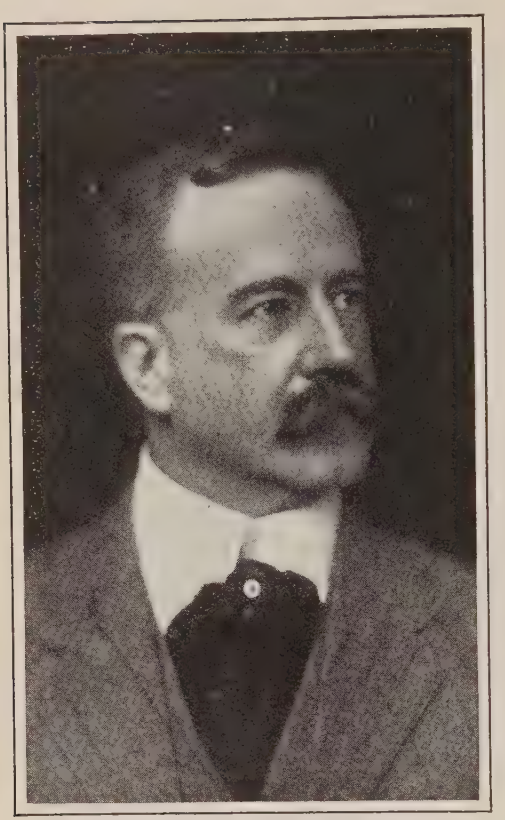
change in its own plans and point of view. Some old things with which we had grown familiar, and which had begun to creep into the very habit of our thought and of our lives, have altered their aspect as we have latterly looked critically upon them, with fresh, awakened eyes; have dropped their disguises and shown themselves alien and sinister. Some new things, as we look frankly upon them, willing to comprehend their real character, have come to assume the aspect of things long believed in and familiar, stuff of our own convictions. We have been refreshed by a new insight into our own life.

Outlines of Wilson's Policy

Since in this first of his State papers as President Mr. Wilson has outlined what is to be the policy of his administration, it is well that we should make one more extended quotation herewith, for the sake of our permanent record:

We have itemized with some degree of particularity the things that ought to be altered, and here are some of the chief items: A tariff which cuts us off from our proper part in the commerce of the world, violates the just principles of taxation, and makes the Government a facile instrument in the hands of private interests; a banking and currency system based upon the necessity of the Government to sell its bonds fifty years ago and perfectly adapted to concentrating cash and restricting credits; an industrial system which, take it on all its sides, financial as well as administrative, holds capital in leading strings, restricts the liberties and limits the opportunities of labor, and exploits without renewing or conserving the natural resources of the country; a body of agricultural activities never yet given the efficiency of great business undertakings or served as it should be through the instrumentality of science taken directly to the farm, or afforded the facilities of credit best suited to its practical needs; water courses undeveloped, waste places unreclaimed, forests untended, fast disappearing without plan or prospect of renewal, unregarded waste heaps at every mine. We have studied as perhaps no other nation has the most effective means of production, but we have not studied cost or economy as we should either as organizers of industry, as statesmen, or as individuals.

Nor have we studied and perfected the means by which government may be put at the service of humanity, in safeguarding the health of the nation, the health of its men and its women and its children, as well as their rights in the struggle for existence. This is no sentimental duty. The firm basis of government is justice, not pity. These are matters of justice. There can be no equality of opportunity, the first essential of justice in the body politic, if men and women and children be not shielded in their lives, their very vitality, from the consequences of great industrial and social processes which they cannot alter, control, or singly cope with. Society must see to it that it does not itself crush or weaken or damage its own constituent parts. The first duty of law is to keep sound the society it serves. Sanitary laws, pure food laws, and laws determining conditions of labor which individuals are powerless to determine for themselves are intimate parts of the very business of justice and legal efficiency.



HON. JOHN SKELTON WILLIAMS, OF VIRGINIA
(The distinguished financier who becomes Mr. McAdoo's right-hand man as First Assistant Secretary of the Treasury)

Plain Living and Attention to Business

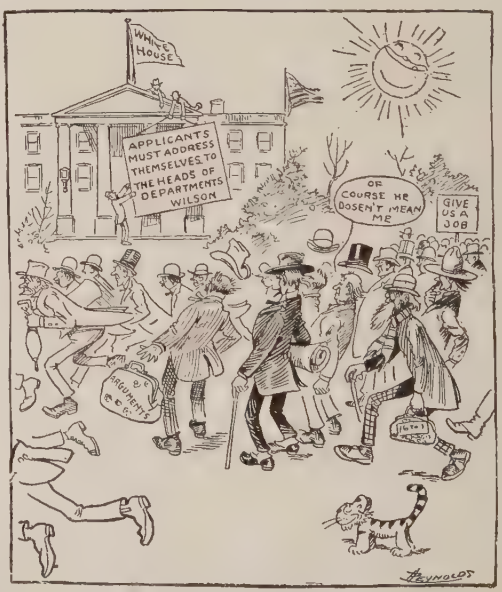
President Wilson's manner of taking up the public business has undoubtedly met with wide approval. It is a matter of satisfaction to know that he will, at least for a long time to come, devote himself strictly to his official duties and decline all invitations to travel about the country or to speak at dinners or upon miscellaneous occasions. The practice of doing these outside things is a wholly new one; and a return to the former customs of the office is much to be desired. There has been great growth of luxury and ostentation in Washington, and this has had its insidious effect upon the standards and the efficiency of governmental work. It appears that there is to be a regime of plainer living, just as it is quite obvious that there is to be higher thinking.

The Places and the Seekers

It was immediately evident that Mr. Wilson had made up his mind in advance not to be victimized by the office-seekers. Since a choice had to be made, it was best to decide in favor of his public work and against the army of men who felt that they had claims. A President never strengthens himself or his administration by distributing patronage. He gains positive strength by appointing the best possible men with the least possible hesitation. Mr. Wilson has the gift to see that in making the impression that he can do business effectively, he offsets tenfold such disaffection as might arise from disappointing any number of office-seekers and their friends. It is right that the responsible administrative posts should be filled by new men, who will form a part of the larger executive group. Not only should the cabinet be made up, as it has been, of effective members of the Democratic party; but it is desirable upon the whole that the assistant secretaries and others responsible in part for policy as well as for working efficiency should be of like motive and affiliation. Mr. Wilson has been seeking good men for public places, rather than using public places to reward politicians or satisfy claimants.

A Mentor for M'Adoo

There has seemed, in recent administrations, to be too little regard paid to the appointment of assistant secretaries. It has occasionally happened that we have had men of world-wide reputation at the heads of bureaus and particular services, with inexperienced and unknown young men put over them in the position of assistant secretary, with unfortunate consequences. On the other hand, there has been in the rank of assistant secretaries an occasional man of such capacity that he counted for quite as much as the head


WHITE HOUSE
APPLICANTS MUST ADDRESS THEMSELVES TO THE HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS WILSON
OF COURSE HE DOSEN'T MEAN ME
GIVE US A JOB
REYNOLDS

AVOIDING THE RUSH
From the *Oregonian* (Portland)

of the department. The intention of the Wilson administration to be organized efficiently throughout, had some prompt and encouraging illustrations. Thus within a few days it was announced that Mr. John Skelton Williams, of Richmond, Va., would be First Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, in particular charge of the Government's fiscal affairs. Though still a comparatively young man, Mr. Williams has for many years been a prominent banker and financier, with a personal and business reputation of the very highest. With men like McAdoo and Williams holding office, the Treasury Department will resume something of its old time leadership and authority in the country's economic life. Even more important than the revision of the tariff and the rearrangement of revenue and budgetary methods is the reform of our currency system and our banking laws. We are now to have in the Treasury Department a group of active men trained to deal with such questions and capable of vigorous cooperation with the committees of Congress that are working in the same field.

Monetary Reform in Prospect

The new chairman of the House Committee on Banking and Currency will be Mr. Carter Glass, of Virginia, Mr. Pujo not being a member of the new Sixty-third Congress. While, during the last session, Mr. Pujo, through Mr. Untermyer as counsel, was carrying on the widely reported inquiry into the concentration of banking and monetary control, another inquiry was going on, of a less sensational kind, under direction of Mr. Carter Glass as chairman of a subcommittee. This inquiry had to do with the framing of a new currency bill, in pursuance of the completion of the work of the Aldrich Monetary Commission. Mr. McAdoo and Mr. John Skelton Williams have, both of them, a very intimate knowledge of financial affairs as centering in New York, and with the large amount of preliminary study already given to the subject by Mr. Glass and his associates, it ought to be possible to secure promptly from the Democratic party a reform that the Republicans, when in full power, seemed somehow quite unable to unite upon accomplishing. A further indication of the most promising sort is the action of the Senate in creating a new committee on Banking and Currency. Heretofore the Finance Committee of the Senate has covered all the questions that in the House are entertained by the Ways and

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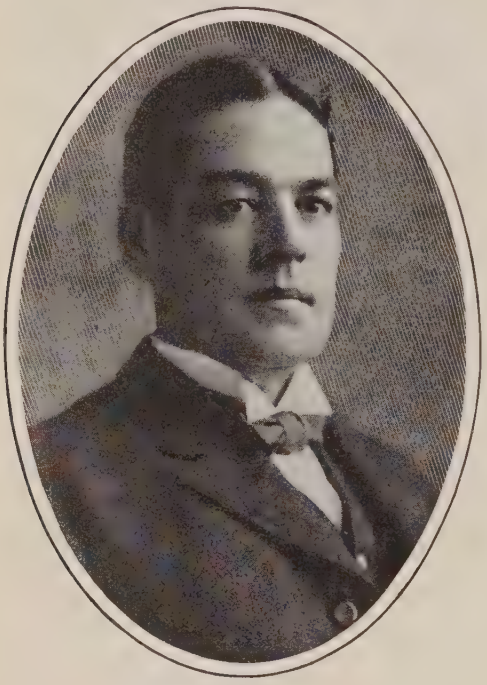
HON. CARTER GLASS, OF VIRGINIA

(Chairman of the House Committee on Banking and Currency, who will have a leading part in the great work of giving the United States a modern system of currency and new banking laws)

HON. JOHN BURKE, TREASURER OF THE UNITED STATES

(Ex-Governor Burke of North Dakota is a Western Democrat of such deserved popularity that his name was presented at Baltimore as a Presidential candidate. His acceptance of the post of Treasurer brings to the executive group at Washington still another of the party's new leaders, and by so much adds strength to the administration)

Means Committee and the Committee on Banking and Currency. But henceforth the Finance Committee will be chiefly occupied with the problems of the tariff and other forms of taxation.



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SENATOR ROBERT L. OWEN, OF OKLAHOMA

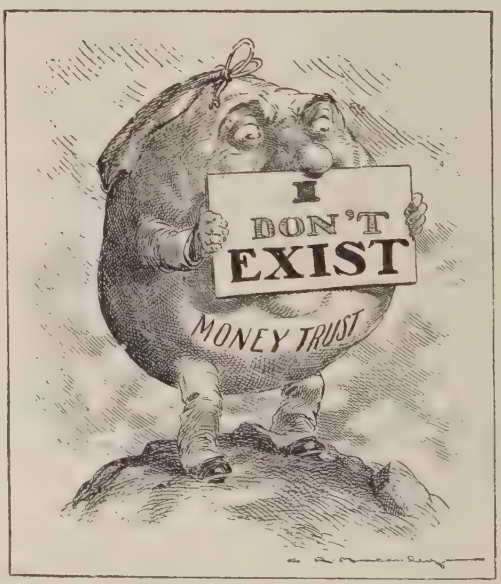
(Who becomes chairman of the Senate's new committee on Currency and Banking, and who is an accomplished student of American and European financial systems)

New Financial Authorities in the Senate

This new Senate committee that will have to do with the reform of our currency and banking laws has for its chairman Senator Robert L. Owen, of Oklahoma. It includes, also, Senators O'Gorman of New York, Hitchcock of Nebraska, Henry F. Hollis, New Hampshire, Reed of Missouri, Pomerene of Ohio, and Shafroth, the new Senator from Colorado. The Republican members of the committee are: Nelson of Minnesota, Bristow of Kansas, McLean of Connecticut, Crawford of South Dakota, and Weeks of Massachusetts, who was a member of the Aldrich Commission. It is evidently a very able committee, containing several men of unusual knowledge in the field of monetary science and finance. The tariff must of course come first, but currency legislation ought to be pressed forward with the least possible delay. The general business conditions of the country are good, and the only danger of panic and disastrous times lurks in the obsolete and mischievous character of our monetary system. Tariff-reform bills have passed Congress twice within two years, and have been sustained by the country at the polls. It would seem as if the special session ought to be able not only to conclude the work of tariff revision, but also to make a good deal of progress toward the more important work of providing us with a monetary system as good as those enjoyed by other nations, and a cure for bankers' panics.

Radical Senators in Control

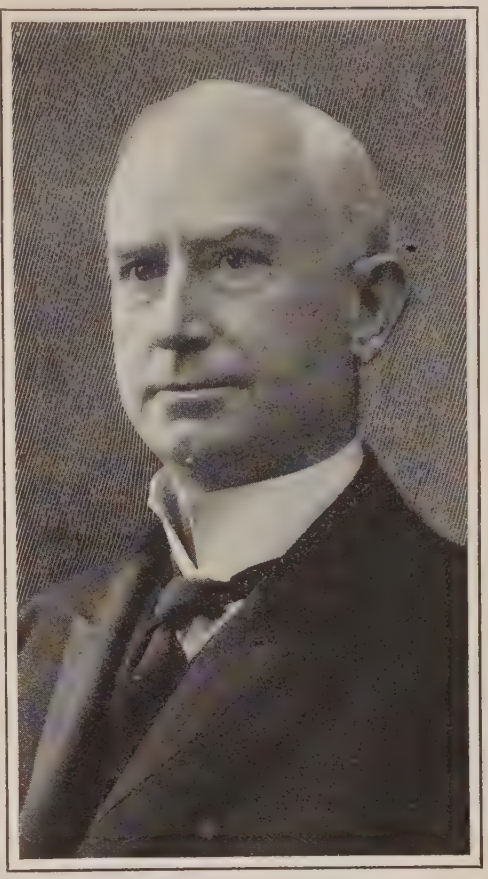
The special tariff session is called to meet on Monday, April 7. It will be remembered that the Senate, which is a continuous body, remained in session for a few days after March 4 to confirm Presidential appointments, seat its own new members, and rearrange its committees and general organization. The Democrats found themselves with fifty seats in the Senate out of a total of ninety-six. This included Mr. Hollis, the new Democratic Senator from New Hampshire. There were forty-four Republicans and Progressives, the two seats from Illinois being vacant on account of a legislative deadlock, up to the time when these sentences were written. The progressive wing was in full control of the Democratic caucus, and Senator Kern of Indiana became floor leader and manager, in place of Senator Martin of Virginia. The conservatives accepted the inevitable with good temper, particularly in view of the fact that the radicals were tactful enough to treat the recent leaders with personal consideration.



THE MONEY TRUST HAS AN ALIBI

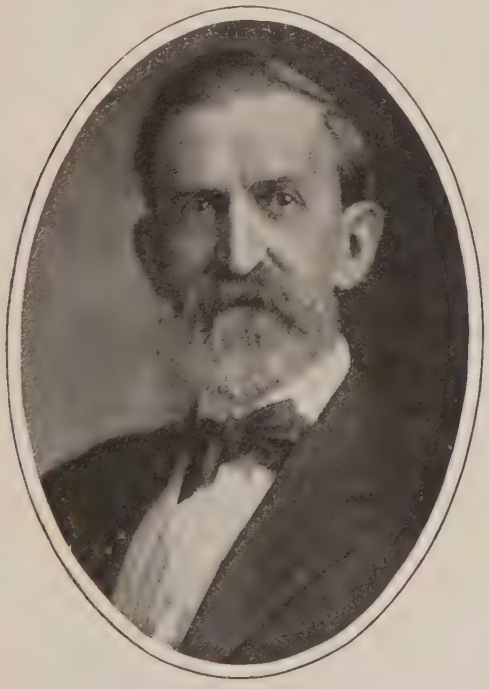
From the *World* (New York)

Thus they elevated to the high titular honor of the office of president *pro tempore* one of the leaders of the extreme conservatives, Senator Clarke of Arkansas. The radicals had intended to oppose Senator Simmons of North Carolina as the Democratic successor of Mr. Penrose at the head of the Finance Committee. But they have given Mr. Simmons nine Democratic associates, all of whom are ranked as progressives. These are Stone of Missouri, Williams of Mississippi, Johnson of Maine, Shively of Indiana, Gore of Oklahoma, Smith of Georgia, Thomas of Colorado, James of Kentucky, and Hughes of New Jersey. The last six are new members of the committee, and three of them are newly seated members of the Senate. Senators James and Hughes were both members of the Ways and Means Committee of the House, and had part in the framing of the Underwood tariff bills of the last Congress. While the Democratic majority of the Ways and Means Committee are progressives with the exception of the chairman, the Republicans are classed as conservative with one solitary exception. This exception is LaFollette of Wisconsin. The other Republican members are: Penrose of Pennsylvania, Lodge of Massachusetts, McCumber of North Dakota, Smoot of Utah, Gallinger of New Hampshire, and Clark of Wyoming.



SENATOR JAMES P. CLARKE, OF ARKANSAS

(Mr. Clarke is a lawyer of Little Rock, at one time Governor of his State, who has now served ten years in the Senate and is selected by his Democratic colleagues for the honor of president *pro tempore* in place of Senator Bacon, of Georgia, who is chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee)



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SENATOR JOHN W. KERN, OF INDIANA

(Who is head of the new Democratic steering committee and floor leader of the Senate, having been chosen as a progressive in close touch with the Wilson administration)

The Revised Senate Rules

Even more significant than the personal changes which bring a new set of men into control of a body so recently managed by the extreme conservatives of both parties, are the changes in the rules. It was Woodrow Wilson who first put into our permanent political literature the view that the rules of the two houses of Congress are in effect a part of the working constitution of the country. Heretofore, a committee's chairman has lorded it over his colleagues. It has had meetings when he called them. He has guided its actions, and his naming of subcommittees and conferrees has often determined the fate of important legislation. Under the new plan, the Democratic steering committee, of which Senator Kern is chairman, will assign members to their committees, subject to final action by

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SENATOR WILLIAM HUGHES OF NEW JERSEY

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SENATOR OLLIE M. JAMES OF KENTUCKY

TWO NEW SENATORS WHO HELPED FRAME THE UNDERWOOD BILLS AS MEMBERS OF THE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE OF THE LAST HOUSE, AND WHO ARE NOW MEMBERS OF THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE WHICH DEALS WITH THE TARIFF QUESTION. SENATOR HUGHES IS A CLOSE FRIEND AND SUPPORTER OF PRESIDENT WILSON, AND SENATOR JAMES WAS CHAIRMAN OF THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION

the Democratic conference or caucus. It is further planned that the committees in future shall name their own chairman by majority action. Conferrees will be named by the majority in like manner. This is not merely a matter of routine, but of vital character. It means that Senator Simmons, as chairman of the Finance Committee, is merely a presiding officer, with no more prestige or authority than any other member of the committee, and that his chairmanship (he being regarded as a high protectionist) cannot check the program of the tariff reformers who make up the Democratic majority of the committee, and who with Senator LaFollette will be in undisputed control.

A New Revenue System

It had been practically decided, by the middle of March, that Mr. Underwood's House Committee instead of reporting a series of bills dealing with the schedules separately, would consolidate them in one great measure revising the tariff and providing for public revenue. But whether or not the tariff revision should take the form of a series of separate bills, it was commonly understood that an income tax would be imposed to meet the estimated shrinkage of revenues. We have at present an income tax levied upon business concerns that are incorporated. The tax will now be extended to incomes derived from businesses not incorporated, and from professional earnings, salaries, or investments, above a fixed line of exemption. It would be very desirable to adopt also a federal inheritance tax. Both new forms of taxation should be at as low a rate as possible to begin with. The Democrats could commit no greater blunder, if they wish to continue in power, than to make lavish appropriations with the idea that the income tax will give them a new instrument by means of which they can raise money *ad libitum*. Nor should they be too ready to remit certain established taxes that yield large revenue and that are

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THE NEW UNITED STATES POST OFFICE BUILDING APPROACHING COMPLETION IN NEW YORK CITY, OVER THE TRACKS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD AND ADJACENT TO THE GREAT PENNSYLVANIA TERMINAL

easily collected and distributed. Thus the internal revenue taxes upon tobacco and spirituous liquors ought to be maintained, and the remission of the tax on beer after the Spanish war was a blunder. A moderate revenue tax on imported sugar may reasonably be maintained, although it should probably not be more than half as large as at present. A small tax on imports of tea and coffee would be desirable, although the idea is unpopular. President Wilson has long been an advocate of the plan of first deciding what you must spend for government purposes, and then proceeding to raise the money. He will doubtless endeavor to have the estimates framed in such a way that we may work towards a well-balanced system of income and out-go.

THE PRODIGAL ASS
(From the *Inquirer* (Philadelphia)

Growth of Federal Expenditure

The expenditures of the United States Government have been growing at a startling pace. The questions involved are all the more serious because we are coming into a period that will demand more, rather than less, from the Government of the country. If the people receive good value for every dollar raised and spent, they can bear the burden of taxation. But Congress has not been showing a deep enough sense of responsibility in its voting away the current funds. Thus the appropriation bills of the last year of the Congress which expired on the 4th of March totaled only about a million dollars less than $1,100,000,000. The total for the two years of the Sixty-second Congress was, in round figures, $2,118,000,000. This was about 3 per cent. more than the appropriations of the preceding Republican Congress. Mr. Fitzgerald, for the Democrats, and Mr. Cannon, for the

Republicans, have been somewhat disposed to make a party matter out of charges and counter-charges of extravagance; but in point of fact there is little to choose between parties. The tremendous pressure that impels Congress to appropriate money is quite

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HON. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, OF NEW YORK
(The new Assistant Secretary of the Navy)

non-partisan in its character. Thus the Pension bill appropriates $180,000,000, an increase of about $25,000,000 over the last two preceding years; but the new Sherwood pension bill was a Democratic measure. The River and Harbor bill, appropriating $47,000,000, had no partisan character.

The "Pork-Barrel" Scandal

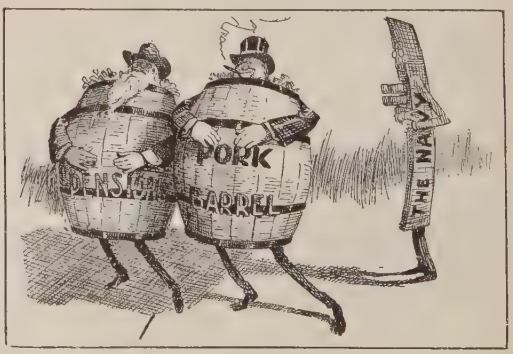
The Omnibus Public Buildings bill, commonly known as the "pork barrel," carried $25,000,000 when it first passed the House, was greatly enlarged by the Senate, and was finally passed after modifications in conference committee which left it in a shape that very few people have since known anything about. What we do know is that it authorized an astonishing number of government buildings, well distributed throughout the country, some of them for very small villages. Most of the larger items in the bill were probably justified. Public buildings in New York, for example, are merely to facilitate the country's necessary business. New post-office improvements in the metropolis are not demanded by the citizens for the embellishment of the town, but rather are demanded by the Post Office Department itself for the better handling of its national and international business. Federal buildings at Wasington are not always wisely planned; yet in the main they have been satisfactory, and the country is well disposed towards the further improvement of the nation's capital. However, the method of appropriating money for public buildings in an omnibus, or "pork barrel," bill is admitted by everyone to be vicious.

The Navy and Its Cost

The coming into power of the Democratic party has thus far made little appreciable difference to the country in expenditure for the navy. Yet the recent discussion of the question has left the public mind quite uncertain and adrift. So much din has been raised over the question whether we should order one annual battleship or two, that the ill-informed have come to think that the difference covers all the space between economy and extravagance. The House naval committee in the last session (a Democratic committee) had recommended two new battleships. On a final roll call, however, the one-ship plan prevailed by a vote of 174 to 156. When the bill reached the Senate it was amended, in order to provide two battleships, by a vote of 56 to 16. The House was firm in conference committee, and the one-ship view prevailed by action taken on the last day of the session. Yet the navy bill as it passed carries an appropriation of practically $140,000,000, and it is the largest navy bill in our history.

What Shall Be Our Naval Policy?

In view of the enormous outlays of the leading naval powers of Europe, it becomes necessary for the leaders at Washington to decide deliberately whether we are to drop out of the race



FAT AND LEAN
THE NAVY: "One battleship is short rations!"
From the *Sun* (Baltimore)

or to keep up. There are good arguments on both sides. The new Secretary, Mr. Daniels, seems to have been clearly on record in favor of moderate naval expansion. The selection of Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt, of New York, to be Assistant Secretary of the Navy, seems to be further consistent with the two-battleship program. Mr. Roosevelt as State Senator led the fight against the Tammany candidate which resulted in the choice of O'Gorman for United States Senator. He is one of the foremost of the younger leaders of the reform Democracy of New York, and he has been known as a student of naval history and a believer in the further maintenance of a strong and efficient American navy. It is well to quote the naval plank of the platform upon which President Wilson was elected, which reads as follows:

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THE ARBITRATORS OF THE DISPUTE BETWEEN THE EASTERN RAILROADS AND THEIR FIREMEN

(Mr. W. W. Atterbury, at the left, is a vice-president of the Pennsylvania Railroad. Mr. Albert Phillips, at the right, is vice-president of the firemen's union. Judge William L. Chambers, in the center, was chosen under the Erdman Act as the third member of the commission. Judge Chambers has been a member of several international courts of arbitration, as well as the third arbiter in the dispute, several years ago, between the Western railroads and firemen)

> We approve the measure reported by the Democratic leaders in the House of Representatives for the creation of a council of national defense, which will determine a definite naval program with a view to increased efficiency and economy. The party that proclaimed and has always enforced the Monroe Doctrine, and was sponsor for the new navy, will continue faithfully to observe the constitutional requirements to provide and maintain an adequate and well proportioned navy sufficient to defend American policies, protect our citizens, and uphold the honor and dignity of the nation.

If the American navy is upon the whole an instrument of peace, helping to maintain order and stability in the world during a troubled period, while we await the coming day of disarmament and international peace, then naval efficiency at $160,000,000 a year will be better business than naval decadence at $130,000,000 a year. The question of peace is indeed related to the question of armaments; but it does not follow by any means that the peace of the world would be promoted by a decision on the part of the United States to give up the navy.

Creation of a New Federal Department

It was in the closing hours of the last Congress, on March 4, that President Taft signed the bill which creates the new Department of Labor. It was understood that this measure was against his personal judgment, and that he had seriously intended to veto it, but that he finally signed it because he had learned that his successor desired to have the tenth department established. If Mr. Taft had vetoed the bill, it would have been reënacted in April, with President Wilson's approval, which would have meant merely a delay of five or six weeks. The work of the new department must necessarily be one of growth, and its usefulness must depend largely upon the imagination and effort of those connected with it. It will have its Bureau of Information, which ought to do many things for industrial labor that the Department of Agriculture is now doing for farmers, and that the Department of Commerce does for importers and exporters and other classes of business men. The Bureau of Immigration is transferred to the new department, and the Division of Naturalization becomes a full bureau on its own account. The Children's Bureau, established a year or more ago, is also transferred to this new Department of Labor. What had been known as the Bureau of Labor becomes the Bureau of Labor Statistics, with Dr. Charles P. Neill, who has served so ably for a number of years, reappointed as Labor Commissioner by President Wilson. Dr. Neill's services were commented upon in these pages two months ago.

His untiring zeal and combination of scientific and practical abilities render him a worthy successor in the place so long filled by the late Col. Carroll D. Wright. The creation of this new department fits the temper of the times. It is the desire of the American people to make their government serve the cause of human conservation. The Department of Labor can render wide and inestimable service in a great number of directions.

Arbitrating Industrial Disputes

For example, this Department can serve labor, capital, and the general public in promoting the cause of industrial peace. The Bureau of Labor under Dr. Neill's administration has paid for itself many times over in its successful efforts to bring about the adjustment of labor disputes through conciliation. It was due to the efforts of that bureau that the threatened strike of the locomotive engineers of the eastern part of the country was averted last year, and that arbitration was accepted in a dispute that involved all the railroads which serve nearly half the population of the United States. In like manner, the dispute between the same railroads and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen has been submitted this year to arbitration, now pending, under the national law known as the Erdman Act. This act imposes upon the Commissioner of Labor the initiative in endeavoring to bring about conciliation in a dispute affecting railroads, and it provides a plan of arbitration to be invoked by the Commissioner and the presiding judge of the Court of Commerce, in case of the failure of conciliation. The Erdman Act provides for the appointment of one arbitrator by each of the two parties in disagreement, and their joint selection of a third. Experience has shown, however, that the Erdman Act ought to be so amended as to provide for a larger number of arbitrators. Mr. Wilson, the new Secretary of Labor, as a long-time officer of the United Mine Workers of America, and one of the leading men in the American Federation of Labor, will, by virtue of his knowledge and experience, have the deeper responsibility for efforts to secure justice for workers, fair treatment for capital, and the benefits of industrial peace for the consuming public.

The Problems of Immigration

Perhaps the most important work of the new department will relate to the immigration question, in all its phases. We are building an American nationality in this country out of a blending of native and foreign elements. The coming of Europeans to our shores in the past ten years has represented by far the largest and most radical shifting of populations in all the history of the world. The total number of immigrants who have come to the United States in a hundred years is about 30,000,000. Of this great number, about 10,000,000 have arrived in the decade since 1902. The year of largest immigration was 1907, when the records show arrivals amounting to almost 1,300,000. In that year, a commission was appointed by President Roosevelt, in pursuance of an act of Congress, to study the subject in all its phases both here and in the countries from which the immigrants come. The chairman of this commission was Senator Dillingham of Vermont. Other members were Senators Lodge and Latimer, Representatives Burnett of Alabama and Bennet of New York, and economic specialists like Professor Jenks, Dr. Neill, and Mr. Wheeler of California. Several years were given to the work of the commission, and its report contains a prodigious amount of information.

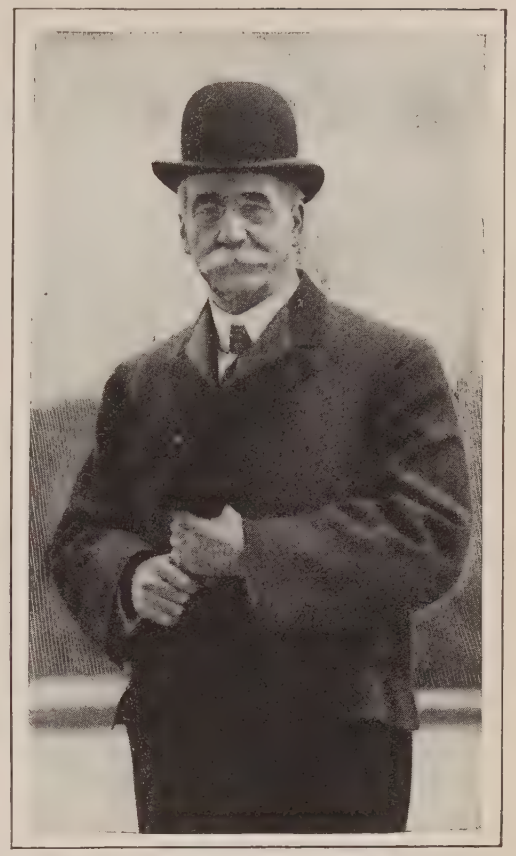
Taft's Veto of the Literacy Test

It was in pursuance of the work of that commission that Congress enacted what was known as the Burnett-Dillingham bill, in the recent session. After extended and able debates, it passed both houses by very large majorities. The bill was vetoed by President Taft after he had conducted hearings upon it in a somewhat unprecedented fashion, his veto messake having taken the unusual form of a letter written to him in opposition to the bill by Mr. Nagel, the retiring Secretary of Commerce and Labor. The bill contained, as everybody admitted, a great many improvements in our immigration code; but the controversy raged about its adoption of the literacy test. It required, in short, that the immigrant should be able to read a brief passage submitted to him by the proper officials, allowing him to choose his own language or dialect. Nobody claimed for this test that it was theoretically perfect, but it was held to be reasonable, and likely to be of practical use in keeping out many undesirable people. It will be understood, upon a moment's reflection, that the test would be applied by the steamship companies at the embarking ports before they would receive intending emigrants. An attempt was made to pass the bill over President Taft's veto, and this was easily done in the Senate, by a vote of 72 for the bill and only 18 against it. But in the House there was a sudden and remarkable shifting

of ground. When the bill was under discussion on its original passage, not more than 80 votes had been against it at any time. But certain interests opposed to the bill became active, and every member was flooded with telegrams warning him not to oppose the veto. Thus on February 19 the opponents of the bill counted 114 votes, and those in favor of it 213. It requires a two-thirds majority to pass a bill over the President's disapproval; and thus the measure failed.

The Floating Workers of the World

This action, of course, does not permanently dispose of the subject, and it will be brought up to President Wilson in some form. It was contended on one hand that the labor unions were the chief promoters of the bill, because they wished to keep up the American standard of wages by checking the flood of foreign laborers. The charge was made on the other side that the steamship companies were responsible in large part, not only for the volume of undesirable immigration but also for the efforts that were set on foot to defeat the bill. The ordinary discussion of the subject overlooks the vastness of the return movement of migration. In every recent year, several hundred thousand people classed as "aliens" have gone back to Europe. A very large part of the business of the steamship companies consists in bringing here masses of unskilled laborers, who promptly return to their European homes when work is slack or when they have saved a little money. The recent bill fixing the literacy test would not nearly so much affect real and permanent immigration as it would tend to reduce the numbers of the unnaturalized foreign laborers who drift back and forth as steerage passengers, some of them having made the voyage many times.



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

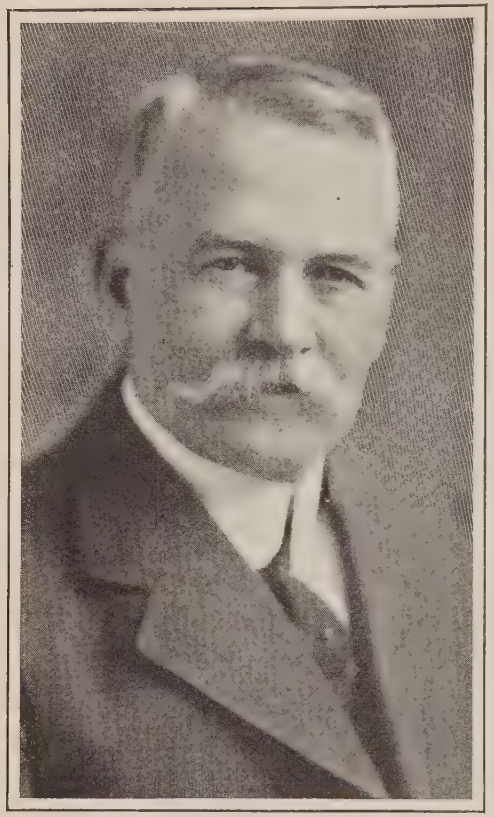
SENATOR WILLIAM P. DILLINGHAM, OF VERMONT

(Who had served as chairman of President Roosevelt's immigration commission, and was one of the authors and chief advocates of the Burnett-Dillingham bill fixing the reading test for immigrants, which was vetoed by President Taft and failed to become a law)

"MY! HOW THE DIRT ACCUMULATES!"
From the *Herald* (Washington, D. C.)

Doubtful Public Opinion

Although Congress by overwhelming majorities favors stricter immigration laws and some decisive check upon the volume of immigration, it is plain that the public at large, while open to conviction, has not yet made up its mind as to what is the best policy in practice. Neither is it convinced regarding the underlying principles. It is evident that the American nation is changing its racial character very rapidly. Whether or not the progress can be somewhat retarded, and the elements of new population more carefully selected, are questions that the law-makers are more sure about than are the newspapers or the public at large. Idealists and politicians oppose restriction.



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HON. EDWIN F. SWEET, OF MICHIGAN

(Who has become Assistant Secretary of Commerce in the new administration. Mr. Sweet, like Secretary Redfield, is a retiring member of the recent Congress. A few years ago he was mayor of his home city, Grand Rapids.)

The "Original Package" at the State Line

For many years the people of the States that prohibit the liquor saloons have been deeply incensed because the practical effect of their police regulations has been so largely nullified by a defiant traffic cloaking itself under the interstate commerce power. The express companies serving distillers and brewers located in some neighboring State, in Missouri for instance, have been able to distribute packages of whiskey and beer throughout a prohibition State like Kansas; and this has resulted, not merely in the supply of private individuals but in the promotion of an illicit retail trade that it has been almost impossible to suppress. Repeated efforts to obtain remedial legislation from Congress had been in vain, until this last session. With the return of the Democrats to power, and the growth of progressive and reform sentiment, the demanded legislation has now been enacted by sweeping majorities, in spite of President Taft's veto. The measure in question bears the joint name of Representative Webb of North Carolina and Senator Kenyon of Iowa. It forbids the "shipment or transportation" into any State or territory of the United States of any intoxicating liquor that is "intended by any person interested therein to be received, possessed, sold, or in any manner used, either in the original package or otherwise, in violation of any law of such State, territory or district."

Mr. Taft's Unavailing Veto

Mr. Taft based his veto on constitutional grounds. The Constitution gives Congress the power over interstate commerce; but Mr. Taft says that Congress has no right to exercise that power in this particular way. It has been held heretofore that the States could not protect themselves, because the necessary power was vested in Congress. But Mr. Taft discovers that neither the States nor Congress can remedy the situation, because if Congress acts it is unlawfully delegating its power to the States. This to the ordinary mind is metaphysics after the fine fashion of the medieval schoolmen. Happily, Congress was in no mood for mere logistics—having a very large collection of constitutional lawyers of its own, who had amply considered the question raised by the President. The Senate passed the bill over the veto by a vote of 63 to 21, and the House concurred in the action of the Senate and gave the law immediate effect on March 1 by a vote of 246 to 95. Doubtless, the administration of the law will raise some perplexing points as to exact meaning and application. But the general effect will be beneficial, in that it will enable communities to carry out their chosen policies in the treatment of a traffic that is everywhere a matter of public control and police regulation rather than a subject of ordinary commercial traffic.

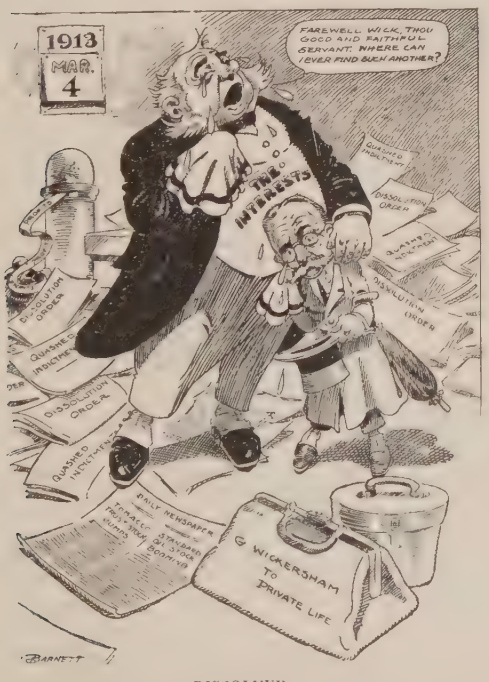
Shall Labor Unions Be Prosecuted?

Another veto which would have been overridden but for lack of time on March 4 was that of the Sundry Civil Appropriations bill, carrying considerably more than $100,000,000, for the maintenance of various departments and services of the government. Mr. Taft vetoed it because of a proviso in that part of the bill which supplied money for carrying on prosecutions under the Sherman anti-trust law. This clause, which President Taft characterized as "class legislation of the most vicious sort," read as follows:

Provided, however, That no part of this money shall be spent in the prosecution of any organization or individual for entering into any combination

or agreement having in view the increasing of wages, shortening of hours, or bettering the condition of labor, or for any act done in furtherance thereof not in itself unlawful: *Provided further*, That no part of this appropriation shall be expended for the prosecution of producers of farm products and associations of farmers who coöperate and organize in an effort to and for the purpose to obtain and maintain a fair and reasonable price for their products.

Mr. Taft's veto message is quite extended and makes it clear that he does not—as some of the newspapers imply—object to this provision because of its being a "rider" improperly added to an appropriation bill. He objects squarely because of the legislation itself. The House passed it promptly over the veto by a vote of 270 to 50. The Senate would have taken like action, but the matter came up in the last moments of a dying Congress, and no vote could be reached because of an objection raised by Senator Poindexter to certain other matters in the bill. Mr. Taft's sharp attack upon this measure is by no means conclusive. There is plenty of room for the argument that trade unions and farmer's coöperative associations ought not to be dealt with under the Sherman anti-trust act as conspiracies in restraint of trade. If the members of such organizations should have become guilty of criminal conspiracy, there would be ample law with which to punish them quite regardless of the Sherman act. It is a growing conviction that railroads, for example, ought to be regulated under the Interstate Commerce Act, under the supervision of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Industrial capital engaged in general manufacture and trade affords an ample field for the operation of the Sherman anti-trust act. Labor unions and farmers' societies are of a different nature, and the practical purpose of the clause so strongly opposed by Mr. Taft was to bring these associated groups of workers into their own distinct category.



DISSOLVED
From the *Tribune* (Los Angeles)

As to "Riders" and Reform

It would indeed be better to amend the Sherman act in a direct way, rather than to accomplish the same thing by limiting the use of money in an appropriation bill. President Wilson is quite right in allowing it to be known that he will not favor "riders," or indirect ways of changing the general laws. Mr. Taft, however, could not openly object to riders, because some of the most important efforts of his administration found expression in just those ways. His so-called "Tariff Board" had been created to do certain specified things. He used it for doing a different kind of work, and gave the color of legality to the Board's investigations by obtaining money in the appropriation bills for its maintenance. There are many indications that point to a new order of things in legislation, through a new method of scientific bill-drafting that is to be put in force, and through the attitude of a more punctilious and business-like administration. As to the enforcement of the Sherman anti-trust law, whether against one class or against another, it is the one great subject that deserves consideration as soon as the tariff question and the question of currency and banking are brought to a solution.

The Postal Administration

Whether from the standpoint of pressure from office-seekers, or that of current administration, there is no member of a new cabinet whose work at the beginning is more arduous or perplexing than that of the Postmaster-General. Mr. Burleson has been bringing capable men into the higher organization of his department, and has shown no sympathy with the use of post-offices as spoils of political victory. It will be in order to wait until our next number to present in more detail the larger news of policy and personnel relating to the one department that belongs more than any other to all the people of the country.

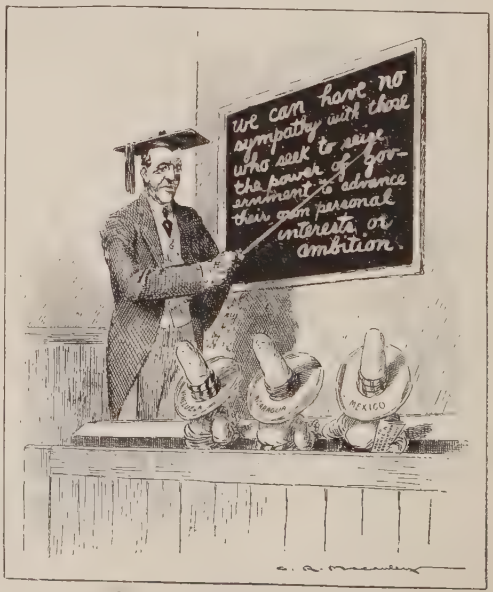
HON. JOHN BASSETT MOORE, OF NEW YORK
(Our foremost authority on international law, who has accepted the post of counselor to the State Department)

Mr. Bryan and Professor Moore

The presence of Mr. Bryan at the State Department was bound to keep the emotional newspapers in a state of more or less controlled hysterics for a number of days, on the theory that something might happen which would justify large headlines. The one very important thing that did actually happen seemed just a little out of the intellectual range of the sensational press. This was the acceptance by the Hon. John Bassett Moore of the position of counselor to the State Department. Professor Moore stands in the very highest rank, both at home and abroad, as an authority in the field of international law. He was law clerk of the State Department in Mr. Cleveland's first administration, was an Assistant Secretary of State in Cleveland's second administration and also under Harrison, and served again under McKinley at the time of the Spanish War. He was secretary and counsel of our peace commissioners at the end of that war, and has represented our Government abroad in professional capacities at different times since then. He is our most voluminous editor and author in the field of diplomacy and international law. His membership in the new administration means that the Department of State is not only to have broad conceptions of the place of the United States in the family of nations, but that there is to be no lack in the department of technical and legal knowledge. There will be no reason to fear immature or rash treatment of any pending question.

The Panama Controversies

It is well known that Professor Moore is particularly conversant with all that bears upon Panama diplomacy and our relations with the republic of Colombia. We have before us the question of England's protest against the existing law which provides that our coastwise shipping shall not pay tolls in going through the Panama Canal. It is permissible to think that England's position in this matter is a quibbling and unworthy one, while also thinking that the United States has taken a position that may be technically incorrect. Senator O'Gorman of New York is chairman of the Committee on Interoceanic Canals in the new Congress. He champions the view that we have a perfect right, under the treaty, to favor our own ships as we may choose. Senator Root of New York is a champion of the opposite view. There has been much excitement in the country over the idea that our law remitting tolls has involved a wanton breach of faith and has dishonored us in the eyes of the world. It is to be remembered that President Taft signed the bill and stated his belief in its entire propriety under the treaty. Secretary Knox took the same view. So eager have some of our very good citizens been to save our fair name from supposed reproach, that they have accepted as fact some doubtful versions of diplomatic history.


We can have no sympathy with those who seek to use the power of government to advance their own personal interests or ambition.
MEXICO

STILL TEACHING SCHOOL
Fron the *World* New York

Death of Madero—End of His Regime

The Madero régime in Mexico came to a sudden and violent end on February 18, when the Federal army, with its commanders, went over to General Felix Diaz, imprisoned Madero, his family and his advisors, made General Victoriano Huerta Provisional President, and put Diaz in command of all the troops of the republic. Then the process of wiping out all evidence of the Madero rule moved swiftly. The former President was arrested in his private office in the National Palace, and imprisoned. The Senate decided upon his exile and preparations were made to ship him to Europe. The complacent Congress elected Pedro Lascurain Provisional President. Then the army asserted itself, deposed Lascurain, again declared for Huerta, and Gustavo Madero, brother of the ex-President, was shot by order of Diaz. Charges of peculation from the national funds and malfeasance in office were brought against ex-president Madero, as well as complicity in the shooting of an army officer. His trial was ordered before the Cabinet. On February 23, Madero and Pino Suarez, former Vice-President, were shot while being taken from the National Palace to the penitentiary. Provisional President Huerta and his advisers insist that Madero and Suarez were killed while attempting to escape. The Madero family and sympathizers maintain that the deposed President and Vice-President were tortured in their rooms in the Palace, by order of Huerta, and that their bodies were afterwards taken into the street to make it appear that they had attempted to escape. This charge would seem to find support in the testimony given later by some of the United States Secret Service agents in Mexico.

Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

GENERAL VICTORIANO HUERTA, MEXICO'S PRESIDENT PRO TEM

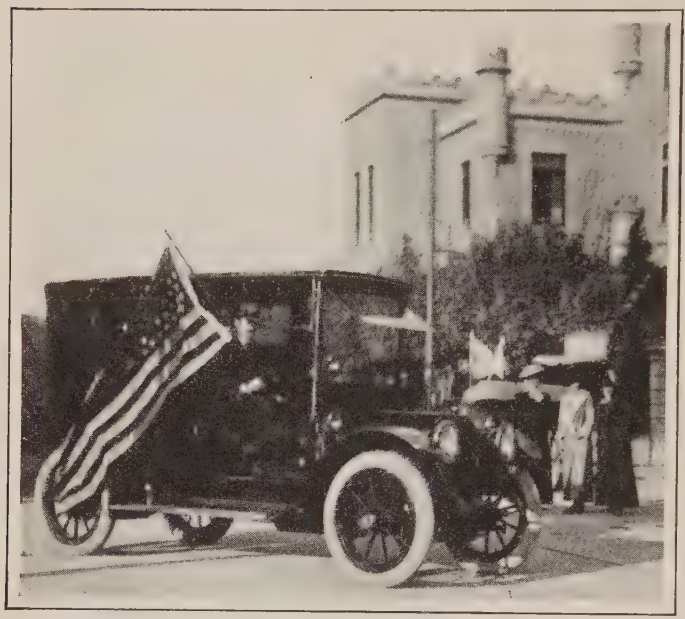
(General Huerta, who was one of the late President Madero's chief military commanders, went over to Diaz and opposed Madero. Later he himself was chosen by the army)

Huerta on Trial

Then the Congress recognized Huerta as Provisional President, and the new dictator—for such the President in Mexico now virtually is—began to exert energetic control over the entire country. In the capital the supremacy of the new government was soon established, but in some of the states, particularly in the North and notably in Sonora and Coahuila, Madero's followers set up a serious resistance. The brigand leaders, Orozco and Zapata, were approached with offers of position and power, and it seemed, early last month, that they might be induced to support the new régime. In this country and in Europe generally it is believed that Madero was murdered, with the complicity of the government, and recognition of the new administration has been withheld pending the result of an investigation promised by General Huerta. American and foreign business interests in Mexico have been loud in their demand for intervention by the United States. The course of the State Department has been, under the greatest of provocation, uniformly dignified, restrained and correct. On March 11, President Wilson made public a declaration of the policy of his administration toward Latin America which was, in substance, a clear statement of our traditional attitude of benevolent non-interference.

Was Madero Dishonest?

It has been the opinion of the American people and of foreigners generally that, while Madero was weak and impractical, he was high-minded, and, as the constitutionally elected head of the nation, should have been removed only by constitutional means. That there was some basis for the charges brought against him, and that he was actually guilty of real wrongs against the Mexican people and morality generally, finds support in a letter we have received written from California, near the Mexican border, by an American mining engineer who knows Mexico very thoroughly



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THE AUTOMOBILE OF THE AMERICAN EMBASSY IN MEXICO CITY ASSISTING IN RESCUING THE WOUNDED DURING THE REVOLUTION WHICH OVERTHREW MADERO

from many years' experience. While we do not necessarily agree with his opinion, we reproduce here a few sentences from his letter:

The overthrow of Madero has been a moral victory for the people of Mexico, the revolution just accomplished having been based on ethics. Criticism from the standpoint of law and order may fall upon the Mexicans, but it can not discount their triumph. While struggling for power Madero won popular support by making promises of reform. Once in power, he entered upon a wrong course. He erred in making the people of Mexico, through their government, reimburse him for money spent in overthrowing Diaz. If a president of the United States should take funds out of the national treasury to repay himself for the expenses of his election he would be doing what Madero did. Whether his conduct was due to family influences and false reasoning or not, the delinquency of Madero showed a moral or intellectual defect. The Mexican people condemned him on this ground and, having condemned him, they sustained a long and costly conflict to remove him from power.

This student of Mexican affairs does not commend the absolutism either of Diaz or Huerta, nor does he, in the slightest degree, excuse the violent taking off of the former President. He says in the letter from which we have already quoted:

The Mexican people do not require the rule of any one man. What they need is education. As a mass, they are best described as "good wood." They take a polish readily. A little education brings forth in them all the gloss of human kindness. Their hospitality and charity know no limits. They treat strangers with just consideration, as demonstrated during the recent rebellion. The revolution in Mexico should increase the confidence of the people of the United States in their neighbors on the other side of the Rio Grande. It showed that Mexicans know how to deal conscientiously with foreigners. Some trait in their character restrains them, as masses, from venting their fury on individuals, especially on aliens. It is probably the sense of fair play. Lynchings do not appeal to them. They are different from the iron-handed rulers who are deemed necessary to guide them. Outrages on individuals in Mexico are usually perpetrated by the one-man power, seldom, if ever, by the people. This proves that the people are better than their rulers. Henceforth, instead of prescribing a one-man power, the United States might voice its policy toward Mexico in these terms: Let the people rule.

Continuity of Our Policy

The Huerta government claims to have found definite proof of financial irregularity and other "high crimes in office" by Madero's order, and will probably confiscate the large estates of the Madero family. It announces that it will correct the abuses of the Madero régime, that foreign enterprise and capital will be welcomed and protected, and that a policy of real reform will be carried out. Henry Lane Wilson, the American Ambassador, has publicly expressed his belief that the provisional government was innocent of the charge of killing Madero and Suarez. He also, on February 25, recommended that our State Department recognize the Huerta government as the most practical and direct way of contributing to the stability of Mexico. Meanwhile, the new Secretaries of War and of the Navy have made statements showing that the policy of the Wilson administration will be a virtual continuance of that maintained by ex-President Taft. The battleships now at Mexican ports will remain there, and no intention is expressed of ordering the troops now concentrated on the international boundary back to their posts. It is expected that at an early date an election will be held in Mexico to choose a President for the full term. General Diaz has announced his intention of being a candidate, as have also Zapata, Flores Magon, and Francisco de la Barra, who was

Provisional President, in 1911, after the deposition of Porfirio Diaz.

Toward All Latin America

Conclusive proofs that, under the Democratic administration, there will be no relaxation of the dignified vigor with which American interests have been hitherto uniformly looked after in Latin America was shown, last month, by the note sent by Secretary Bryan to President Gomez, of Cuba, setting forth the objections of the United States Government to the Cuban amnesty bill. In May the Gomez administration terminates, and President-elect Menocal, who was chosen by the voters on November 1 last, will assume office. An omnibus bill granting amnesty to several hundred political and other criminals, and so worded as to cover any malfeasance in office which might be traced to the Gomez régime itself was passed by the Cuban Congress. It had been confidently believed that President Wilson would not continue the policy maintained by the Republican administration in watching the affairs of Cuba. On March 6, however, Mr. Beaupré, the American Minister at Havana, handed to President Gomez a note from Secretary Bryan expressing the disapproval of the United States, an "interference" which our government has the legal right to make, according to the terms of the Platt Amendment, which is part of the organic law of Cuba. Although it was first reported that Señor Gomez had signed the bill, as a defiance of the United States, it was afterwards learned that, on March 13, he had vetoed the measure, "solely (we quote the reported comment of *La Lucha* of Havana) to convince the Democratic administration of Cuba's desire to please the United States and to live up to all her treaty obligations."

A Defense of "Dollar Diplomacy"

The State Department, during the last few days of the Republican administration, made a final public statement of some of the achievements of "Dollar Diplomacy" during Secretary Knox's term of office, in answer to the charges of certain prominent Democrats that "the machinery of government had been improperly used for commercial purposes, and that the Knox policies had cost the United States the friendship of Latin America." Mr. Knox's report pointed out the increase in the export trade to Latin America, called attention to the fact that more than 125 Americans are now employed in official capacities by various Latin American governments, as well as to the marked increase in the number of students, both men and women, from Latin American countries, who are now at American educational institutions. As further evidence of increasing amity with Central America, a prominent official of the State Department under Mr. Knox, referred in a newspaper interview to the Nicaraguan Canal convention giving to the United States the exclusive right to construct a canal across Nicaragua, approved on February 27, by the Nicaraguan National Assembly, and submitted at the same time to the Senate at Washington for ratification.

British Parliament Prorogued

The British Parliament adjourned on March 7, after one of the longest sessions in many years, and reassembled again three days later. Two important measures passed by the Commons, the Home Rule bill and Welsh Disestablishment, having been rejected by the Lords, will be reintroduced early in the present session, and may possibly become law next year over the Lords' veto. The government, as we noted last month, dropped the franchise reform bill because the speaker ruled that the proposed amendment granting the suffrage to women would make the bill "technically illegal." The militants continued their agitation, becoming bolder in their attacks on property. On February 19, a suffragette bomb damaged the country house of Chancellor Lloyd-George in Surrey, and women burned down two small railroad stations in the neighborhood of London. They have announced that in their future program was included even an attack on human life. Public sympathy in London, however, was apparently turning against the suffragettes, and in some instances they were mobbed. On March 10, just at the opening of Parliament, five women attempted to present petitions to King George and were arrested. The right of petition, of course, is inherent in citizenship of every Briton. The explanation of the arrest was that the King's life was in danger.

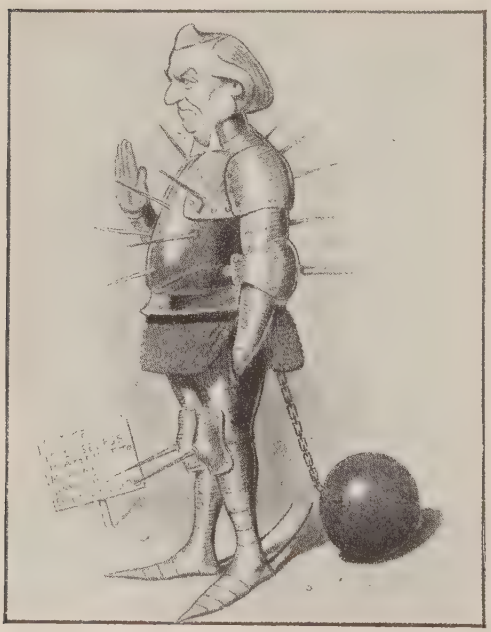
London County Council Election

It is rather an odd commentary on the violence of the militants' demand for the suffrage that, although they had the ballot in the election for the London County Council, held on March 6, they were as indifferent as the men, if not more so, in exercising this right, although one woman Socialist was elected. The militants had threatened to destroy the ballots, but police precautions prevented this. The general result of the election was the triumph, for the third time, for the so-called

Municipal Reformers. Of the 118 members elected, 67 belong to that party while 51 are Progressives, being a larger gain for the "Reformers." This is the ninth triennial election for members of the London County Council, and was fought out chiefly on the question of reorganization or extension of the street railway system of the British metropolis. The Progressives largely favored municipal ownership, the Reformers opposed it. The former, further, advocated a policy of increased expenditure, while the latter demanded retrenchment.

Inaugurating President Poincaré

Raymond Poincaré was officially inaugurated ninth President of the French Republic on February 18. The ceremonies of inauguration were simple and in keeping with the democracy of the French Republic. There was, however, evident an intensity of public interest that marked this occasion with peculiar distinction. In his first message to Parliament, on February 20, the new President referred to the necessity for increasing France's military forces. "Peace," said M. Poincaré, "is not decreed by the will of one power." It is impossible, he continued, for any nation to be effectively pacific unless it is always ready for war. "A France with diminished power and exposed by her own fault to defiances and humiliations would be France no more."



SUGGESTION TO PREMIER ASQUITH WHEN BEING INTERVIEWED BY THE SUFFRAGETTES
From the *Graphic*, (London).

An Aroused, More Confident France

The national legislature responded to this adjuration with alacrity. As a virtual answer to the increase in the German army, to which we have referred elsewhere in these pages, the Parliament, last month, passed the government's bill providing for an additional expenditure of $100,000,000 within five years for national defense. The measure, which had the unreserved support of the Ministry, also restores the period of service with the colors for every young man to three years instead of two. It will have the effect of increasing the peace footing of the army by fifty per cent., and will enable France to live up to the prediction of the new President that she will be always *en vedette*. It is an awakened and more confident France that faces the uncertain conditions of European politics. While Prime Minister, the new French President obtained for France a more influential position in the councils of Europe than she has had since the war with Prussia. A significant evidence of the strength of his hand is the selection of Delcassé to be Ambassador to Russia.

Increasing the German Army

The details of the projected increase in the German army, to which we referred in these pages in February, were made known last month when the government's bill calling for the increase was laid before the Reichstag, together with the financial measure to provide the sinews of war. According to the army measure the peace footing of the German army will hereafter be 800,000 men. On March 7 the bonds of the new Prussian and Imperial loans, to make this possible, were offered to the public. The amounts immediately asked for aggregated 550,000,000 marks ($137,500,000). In addition 1,000,000,000 marks ($250,000,000) were demanded for armament purposes and a permanent addition of 200,000 marks ($50,000). The immensity of this contribution to German militarism can be understood when it is considered that the annual savings of the entire German people amount to only about 4,000,000,000 marks ($1,000,000,000). The amount asked for military purposes, therefore, at the present time, will absorb a quarter of this, to say nothing of the regular annual expenditure now added to the permanent budget.

Opposition to the War Tax

The subscriptions to these loans have been disappointing, and there has been a great deal of grumbling in the German press at the additional drain upon the Empire's re-

Photograph by Delius, Paris

DISTINGUISHED FRENCH STATESMEN AT THE INAUGURATION OF PRESIDENT POINCARE

(From left to right: Senator Du Post, Ex-President Fallières, President Poincaré, Senator Deschanel. Back row: Ex-President Loubet, Premier Briand.)

sources. Not only the Socialists, but the Clericals are expressing strong disapproval. The *Bayerisches Kurier*, chief organ of the South German Catholics, warns the Kaiser's government that it is putting annually "fresh fertilizers into a soil whence will spring anarchism, socialism and revolution. . . .The Empire and the German states are dashing down the broad road to destruction." The German imperial debt to-day is so large and the financial system of the Empire so cumbersome in its working that the new loans have been coldly received, and the general financial situation of the Empire is causing alarm to the imperial authorities. The semi-official journals ascribe the increase of the army to French chauvinism and the menace of the victorious Balkan Slavs. Germany is one of the most prosperous countries in the world and yet her finances are in a most unsatisfactory condition. It would seem that the Fatherland is spending too much money for armaments, that its colonial ventures are not remunerative enough to satisfy business, that its "romantic Imperial economics" are unsound, and that the feud between all-powerful Prussia and the other states prevents satisfactory financial legislation. To these causes may perhaps be added the fact that German cabinet ministers are not responsible to the Reichstag, but are entrenched behind the reactionary property vote of the Prussian Landtag.

Business Also Suffers

In the general elections of last year the German people showed conclusively that they are growing tired of the reactionary domination of Prussia. Some headway has been made toward a more representative government and a responsible ministry. The new army increase and the consequent indebtedness, however, have greatly depressed business and lowered prices on the Bourse, one prominent industrial stock declining thirty-five points in one day last month. The concurrent increases in the French and German armies together with the semi-officially inspired statements in the Austrian and Italian press that Germany's two partners in the Triple Alliance also contemplate early augmentation of their military establishments, made the

general situation in Europe very uncertain last month. A good deal of popular interest has been aroused, during the past few weeks, by the engagement of the Kaiser's only daughter, Victoria Louise, now in her twenty-first year, to Ernest August of Brunswick-Luneburg, son of the Duke of Cumberland. This engagement, which seems to be a love affair, promises to end the long quarrel between the houses of Hohenzollern and Guelf, brought about in 1866, by victorious Prussia absorbing Hanover. Prince Ernest is 26 years old.

Photograph by Paul Thompson, New York

THE GERMAN KAISER'S DAUGHTER AND HER FUTURE HUSBAND

(The engagement of the Kaiser's only daughter, Princess Victoria Louise, to the son of the Duke of Cumberland took place on February 10 at Karlsruhe, where this photo was taken. Princess Victoria Louise and Prince Ernest August of Brunswick-Luneburg and her brother Prince Oscar were walking in the Schloss Park after the official announcement of the engagement.)

Three Centuries of the Romanovs

On March 5, 1613, Michael Feodorovitch Romanov was elected Czar of Russia. The tercentenary of this beginning of the dynasty was celebrated last month all over the empire. The present members of the royal family are not real Romanovs except through the female line, the ancestry of the males originating in the famous old German house of Holstein-Gottorp. The subjects of Czar Nicholas took this occasion to send in some 70,000 petitions. The ceremony was of interest to the officials. The people, however, are concerned much more with the condition of the crops, the various abortive efforts at agrarian reform and the economic and social changes that are demoralizing labor conditions throughout the empire. On another page this month we present an article from a Russian review on the changing labor conditions in the empire of the Czar. Of course the Balkan crisis has occupied the foremost place in Russian foreign politics. While expressing sympathy with the Balkan Slavs, Russia's constant effort has been to avoid any offence to Austria which might lead to a general European conflict. The reported agreement to demobilize, made last month, after the Austrian Emperor had sent his special deputation to St. Petersburg, relieved the tension somewhat.

WHY THIS EXTRA FEEDING FOR THE PEACEFUL GERMAN WAR DOGS?

From the *Daily Star* (Montreal).

Woes of the Russian Press

Among the prisoners liberated by the Czar's manifesto issued on the occasion of the tercentenary of the Romanov dynasty were a number of newspaper and magazine writers. They had

Photograph by Paul Thompson, New York

THE CHARMING CHILDREN OF THE RUSSIAN CZAR

From left to right: Grand Duchess Maria (born 1899); Grand Duchess Tatiana (born 1897); Grand Duchess Anastasia (born 1901); Grand Duchess Olga (born 1895); Grand Duke (successor) Alexis (born 1904).

been imprisoned for no other crime than that of exercising the right of free press so loudly proclaimed by Nicholas II on October 17, 1905. The freedom of the press, as well as the other "freedoms" so reluctantly granted to the Russian people after a bloody struggle which culminated in the convocation of the Duma, has proved to those seeking to lift Russia out of her abyss of ignorance and darkness a new source of suffering and torture. The laws governing the press were repealed and in their stead some "temporary rules" introduced, placing the editors and publishers at the mercy of the governors and *gradonatchalniks* (city chiefs) who are empowered to subject them to a fine of 500 rubles or to imprisonment not to exceed three months for every article they consider anti-governmental or which in general does not meet with their enlightened approval. The censorship, although officially abolished, still exists. Many an editor, not wishing to risk his liberty or to pay a heavy fine, submits his "copy" to specially designated chinovniks for "O. K." But such censorship, while gaining for him immunity from the governor, does not save him from indictment and a prison term if the Procurator or the Committee on Affairs of the Press later finds some objectionable matter in his publication. This precarious position of the Russian press, this constant fear of fine and imprisonment, has lasted since November 24, 1905, and the Russian government is apparently in no haste to enact laws which would put it on a more secure footing.

Course of the Balkan War

After the operations of the Bulgars against the Turks on the Gallipoli peninsula, late in February, active operations in Thrace ceased. This was owing to two causes: First, the severity of the Balkan winter which made the roads impassable; and second, the general conviction, apparently shared by the allies, that the great powers of Europe had agreed upon the new boundaries to be delimited after the war regardless of the victories in the field, and that, therefore, it would not be worth the sacrifice of men and money to continue the fighting. The shift and play of diplomacy between the great capitals of the continent, however, soon laid bare the fact that Europe was not agreed and this fact was emphasized by the French and German army increases. Meanwhile, the allies had proceeded with vigor against the three Turkish strongholds which still held out against their armies—

THE CZAR MICHAEL FEDEOROVITCH, THE FIRST OF THE ROMANOVS

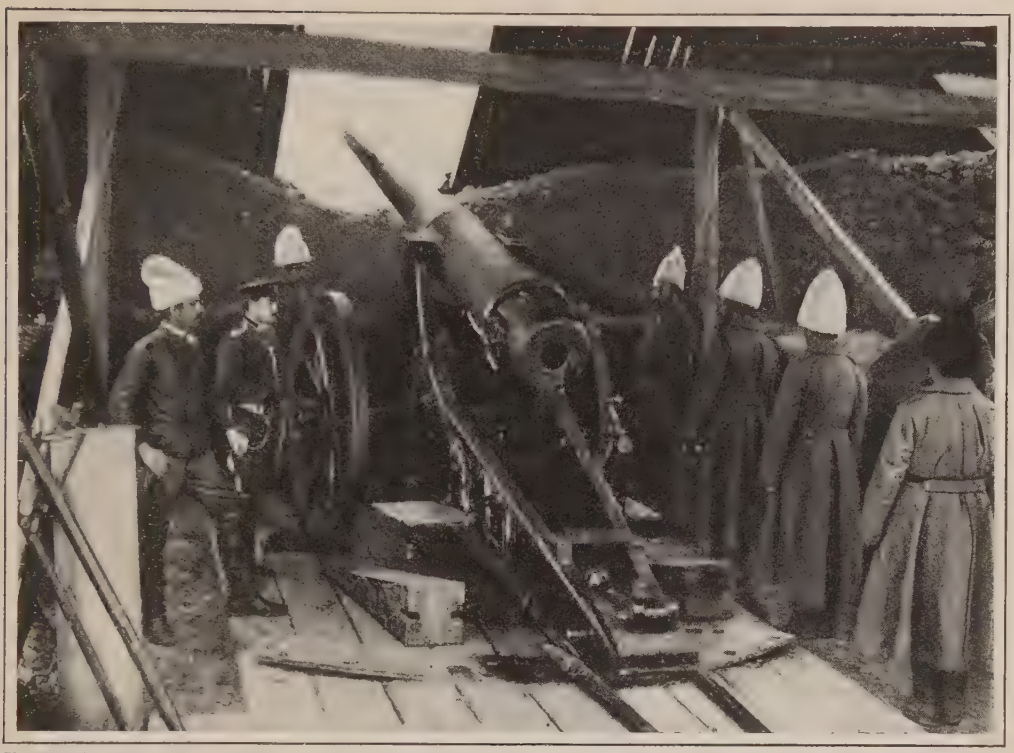
Adrianople, invested by the Bulgarians, Scutari by the Montenegrins, and Janina by the Greeks. These fortresses had been successfully held since the initial operations of the war in October, each one defended by a brave and able commander in addition to its splendid natural position.

Fall of Janina to the Greeks

The Greeks, who did not sign the armistice in December, had kept pounding away at Janina since it was first besieged. On March 6 Janina fell before the Hellenic army under Crown Prince Constantine. This important town just over the Greek border, surrendered with 32,000 Turkish soldiers. With Janina in the hands of the Greeks, all Albania was controlled by the allies, with the sole exception of Scutari, against which the Montenegrins have been fighting since the beginning of the war. A force of Servians, with heavy siege guns, was despatched to help the Montenegrins, late in February, and, as we go to press with this number of the REVIEW it is stated that the city cannot hold out more than a few days longer. On March 14 it was reported that the condition of Adrianople was desperate, that supplies had failed, that the defenders were demoralized, and that the failure of the city was only a matter of a few hours. At the same time it was rumored that both the allies and the Turks had consented to mediation by the great powers. The government at Constantinople had, apparently, agreed to yield everything demanded by its victorious opponents except the payment of indemnity. The question of fixing the boundaries of Albania then became a serious one. It was stated that Austria had positively forbidden Servia to assist in the capture of Scutari since it was the claim of the statesmen at Vienna that the town must become a part of the new Albanian principality. The Montenegrins, on the other hand, insist that they will stake their existence as a nation on the retention of Scutari, when they take it, as loudly as the Greeks

HOW THE RUSSIAN BEAR HELPED THE BALKAN DOGS OF WAR

(An Austrian explanation of the success of the allies)
From *Kikeriki* (Vienna).



Photograph by Paul Thompson, New York

THE BULGARIAN GUN THAT STARTED THE BOMBARDMENT OF ADRIANOPLE AFTER THE ARMISTICE

The big siege gun, before Adrianople, of Capt. Athanassov, who received the order to start the bombardment after the armistice. This gun fired 5,000 shells into Adrianople.

maintain that no power can make them surrender Janina. On March 15 the allies informed the Powers that they would accept mediation on these five conditions:

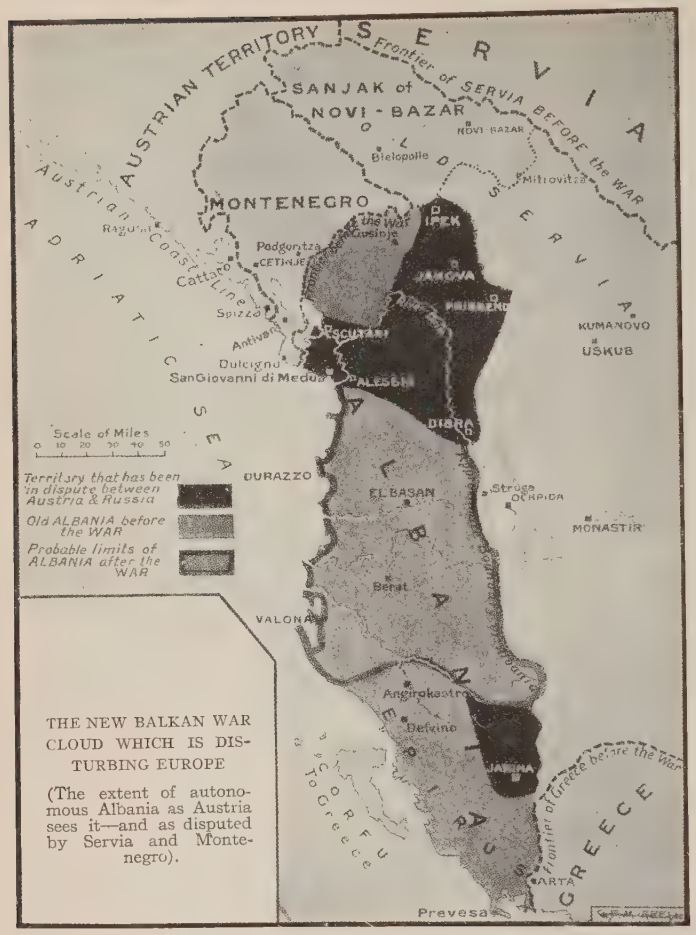
First, they demanded that as a basis of negotiation a line should be drawn from Rodosto, on the Sea of Marmora, to Cape Malatra, seven miles south of Midia, on the Black Sea. They also demanded that outside of the peninsula of Gallipoli, which shall remain Turkish, all territories west of this line, including Adrianople and Scutari, shall become the property of the allies. The second demand was that Turkey should cede the islands in the Ægean Sea to the allies. The third was that Turkey should renounce all her interests in the Island of Crete. The fourth was that the Porte should consent in principle to the payment of a war indemnity, the amount of which should be fixed when peace has been concluded, and also to the payment of compensation to private individuals for damage caused before the war. The allies claimed the right of participating in the deliberations regarding the indemnities. The fifth and last clause stated that the allies reserved the right to settle by a definite treaty of peace the treatment to be accorded to their subjects and to their trade in the Ottoman empire, as well as the guarantee to be given regarding the privileges of the Orthodox churches and the legal standing of their racial brothers who are Ottoman subjects. They also demanded that the military operations should not be interrupted.

Changes in Turkish Politics

The Turkish government is divided in its councils. The Young Turks have found that the responsibility of power has greatly moderated their confidence in their ability to retrieve the fortunes of war. The politicians and soldiers were apparently plotting a counter revolution last month. The masses of the people, however, are apparently quite indifferent to political changes, or even to the question of peace and war. They have been more concerned over the problem of keeping alive during the severe weather with food prices more than doubled. It now appears that when the Young Turks overthrew the Kiamil Pasha cabinet, on January 23, they had behind them a powerful support. Telegrams promising aid and contributions of money poured in from Mohammedans in other parts of the world.

Patriotic Turkish Women

One of the most interesting developments of Turkey's domestic situation is the part taken by the Turkish women. That all these are not poor helpless slaves of the harems, but that many are educated and politically intelligent was



THE NEW BALKAN WAR CLOUD WHICH IS DISTURBING EUROPE

(The extent of autonomous Albania as Austria sees it—and as disputed by Servia and Montenegro).

indicated by an immense mass meeting of women in the University Lecture Hall at Constantinople on March 1. More than 5,000 women attended. Speeches were made, the European concert was criticized, and a protest launched against the alleged atrocities on Mohammedans by the allied troops. There were present one Princess and several women writers of wide reputation. Such was the enthusiasm, says a report quoted in one of the Turkish newspapers, that "outside could be heard the lamentation and crying. Finally everyone present rushed forward and threw her money, jewelry, and even eyeglasses, handkerchiefs and veils into the collection baskets." One resolution, telegraphed to all the queens of Europe, demanded, in the name of "your own Savior and His Virgin Mother your protest against the shameful and un-Christian acts of the allied troops against the chastity and honor of the Turkish women." The following proclamation to the army was agreed upon and made public:

Brother Soldiers! . . . Our religion, our Fatherland, our Honor are in danger. Save these precious things, by beating the enemy. Preserve the country inherited from our glorious ancestors. Save the honor of your daughters and wives and thus receive the benediction of your mothers. This time the Moslem women will only consent to come forward to receive you as victors. We shall welcome back only an army which has saved Islamism and Turkey. . . . If you turn your back to the enemy everybody will hate us. Defeated, you will only be able to come back to your homes, by crushing the bodies of your Moslem women, who are all ready to die rather than lose fatherland, honor and religion. . . . May God and the Prophet protect you.

What the Moslem World Thinks

The viewpoint of the non-Turkish Moslem on the Balkan war and the European diplomacy which all good Moslems believe, precipitated the conflict, is shown in a long letter this REVIEW recently received from a subscriber in Bagdad. This reader of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS, who signs himself by the picturesque historical name of Timur Genghis Khan, displays remarkable detailed knowledge of the tortuous European diplomacy during the past half century. He indicts the powers of the Triple Entente particularly (Great Britain, France and Russia) for constantly plotting to overturn the Ottoman Empire. He accuses them of bringing on the Tripolitan war and aiming to enslave Turkey financially, and finally destroy her. In explanation of why this all happened he says:

Why should these powers (the Triple-Entente) who were the bitter foes of one another but yesterday, be the cordial friends of to-day? They have united against Pan-Islamism, the spectre they believe to threaten their very existence.

England is the largest Moslem power. She rules about one hundred million Mohammedans, sixty-six millions of whom are in India. Russia rules between thirty and forty millions. France sways between twenty and thirty millions. The Mohammedans of the Ottoman Empire do not exceed twenty-five millions. Yet all the Mohammedans of the world, whether under British, Russian or French domination, look with veneration on the

Caliphate at Stamboul. The object of the powers of the Triple Entente, is the destruction of this shrine, so that Islam would have no centre toward which to gravitate. When once the Caliphate is destroyed or reduced to impotence, they believe that the eyes of their Moslem subjects would be riveted on them, instead of Stamboul. This is why the Entente powers have formed their coalition to rid themselves of a supposed common foe, who will surely be created as the fruit of their hostility. This is at the bottom of their bitter enmity to the Crescent. England has another reason to see the Ottoman Empire shattered. This is strategical and concerns her highway to India through the Suez Canal and the Red Sea along the Yemen littoral. This is all Ottoman territory to the Persian Gulf. Even Egypt and the Sudan, though occupied by England, apparently never tire of proving their loyalty to their Sultan and Caliph. This is shown by the money contributed by them to the fund of the Tripolitan and Balkan wars.

A strong Ottoman Empire, through the dominions of which lies the highway to India, is a continuous menace to the British Empire and its Indian domain, not to mention the religious influence which the Caliph is able to exert in India in time of need. The mutiny of Lucknow would never have been thoroughly suppressed, had not Sultan Abdul-Medje issued a firman to the Indian Moslems to respect the British authority and rule. This is but one illustration of the Caliph's influence. Hence, let the Christian powers ruling Mahommedans be careful.

Changes in Japan and China

The Japanese Diet was suspended by imperial rescript early in February. Premier Katsura offered his resignation and those of the recently formed cabinet. After vainly endeavoring to get the Marquis Saionji to assume the premiership, the Emperor persuaded Baron Gombei Yamamoto, an Annapolis graduate, and the man who organized the victorious Japanese navy during the war with Russia, to form a cabinet. Baron Yamamoto is a believer in a strong navy, but is not a jingo. He is very friendly to the United States. In China, just before the Japanese cabinet crisis, a presidential election was being held. Yuan Shih-kai, provisional President since the revolution, was elected for the full term of four years. The so-called Six Power Syndicate loan is still in abeyance. Meanwhile, the Chinese are apparently able to finance their public enterprises from their own resources. We hope to be able to treat the financial situation in China more in detail next month. In an interesting letter received from an official in one of the Protestant churches traveling in China, we find the following sentences showing general conditions in China:

ADMIRAL YAMAMOTO, NEW JAPANESE PREMIER

LATEST PORTRAIT OF H. E. YUAN SHIH-KAI, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA

> I find that the freshness of the republic has worn off a little in the South. The people are somewhat discouraged over the difficulty of the new government in raising money, over the failure in some parts of the Fukien Province to suppress opium, over the humiliation of China by Russia in Mongolia and by the Japanese in Manchuria, and over the efforts of some British merchants to thrust back opium upon China. Upon the other hand the people of the North and the masses of the people in the South have impressed me as busy, cheerful, and, upon the whole, enthusiastic over the new republic. Certainly the Lord has been good to the Chinese for He has delivered them from flood and famine and has given them bountiful crops. Business everywhere is improving and especially are the conditions of the poor people greatly bettered by the good crops and the resumption of commercial activities.

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THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION AS AT PRESENT CONSTITUTED

(From left to right, Commissioners B. H. Meyer, James S. Harlan, Judson C. Clements, Edgar E. Clark [chairman], Charles A. Prouty, C. C. McChord, and John H. Marble. The last named was appointed by President Wilson to take the place made vacant by the elevation of Franklin K. Lane to the cabinet. Mr. Marble has been connected with the Commission for the past seven years, lately as its secretary.)

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From February 13 to March 15, 1913)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

February 13.—In the House, the Philippine Independence bill is discussed.

February 14.—The House adopts the Diplomatic and Consular appropriation bill ($3,764,642); during debate upon the general Pension bill, several Democratic members charge wanton extravagance in appropriations.

February 15.—The Senate holds services in memory of the late Vice-President James S. Sherman, attended by the President and the members of the cabinet, the Supreme Court, the House of Representatives, and the diplomatic corps.

February 17.—The House passes the Public Buildings bill ($25,000,000) after but forty minutes of debate and without a roll call.

February 18.—The Senate, by vote of 72 to 18, passes the Immigration bill over the President's veto. . . . The House adopts the Pension bill ($180,000,000).

February 19.—The House fails to pass the Immigration bill over the President's veto.

February 20.—The Senate adopts the Diplomatic and Consular appropriation bill.

February 21.—In the Senate, the Sundry Civil appropriation bill is passed.

February 24.—The Senate passes the River and Harbor bill and the LaFollette measure providing for the physical valuation of railroads and telegraph and telephone companies.

February 25.—The Senate adopts the Pension and Indian appropriation bills.

February 26.—In the Senate, the Post Office appropriation bill, the Public Buildings bill, and the measure creating a Department of Labor are passed. . . . In the House, the Naval appropriation bill ($138,629,000) is adopted, providing for one first-class battleship.

February 27.—The Senate passes the Agricultural appropriation bill.

February 28.—The Senate adopts the Naval appropriation bill, with an amendment authorizing two battleships; the Webb liquor-transportation bill is repassed over the President's veto, by vote of 63 to 21. . . . In the House, the Pujo committee which investigated the alleged "money trust," submits majority and minority reports.

March 1.—In the Senate, the General Deficiency appropriation bill is passed. . . . The House, by vote of 246 to 95, passes the Webb liquor bill over the President's veto and the measure becomes a law; the Workmen's Compensation measure is adopted.

March 4.—The House adopts the Sundry Civil appropriation bill over the President's veto. . . . The Sixty-second Congress comes to an end, with the Indian appropriation bill unpassed and the Sundry Civil appropriation bill vetoed.

March 5.—The Senate of the Sixty-third Congress meets in special session to confirm the appointments of President Wilson; the personnel of the cabinet is approved.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN

February 13.—Twenty-nine officials of the National Cash Register Company, including its president, are convicted of conspiracy under the Sherman Anti-Trust law in the federal court at Cincinnati. . . . The New Jersey Senate passes the seven corporation-reform bills advocated by Governor Wilson. . . . The Illinois House concurs with the Senate in approving the federal constitutional amendment for the direct election of Senators.

February 14.—President Taft vetoes the "literacy test" immigration bill. . . . Individuals and corporations comprising the so-called Bathtub Trust are found guilty of conspiracy under the Sherman law in the federal court at Detroit.

February 15.—Fines aggregating $51,000 are imposed upon the convicted individuals and corporations in the Bathtub Trust.

February 17.—Prison sentences are pronounced upon twenty-eight convicted officials of the National Cash Register Company, at Cincinnati.

February 18.—The New Jersey Assembly passes Governor Wilson's seven anti-trust bills; the Senate adopts the Workmen's compensation bill.

February 19.—The Oregon Senate passes a woman-suffrage resolution.

February 20.—The Michigan House approves a resolution submitting the question of woman suffrage to the voters at a special election in April. . . . The Ohio Senate adopts the House resolution ratifying the constitutional amendment for the direct election of Senators.

February 21.—The deadlock in the West Virginia legislature is broken by the election of Judge Nathan Goff (Rep.) as United States Senator.

February 25.—President-elect Wilson sends in his resignation as Governor of New Jersey, to take effect on March 1.

February 26.—The Ohio House passes the Senate workmen's compensation bill. . . . The New Jersey Assembly and the Arkansas Senate adopt woman-suffrage amendments.

February 28.—President Taft vetoes the Webb bill which prohibits the shipment of liquor into "dry" States.

March 1.—James F. Fielder, president of the New Jersey Senate, becomes Governor upon the resignation of President-elect Wilson.

March 4.—President Taft vetoes the Sundry Civil appropriation bill. . . . Woodrow Wilson and Thomas R. Marshall are inaugurated as President and Vice-President, respectively, of the United States. . . . The voters of Vermont adopt an amendment changing the date of the State election from September to November.

March 5.—President Wilson sends to the Senate for confirmation the names of the ten members of his cabinet (for names of these officials see page 423). . . . John H. Marble (Dem.) is nominated as the new member of the Interstate Commerce Commission. . . . The Democrats of the Senate, in caucus, choose John W. Kern, of Indiana, as leader; the Democrats of the House vote to retain Champ Clark as Speaker and Oscar W. Underwood as chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. . . . The Michigan Senate adopts the House resolution resubmitting the equal-suffrage amendment to popular vote; the Maine House rejects the Senate woman-suffrage bill.

March 7.—At a caucus of the Democratic members, James P. Clarke, of Arkansas, is chosen president *pro tem.* of the Senate. . . . The legislatures of North Dakota, Montana and Iowa adopt woman-suffrage amendments.

March 10.—Charles P. Neill is appointed Commissioner of Labor Statistics by President Wilson; Daniel C. Roper, is nominated as First Assistant Postmaster-General.

March 13.—John Skelton Williams, the Virginia banker, is named as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury.

March 13.—After a ten-weeks deadlock in the New Hampshire legislature, Henry F. Hollis (Dem.) is elected to the United States Senate. . . . President Wilson sends to the Senate the names of the following Assistant Secretaries: John Skelton Williams (Treasury), Franklin D. Roosevelt (Navy), Beverly D. Galloway (Agriculture), and Edwin F. Sweet (Commerce). . . . Colonel Roosevelt addresses a conference of Pennsylvania Progressives at Philadelphia.

March 14.—The Nebraska House adopts the Senate resolution approving the Constitutional amendment for the direct election of Senators.

March 15.—Ex-Governor John Burke, of North Dakota, is named as United States Treasurer. . . . The modified plan for the dissolution of the Union Pacific and Southern Pacific railroad systems is withdrawn because of the refusal of the California Railroad Commission to approve it.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN

February 13.—The British House of Lords rejects the Welsh Disestablishment bill. . . . The battle in Mexico City, between insurgents and federal troops, is resumed.

February 14.—Several engagements are reported in which victories were won by the Bulgarian and Greek forces against the Turks.

February 18.—The troops defending President Madero in the capital at Mexico City force his resignation and proclaim Gen. Victoriano Huerta provisional president. . . . Raymond Poincaré is installed as President of France.

February 19.—The Mexican Congress elects General Huerta provisional president of the republic; Gustavo Madero, brother of the ex-President, is put to death.

February 21.—The French Chamber of Deputies passes an income-tax measure believed to be acceptable to the Senate.

February 22.—Francisco Madero and Pino Suarez, the deposed President and Vice-President of Mexico, are shot dead in Mexico City "while attempting to escape."

February 26.—Frederico Luna Peralta forms a new ministry in Peru.

February 27.—The French government introduces in the Chamber of Deputies a bill authorizing a special expenditure of $100,000,000, within five years, for national defense.

March 4.—Debate upon the Franchise bill is begun in the Hungarian Chamber of Deputies, the members of the opposition withdrawing from the session.

March 5.—The French cabinet approves a bill increasing the term of compulsory military service from two to three years.

March 6.—The three-hundredth anniversary of the Romanoff dynasty is celebrated throughout Russia.

March 7.—The lower house of the Hungarian parliament passes a measure granting the franchise to many women.

March 8.—Serious encounters are reported between the Mexican federal troops and insurrectionists in Sonora and Coahuila.

March 9.—The Spanish elections result in a majority for the Liberal party over all others.

March 10.—King George opens the third session of the British Parliament after a prorogation of only two days.

March 12.—Announcement is made of the British ministry's plans for the reform of the House of Lords, including the abolishment of the hereditary principle and the veto power. . . . It is reported that Mexican "constitutionalists," opposed to the Huerta regime, have seized the towns of Durango and Agua Prieta. . . . Canberra is announced as the name of the projected capital city of Australia.

March 13.—A force of "Constitutionalists" occupies the Mexican town of Nogales on the Arizona border line.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

February 13.—The arbitration treaty between the United States and France is extended for a period of five years.

February 15.—After a month's fight in the courts, Gen. Cipriano Castro, the exiled former President of Venezuela, is permitted to enter the United States.

February 17.—President Taft, replying to a note from the Mexican President, states that no measures have been taken for intervention in Mexico, but gives warning that conditions there should be promptly improved.

February 23.—The Rumanian cabinet accepts the offer of the powers to mediate in the boundary dispute with Bulgaria.

February 26.—Senator Emilio Rabasa is named as Mexican ambassador to the United States by the Huerta cabinet.

March 1.—The British rejoinder to the reply of the United States to the protest against the Panama Canal act is made public at Washington.

March 5.—The Turkish fortress of Janina, near the Greek border, garrisoned by 32,000 men, capitulates to the Greek army.

March 11.—President Wilson issues a statement setting forth the friendly attitude of his administration toward the cause of good government in the Central and South American republics. . . . Austria objects to Servian troops assisting Montenegro in the siege of Scutari, Turkey. . . . The tension between Russia and Austria, which had existed for several months, is relieved by the exchange of friendly letters between the Czar and the Emperor.

March 13.—The Cuban President vetoes the Amnesty bill, objected to by the United States.

March 15.—The Balkan allies offer to accept mediation by the powers upon condition that Turkey shall cede to them the Egean Islands and all of its European territory except the Gallipoli peninsula.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

February 14.—A memorial service for Captain Scott and the members of his expedition who lost their lives near the South Pole, is held in the Cathedral of St. Paul, attended by King George, the British cabinet, and many other officials.

February 15.—Announcement is made at New York of the invention, by John Gott, of a device applying the principle of the Morse sounder to submarine cables, replacing the written line.

February 16.—Dr. Joseph H. Hertz, of New York, is elected Chief Rabbi of the Jews of the British Empire.

February 18.—The representatives of the Eastern railroads agree to arbitrate the demands of the firemen under the Erdman act.

February 22.—Ground is broken by President Taft for the National Indian Memorial at Ft. Wadsworth, N. Y.

February 25.—Marcel G. Brindejonc des Moulinais flies in a monoplane from Paris to London (275 miles) in three hours and five minutes.

February 26.—More than 100 persons are killed by the premature explosion of a blasting charge at Gijon, Spain.

February 28.—The strike of garment workers in New York City comes to an end; wage increases are granted and the question of hours is submitted to arbitration.

March 3.—Nine thousand women suffragists participate in a pageant and parade in Washington. . . . William L. Chambers is named as the third arbitrator, under the Erdman act, in the dispute between the Eastern railroads and the firemen.

March 5.—The German cruiser *Yorck* rams and sinks the torpedo boat destroyer *S 178* off the island of Helgoland in the North Sea, two officers and sixty-nine men being drowned.

March 6.—Fire destroys $7,000,000 worth of property in the business section of Yokohama.

March 7.—An explosion of 340 tons of dynamite on the British steamship *Alum Chine*, at Baltimore, kills more than thirty persons and seriously damages several vessels.

March 10.—The arbitration of the railroad firemen's strike is begun at New York City.

March 11.—A new aeroplane height record of 19,650 feet is made by the French aviator Perreyon near Paris.

March 12.—The scout cruiser *Salem* concludes a series of remarkable "wireless" tests with the station at Arlington, Md., extending to Gibraltar.

March 13–14.—Tornadoes and electric storms in the South, and blizzards in the West, cause the death of nearly 100 persons and the destruction of several million dollars worth of property.

March 14.—Dr. Simon Flexner announces that he has discovered the germ of infantile paralysis.

March 15.—The trial of forty-eight men and one woman, under martial law, is begun at Paint Creek Junction, W. Va., the cases growing out of recent disturbances in the strike of coal miners.

OBITUARY

February 13.—Sir George Reid, High Commissioner in London for the Australian Commonwealth 71. . . . Stephen Sanford, the carpet manufacturer and former Representative from New York, 87. . . . John Fritz, a pioneer iron and steel maufacturer, 91. . . . Charles Major, the novelist, 56. . . . Rudolph Fransen, formerly German consul-general at New York, 49.

February 14.—Gen. Stewart L. Woodford, United States minister to Spain at the outbreak of the war, 77. . . . Rear-Adm. Mortimer L. Johnson, U. S. N., retired, 70. . . . Justice James W. Houghton, of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of New York, 56. . . . Judge Ralph Wheeler, of the Superior Court of Connecticut, 69.

February 15.—Henry W. Palmer, former Representative from Pennsylvania, 73.

February 17.—Cincinnatus H. Miller, known as the "poet of the Sierras," 72 (see page 479). . . . Lord Macnaghten, regarded as the most eminent member of the British bench, 83.

February 18.—Gen. G. W. Custus Lee, eldest son of Gen. Robert E. Lee, 80. . . . George Louis Becke, the Australian sailor-novelist, 65.

February 19.—William F. Apthorp, for many years musical critic of the Boston *Transcript*, 84.

February 21.—Bishop John Joseph Hogan, of the Roman Catholic diocese of Western Missouri, 84. . . . The Dowager Empress of China. . . . Dr. William Conrad Wile, widely known as a writer on medical subjects, 66.

February 23.—William Barnes, Sr., New York's first Superintendent of Insurance, 88. . . . Dr. Harry Langford Wilson, professor of Roman archæology in Johns Hopkins University, 45.

February 24.—Paul Thureau-Dangin, the French historian, 76. . . . Prof Henry L. Chapman, the oldest member of the Bowdoin College faculty, 67. . . . Dr. Benjamin Eli Smith, managing editor of the Century Dictionary, 56.

February 25.—Horatio Nelson, the third Earl Nelson, 89. . . . Luis Felipe Carbo, formerly Ecuadorean minister to the United States, 55.

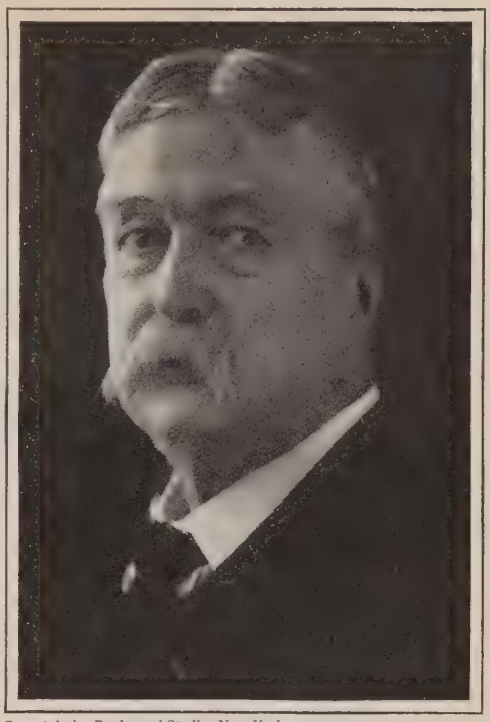
February 26.—James A. Moffett, vice-president of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, 62.

February 27.—Dr. Philip Hanson Hiss, Jr., an eminent authority of bacteriology, 45. . . . Sir William H. White, formerly chief constructor of the British Navy, 68 . . . Christopher Haueisen, formerly well known as a portrait and landscape artist, 83.

March 3.—Capt. Orrin R. Smith, designer of the Confederate flag, 86.

THE LATE DR. PHILIP HANSON HISS, PROFESSOR OF BACTERIOLOGY IN THE COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS AND SURGEONS OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK

(Great interest was shown last month in the experiments in New York hospitals by Dr. Friedmann, of Germany, with his new serum for the cure of tuberculosis. But the newspapers failed to make the public realize that there died in New York, at the end of February, a doctor, still in his youth, whose indefatigable labors as a bacteriologist had perfected almost infallible remedies for the two dread diseases of pneumonia and erysipelas. He died at forty-five, a hero devoted to scientific research and to the welfare of humanity. He was a graduate of the Johns Hopkins and Columbia Universities)



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DR. JOHN S. BILLINGS

(Dr. Billings, who at the time of his death, on March 11, was director of the New York Public Library, had won international renown as the author of the great "Index Catalogue" of the Library of the Surgeon General's Office, U. S. A., and as an anthority on sanitation and hygiene)

March 5.—Oscar Dana Allen, formerly professor of chemistry at Yale, 77. . . . Joseph Lyman, the artist, 69.

March 6.—Mrs. Mary Carver Leiter, prominent in philanthropic work, 69.

March 7.—Emily Pauline Johnson, an Indian poetess. . . . Gen. Joseph B. Heiskell, of Tennessee, one of the few surviving members of the Confederate Congress, 89.

March 8.—Rear Adm. Joseph G. Eaton, U. S. N., retired, 66. . . . Alfred Maurice Picard, once Minister of Marine in the French cabinet, 69. . . . Louis Saint-Gaudens, the sculptor, 59.

March 10.—Hermann, Prince of Hohenlohe-Langenburg, 80. . . Harriet Tubman Davis, an ex-slave who was known as the conductor of the "underground railroad," 98.

March 11.—Dr. John Shaw Billings, director of the New York Public Library, 75. . . .Viscount Godrey C. M. Tredegar, survivor of the charge of the Light Brigade at Balaklava, 82.

March 13.—Ludwig Delbrueck, financial adviser to the German Kaiser. . . . Admiral Sir Archibald Lucius Douglas, formerly Lord of the British Admiralty, 71.

March 14.—Dr. Roland G. Curtin, noted physician and writer on medical topics, 74. . . . Thomas Krag, the Norwegian novelist.

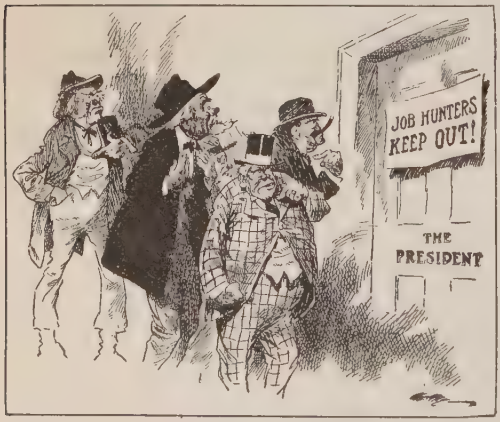
March 15.—William Hale White, the English writer, 84.

SOME OF THE BEST RECENT CARTOONS

ONCE MORE THE GRIST GOES TO THE MILL

From the *Journal* (Minneapolis)

THE Democratic cart, laden with tariff schedules, is now headed for the Congressional mill. President Wilson is driving, with his boy Bryan sitting on the bags behind. The "mill" is about to open in extra session, and there is a good deal of grist to be ground.



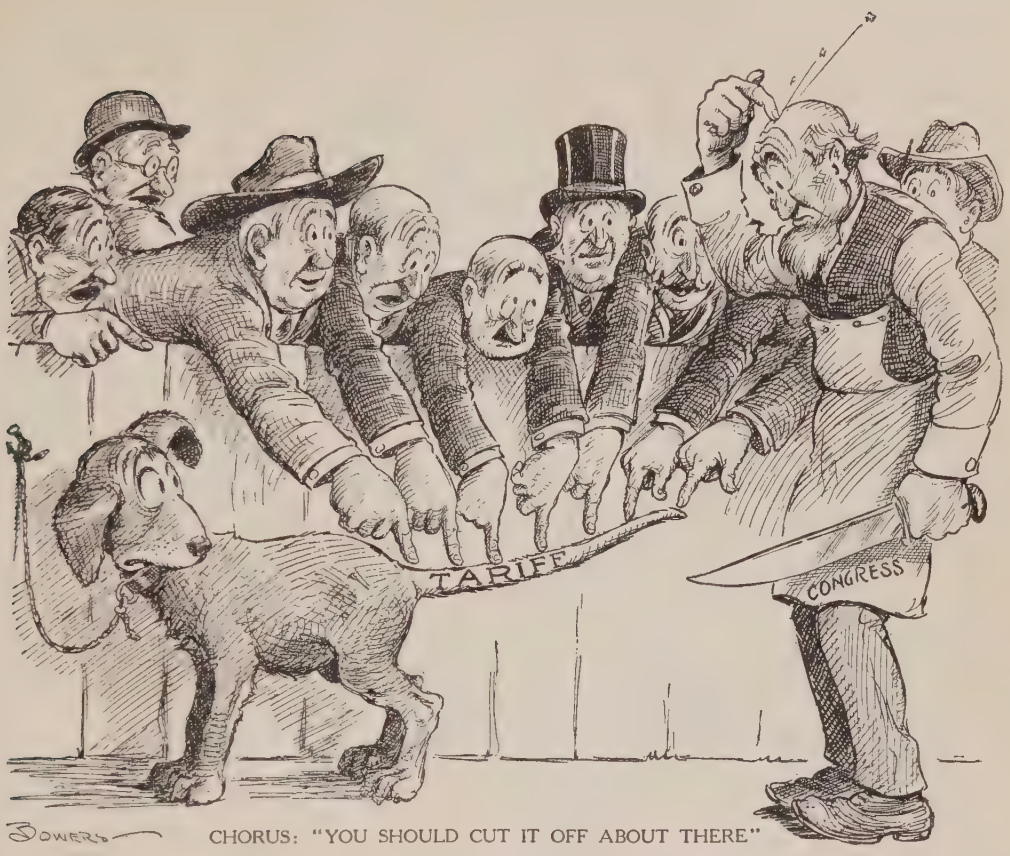
"AFTER ALL I DONE FOR HIM!"

From the *Leader* (Cleveland)

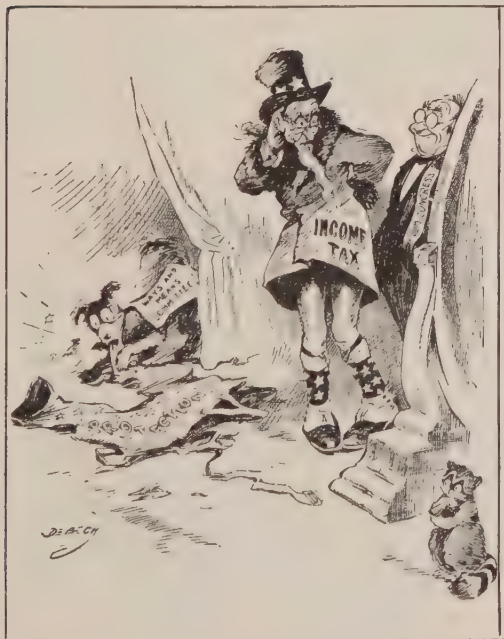
"O WOODMAN, SPARE THAT TREE TOUCH NOT A SINGLE BOUGH. IN YOUTH IT SHELTERED ME AND I'LL PROTECT IT NOW."
SPECIAL PRIVILEGE
SATTERFIELD

A PATHETIC APPEAL

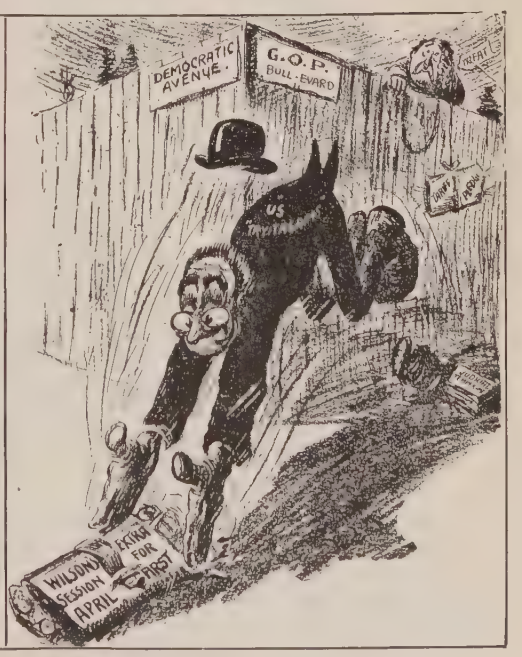
BIG INTERESTS (to the President): "O Woodrow, spare that tree," etc. From the *Tribune* (South Bend, Indiana)



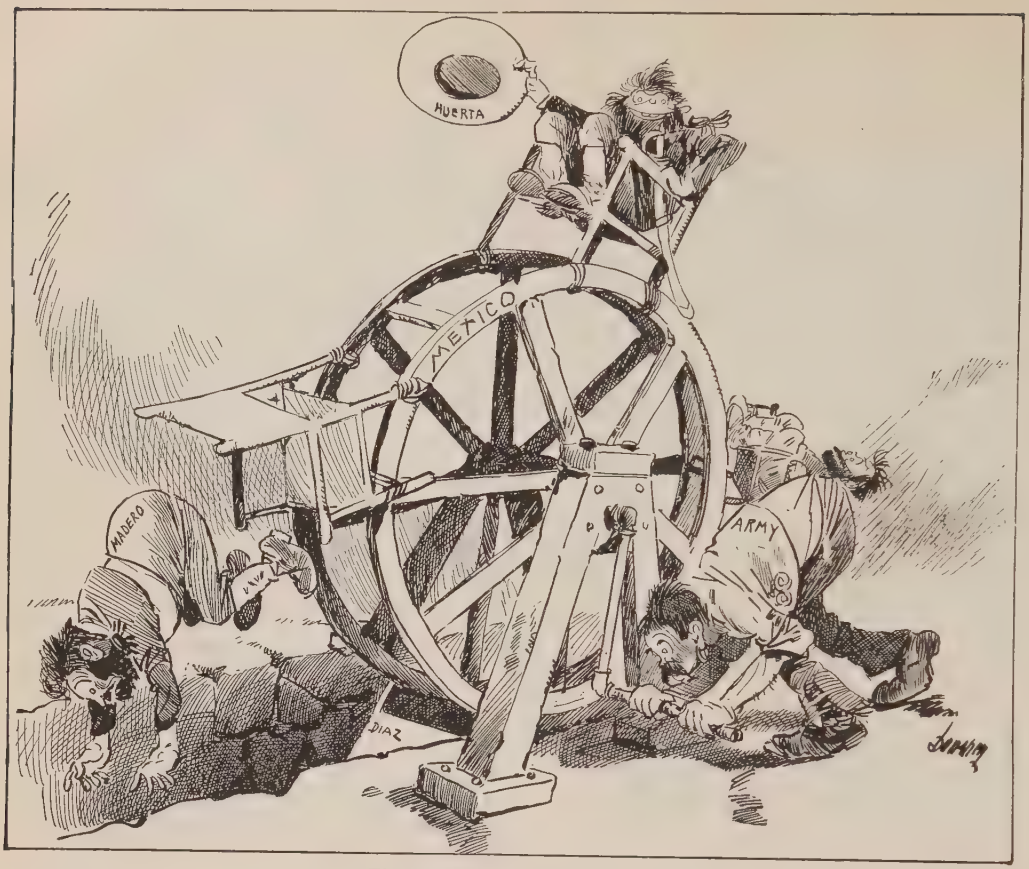
CHORUS: "YOU SHOULD CUT IT OFF ABOUT THERE"
From the *Jersey Journal* (Jersey City, N. J.)



DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS: (To Uncle Sam) "This 'Income Tax' coat will be so warm, you won't need the 'Protection trousers.'"
From the *Gazette-Times* (Pittsburgh, Pa.)



GENUINE!
(No string to the tariff wallet this time)
From the *Advertiser* (Montgomery, Alabama)



THE WHEEL OF FORTUNE
From the *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland)

Conditions in Mexico have recently been marked with such rapid reversals, that a number of cartoonists have applied to the politics of that country the appropriate figure of the "wheel of fortune."

WHAT IS THE MATTER WITH MEXICO?
From the *Tribune* (Los Angeles, California)

WILL HE HAVE TO OPERATE?
From the *Tribune* (Chicago)

AMERICAN INTERVENTION IN LATIN-AMERICAN AFFAIRS—A CUBAN VIEW OF UNCLE SAM'S CRITICS

When the American Colossus, Uncle Sam, intervenes in the revolutions of Latin-American countries, for the purpose of preventing further bloodshed and protecting property, then he is called an "imperialistic conqueror."

If he does not intervene, then, forsooth, he is a cowardly manikin, who is "afraid of the Mexican." And these absurd statements are made by those to whom he twice gave liberty.

From *La Lucha* (Havana)

According to the above cartoon from an influential Cuban newspaper, Uncle Sam's attitude toward Latin-American affairs is bound to be misconstrued in those countries whether he intervenes or decides to keep his hands off. It is apparently a case of being "damned if he does, and damned if he doesn't."

UNCLE SAM AND THE PANAMA CANAL—A GERMAN VIEW

Soldiers here and cannon there,
How easily 'tis fortified,
The while in Turkey, far away,
The nations now are occupied.

From *Ulk* (Berlin)

HIGHER UP!

(The graft disclosures in New York, under District Attorney Whitman's able prosecution, are gradually leading higher up toward those in control of the "system")

From the *World* (New York)

The police situation in New York and Castro's attempt to make a permanent landing somewhere, are the topics treated in this column. The cartoons in the next column refer to Mr. Munsey's plan of combining the Progressives and Republicans, to the mild weather of the winter, and to the usual spring floods of the Ohio River.

NO LANDING PLACE FOR CASTRO

From the *Star* (Washington, D. C.)

YES, MR. MUNSEY BROUGHT THEM TOGETHER!

From the *Public Ledger* (Philadelphia)

WINTER: "I'M TO BE QUEEN O' THE MAY, MOTHER!"

From the *Inquirer* (Philadelphia)

THIS IS MOVING TIME ALONG THE OHIO RIVER!

From the *Record-Herald* (Chicago)

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PRESIDENT WILSON AND HIS CABINET IN COUNCIL

(From left to right: President Wilson, Mr. McAdoo, Mr. McReynolds, Mr. Daniels, Mr. Bryan, Mr. Houston, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Garrison, Mr. Redfield, Mr. Burleson, Mr. Lane)

PRESIDENT WILSON'S CABINET

I. THE CABINET'S PLACE IN OUR AMERICAN SYSTEM

THE making of a cabinet, under ordinary circumstances, is the most important thing a President of the United States has to do. The executive branch of our government has significance not only because the country itself is colossal in its extent, population, and diverse interests, but also because under our system the President and his department heads exercise more actual power, under less restraint, than do men in executive authority under almost any other governmental scheme in the modern world. In England and France, ministers are so immediately accountable to parliamentary bodies that their acts are under constant scrutiny and control.

Not only are European cabinets dependent upon the support of parliament as respects their general policies, but individual ministers are subject to daily and sharp interpellation from the floor as to particular matters arising in the administration of affairs belonging to their own portfolios. Under our system, the President and cabinet have by no means as much direct influence as they ought to have upon the general legislative and budgetary affairs that are in the hands of Congress. And, on the other hand, Congress has nothing like the direct and immediate power that it ought to have to inquire into the things that are done by executive officers.

Woodrow Wilson,—inaugurated as President of the United States on March 4,—more than any other student of the working of constitutional government has discussed the difficulties that grow out of the wide separation of the executive and legislative branches in this country. While in its main aspects President Wilson must take the system as he finds it, there can be no doubt of his intention to do all that is permissible under the Constitution and the laws to estab-

lish efficient relationships between the executive departments and the two houses of Congress.

COMPARED WITH BRITISH SYSTEMS

Attention has been called by the newspapers to the fact that all of the ten members of Mr. Wilson's cabinet are men in the prime of life, the average age being about fifty, and not one of the ten being much older or much younger. This circumstance is to be explained in large part by the conditions under which the American cabinet is selected. The Canadian cabinet, for example, is made up of men averaging fully ten years older than the American. But in Canada the cabinet members are as a rule prominent public men who have grown to places of established leadership in their respective parties in the Houses of Parliament. The Canadian system makes this method of appointment of cabinet officers practically necessary.

An English ministry usually contains a number of men of advanced years and great experience, together with some men who are quite young. This fact again is not difficult to understand, when one knows something of the British system of government and politics. There are many young men in Great Britain, of independent means, who enter upon a Parliamentary career at a very early age. They have opportunity to attach themselves to great leaders or department chiefs, and within a few years they may become parliamentary Under Secretaries, thus growing in familiarity with the business of the House of Commons, on the one hand, and with the work of an executive department on the other. As older men fall out of line through death or retirement,—or, perchance, through promotion to the House of Lords,—these young men of promise and good fortune often become full cabinet members while in the thirties, and once in a great while even at an earlier age.

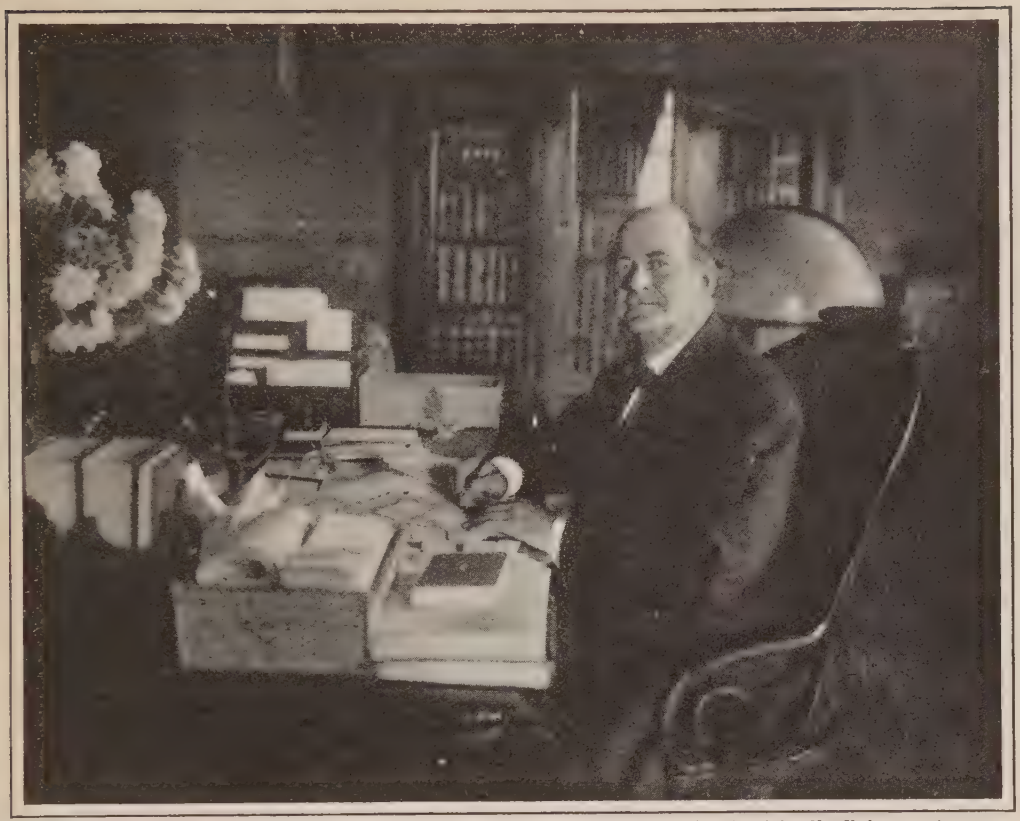
AMERICAN CABINET MATERIAL

In the United States, however, the cabinet has no relationship to Congress, its members have no seats in either house and no voice upon the floor, and the President of the United States has the entire range of his fellow-citizens from whom to choose. Thus the newspapers and the public find a certain mild speculative excitement in guessing—from election day, in the first week of November, until inauguration day, in the first week of March—what men may be called to the nine posts (now increased to ten by the creation of a Department of Labor) which carry so much responsibility and involve the exercise of such vast power. This concern about the cabinet is speculation of no idle sort; for it deals with that which concerns the lives and fortunes of men, and with public matters of vast moment.

We are a nation possessing a far greater number of men of political aspiration than any other country; and from the standpoint of men's ambitions the selection of a cabinet is intensely interesting. For it must be remembered that a multitude of other appointments are directly or indirectly dependent upon the choice of the ten department chiefs. Every State has its quota of men who have had opportunity to serve in elective or appointive office, in such a way as to have become notable among their neighbors and ambitious for higher preferment. When an administration at Washington changes, there are literally hundreds of men who might be regarded as possibly available for cabinet posts, and there are several thousand who might naturally aspire to important positions of lesser rank.

FOREIGN CABINETS RESTRICTED TO WELL-KNOWN LEADERS

In a country governed like England or France, on the contrary, in the event of a general election resulting in a change of parties, a new prime minister would constitute his ministerial group and his inner cabinet council out of a body of fellow-partisans, most of whom any intelligent person could easily have guessed in advance. Obviously, when a Campbell-Bannerman becomes prime minister he goes on with his ministerial associates; and when an Asquith succeeds a Campbell-Bannerman there is no cabinet reorganization, but only a slight shifting of portfolios followed by some gradual changes. And if the Conservatives should come into power soon, their cabinet would contain few surprises. When on the contrary, Mr. McKinley succeeded Mr. Cleveland,—the Republicans having been out of power for four years,—the new cabinet contained only one man (John Sherman, Secretary of State) whose choice could have been predicted for reasons of party leadership and continuity. It does not follow that the rest of the cabinet were in any manner lacking in individual merit; but it is obvious that at least twenty groups of entirely different personnel,—perhaps forty groups or even a hundred,—



From a photograph taken especially for the American Review of Reviews. Copyright by the American Press Association, New York

HON. WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN, SECRETARY OF STATE

could have been chosen, out of the ranks of the Republican party, having exactly as much general and particular fitness for the cabinet as the group that was actually named.

OUR ARMY OF AMATEUR STATESMEN

This may be interpreted in more ways than one. My intention is to have it point to two facts: First, that we have not had, in either party in the United States, in our time, a small body of leaders from whom a cabinet is necessarily selected; and, second, and even more important, the fact that in the United States, except for a relatively small number of individuals, we do not have distinctively public men,—that is to say, men whose sole calling is that of statecraft. We have a large number of capable men, who are ready to play back and forth between public office and private business or professional life. When these men take public office they sometimes have in mind the temporary use of such office as a stepping-stone to private emolument and career, after a few years of public experience and personal advertising.

It is doubtless in many ways an advantage to the country to have so large a number of citizens sufficiently well trained in public matters as to be fit for seats in legislative bodies or for tasks of public administration. There are some disadvantages, on the other hand, in the sudden advancement to high posts of men unfamiliar with the technical and routine work of their offices, even where they have some knowledge of the broader problems concerned. Upon the whole, our Presidents seem to have been able to make good practical use of a system which in theory is not the most effective.

Some Presidents have inclined towards the more natural and conservative view of men who believe in parties,—namely, that cabinet seats are preferably given to men who are well known as party leaders and public characters, in addition to having undoubted fitness for the headship of their respective departments. Other Presidents have sought rather to bear their own entire constitutional responsibility, and to have as heads of the departments, not their political equals and colleagues, but men who will be loyal and

efficient subordinates. Mr. Cleveland's first cabinet was made up more largely of well-known Democratic statesmen than was his second.

MR. TAFT CHOSE PRIVATE CITIZENS

Mr. Roosevelt was content to go on with Mr. McKinley's cabinet, making changes only as vacancies happened to occur one by one. He named individual men of efficiency for departmental work, rather than recognized leaders of the Republican party or of American public opinion. Mr. Taft, who had never been a party leader, but who had become a very influential member of the Roosevelt cabinet, was naturally expected to continue his association with his own cabinet group. He had been in especially cordial association with such fellow-members of the cabinet as Elihu Root, Luke Wright, Garfield, Meyer, Straus, and Wilson. It was supposed that all these men would retain their portfolios, at least for a time. Mr. Taft finally decided, however, to retain none of them. Intense pressure on behalf of Secretaries Wilson and Meyer resulted in their retention, Mr. Meyer being transferred from the Post-Office to the Navy Department. Mr. Taft was, indeed, at full liberty to act as he thought best. It is plain in the retrospect, however, that his administration would have been a much happier one if he had insisted upon keeping at their posts, at least for the first year or more, those loyal and efficient men whose names have just been mentioned.

In view of his decision to appoint new men, he might have adopted the theory of a cabinet of prominent statesmen or well-known party leaders. But with one or two exceptions he disregarded this view of the cabinet. Thus he made up a cabinet composed of excellent private gentlemen, only one or two of whom had been known as prominent members of a party in which he himself had never had a recognized position previous to his nomination in 1908. He had, indeed, attained eminence as a judge, as Governor-General of the Philippines, and as Secretary of War. But he had never been a factor either in the local or national work of the Republican party. His party had, in the great mass of its adherents, moved forward along distinct lines of aspiration and conviction. He would have been saved from many errors by a cabinet in close touch and sympathy with this overwhelming majority of the members of his own party.

II. PRESIDENT WILSON'S THEORY OF THE CABINET

It would not be fitting to quote the theoretical views of President Wilson, written many years ago, on the selection of a cabinet, if they seemed in any way out of harmony with his opinions or his actions, now that he has become responsible. He is not under the smallest obligation to try to make his methods in the conduct of the Presidential office appear to be consistent with views expressed in books or articles written twenty years ago or more. But there can be no impropriety in quoting from his writings, if certain things that he had formerly said seem strong and wise just now, and seem also to be in harmony with his course of action last month upon assuming the Presidential office.

Just twenty years ago, at the request of the editor of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS, Mr. Wilson wrote for this magazine an extended sketch of Mr. Cleveland's cabinet. The article was much more than a series of paragraphs upon the men selected for the cabinet posts; it was a noteworthy discussion of the function of the cabinet in our American system. It sets forth and reviews the two different theories. Take, for instance, the following remarks, apropos, not of Mr. Cleveland's first cabinet, but of his second, appointed in March, 1893:

> Until Mr. Cleveland, it may be said to have been habitual with our Presidents to regard the cabinet as a council of party leaders. Mr. Arthur, for example, unquestionably averted premature party calamity by putting aside his personal preferences in the choice of his cabinet and broadening its membership much beyond the ranks of the stalwart wing, to which he himself belonged. Other Presidents have followed a like course of conciliation and coöperation. Only men like Jackson have hitherto put their personal preference foremost in supplying the departments with heads and themselves with assistants. In this case Mr. Cleveland has combined the two methods in a way which may turn out to have been significant of the future course of the Government under him. . . .
>
> As it is, we are left to surmises, for all the administration is so strong and so truly representative in one or two departments. What will Mr. Cleveland do with his cabinet? for nothing can be clearer than that he purposes to do something. Will the Treasury submit a program of reform? Will the administration assume the leadership in revising the tariff laws, reforming the coinage, extending the provisions of the civil service law,

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HON. WILLIAM GIBBS McADOO, AT HIS DESK IN THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT

as Mr. Whitney did in developing the navy? Is this a legislative as well as an administrative cabinet? Is it a cabinet with purposes as well as with capabilities? If so, how does Mr. Cleveland stand for strength in such courses, with a cabinet constituted as this one is, not as a party counsel but rather as a body of personal counsellors? Is it strong enough for leadership, or is Mr. Cleveland relying entirely on his own strength to carry his purposes to successful completion?

Probably he is depending upon himself, taking his cue from the country, which undoubtedly depends upon him to exercise an active guidance in affairs for the next four years. If so, it is a fine display of courage and resolution. It commits the country, it must be said, in a hazardous degree to the understanding and capacity of a single man; but it will, at any rate, make capital test of our idea that the President, constitutionally viewed, constitutes the executive department of the government; that he is not simply the directing head, but the efficient embodiment of the administrative function.

CABINET AND CONSTITUTION

After some allusion to the surprises in the Cleveland cabinet,—such as that of Mr. Gresham for Secretary of State,—our distinguished author proceeds in the following vein to discuss the accepted view that the cabinet is, after all, the President's own affair:

This is the view which Mr. Cleveland himself apparently takes—not arrogantly, but with a grave sense of responsibility for the manner in which the executive business of the country is to be carried on. It may be called the literally constitutional view of the cabinet. The constitution vests the executive power of the government in the President in perfectly plain terms. It takes it for granted in an occasional phrase that there will be "heads of departments," and it authorizes Congress to place the appointment of the minor officers of the government in the hands of such principal officials. But it offers no hint that they are to be more than heads of departments; they receive no cue from it to speak as if they had legal share in the exercise of executive power. Statute, indeed, may give them a certain degree of independence of the President. The statute which erected the Treasury Department, for example, gave Andrew Jackson no little trouble because it rendered it necessary for him to obtain the assent of the Secretary to the withdrawal of the deposits of the government from the Bank of the United States. He had to make two removals before he found a pliant Secretary. But such statutes must be acknowledged to strain the tenor of the Constitution. The President may make what selections he will in providing the administrative departments with their chief officers, and keep indisputably within his literal constitutional powers. The Senate must, indeed, confirm his appointments; but it has long regarded its function in this respect, not as a right to assist or dictate to the President in his choice of cabinet officials, but merely as a check upon the

nomination of men touched in some degree by scandal or known in some way to have shown gross incompetency for assuming public trusts. No man who has followed Mr. Cleveland's career ought to have the slightest disposition to curtail his freedom of choice, or can have sufficient reason for distrusting his judgment of men, and his strength to bear the whole executive responsibility of the government.

THE "HISTORICAL METHOD" PREFERRED BY WILSON

As respects the risks involved in the one view or the other of a President's relation to his cabinet, Mr. Wilson's article affords us these further observations:

But no president dominates more than eight years of our national life. Whatever his individual talents, he is only one in a long line of chief magistrates. He does not make his own administration merely; he gives a precedent to his successors, who may not have like ability and discretion. He contributes an example to the general development; he determines a section of the general institutional growth of the country. He is responsible, not only to the Constitution, which, besides being a legal document, is also a vehicle of life, but also to the general sense of the country regarding its institutions. We possess the right not merely, but must feel the duty also, of friendly criticism. We must take care to know very clearly what sort of a development we are having.

What kind of a government are we to have? Are we to have a purely administrative cabinet, and individual choice of policy by the President; or are we to have responsible party government, parties being made responsible not only for the choice they make of Presidents, but also for the character and motives of the men they bring forward to give them counsel? The choice between these two methods is a fundamental one in the constitution of government. Either system would be constitutional under the existing provisions of our fundamental law; the former literally constitutional, the latter within the permissions of the Constitution. The practice of our Presidents, too, whenever at least they have not been mere military chiefs, like Jackson and Grant, with imperative preferences of their own, has been in the direction of the latter system, until Mr. Cleveland, a man as truly taken from outside the regular lines of civil promotion as either Grant or Jackson. He has broken more than most Presidents with what I may call the historical method of appointment. That method has unquestionably regarded the cabinet as a party council.

Mr. Wilson saw clearly enough that a President might, in the very process of selecting a cabinet, needlessly detach himself from sympathetic contact and relationship with the great mass of his party. That thought is admirably expressed in the following paragraph, from this article of exactly twenty years ago:

It is not often enough noted that we have really never answered for ourselves clearly and with definite purpose the question, What *is* the Cabinet? Is it the President's cabinet, or are the heads of the executive departments meant by the spirit of our national institutions to be real party colleagues of the President, in council, chosen by him, indeed, but from among men of accredited political capacity, not from among the general body of the citizenship of the country? It is a question fundamental to our whole political development, and it is by no means to be answered from out the text of the Constitution simply. That Constitution is a vehicle of life. Its chief virtue is, that it is not too rigidly conceived. It leaves our life free to take its own courses of well considered custom, its own chosen turns of development. Presidents who are themselves of the stuff out of which real party leaders are made—men like Jackson and Lincoln and Cleveland—will of course dominate their cabinets, no matter what the principle of appointment; but headstrong men like Andrew Johnson will rule only to ruin; will goad parties into extreme and ill-considered courses by the sheer exasperations of their obstinacy; and men who are not by natural constitution equipped for leadership will only make the more conspicuous, it may be the more disastrous, failures by seeking, in the choice of their advisers, to play a rôle beyond their talents. Our party leaders we can choose slowly, by the conservative processes of the survival of the fittest in Congress, by the exacting tests of command over public opinion. Our Presidents, experience has taught us, we must often choose hastily, by the unpremeditated compromises or the sudden impulses of huge popular conventions.

A PRESIDENT'S CONNECTION WITH HIS PARTY

To show with what remarkable prescience Mr. Wilson had grasped executive situations that are now his own practical problems, let us make another quotation following directly after the paragraph just cited above:

It is impossible, moreover, that the President should really decide all the issues of choice which come to the several executive departments. There are only twenty-four hours in the day for him, as for other men, and some of these he must, I suppose, devote to sleep. The departments are not executive bureaus merely; their chief officers are much more than a superior sort of secretaries to the President. Their functions are political, outside the cabinet as well as within it. They must decide many questions which bear directly upon the general policy of the administration, as well as innumerable questions of routine detail, and must decide them independently of their colleagues and the President. It is only concerning the largest, broadest, most general matters of policy that they can consult the judgment of the cabinet as a whole, or the wishes of the President. The presidency is thus inevitably put, as it were, into the hands of a sort of commission, of which the President is only the directing head.

Not only so, but, inasmuch as, whether we wish it or not, the President is necessarily a party leader, *ex officio*, there ought to be some regular, open, responsible connection established between him and his party. He is not always, as we know, a real leader before he is chosen to his great office of leadership. It has several times happened that he was not even personally acquainted with the men by whom the policy of his party had

been habitually determined before he was discovered by a popular convention. Once and again a President has come to Washington ignorant both of men and measures. How is he to make the acquaintance of his party; how are they to learn his character and intentions? He must somehow get the confidence of the men in whom the party habitually places confidence and whom it will follow, or else he must consent to be quite impotent during his four years in everything but the mere routine of executive action.

CLOSE COÖPERATION WITH CONGRESS

Woodrow Wilson is now fairly entered upon his term of office as President. He has surrounded himself with his group of cabinet advisers. Has he in practice adopted the view that he had always held in theory? There can be no doubt as to the strength of his conviction upon this subject. The very next paragraph in the article of twenty years ago not only emphasizes the point of view, but further explains the reasons for it. Let us, then, quote this additional paragraph before assuming even tentatively to answer the questions regarding our new President's own choices when subject to the practical test. Let this striking passage be read with care, for it embodies views that five added presidential terms have only served to enforce and confirm:

> I go a step further. It is necessary that the members of the cabinet should be recognized party leaders, not only because the President's day is as short as other men's, and many important and far-reaching decisions of policy must be left to them, but also because the literally constitutional position of the President, as an absolutely separate, self-sufficient part of the government, is a practically impossible position. No government can be administered with the highest efficiency unless there be close coöperation and an intimate mutual understanding between its administration and its legislature. The real and conclusive test of excellency for all laws is their workability, and no legislature can intelligently apply that test unless it be in constant correspondence with the administrative branch of the government. Legislative proposals, too, are usually more apt to be well considered, feasible, business-like, when they come from the administration, which is immediately in the presence of the practical conditions under which they must be carried out, in the presence, too, of the practical difficulties which create the need for such legislation, than when it comes from committees of the Houses themselves, committees which cannot coöperate for the construction of a consistent policy, and which are not sobered by the knowledge that they will be obliged to find practical ways of putting their schemes into actual execution.

III. LEADERSHIP IN THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

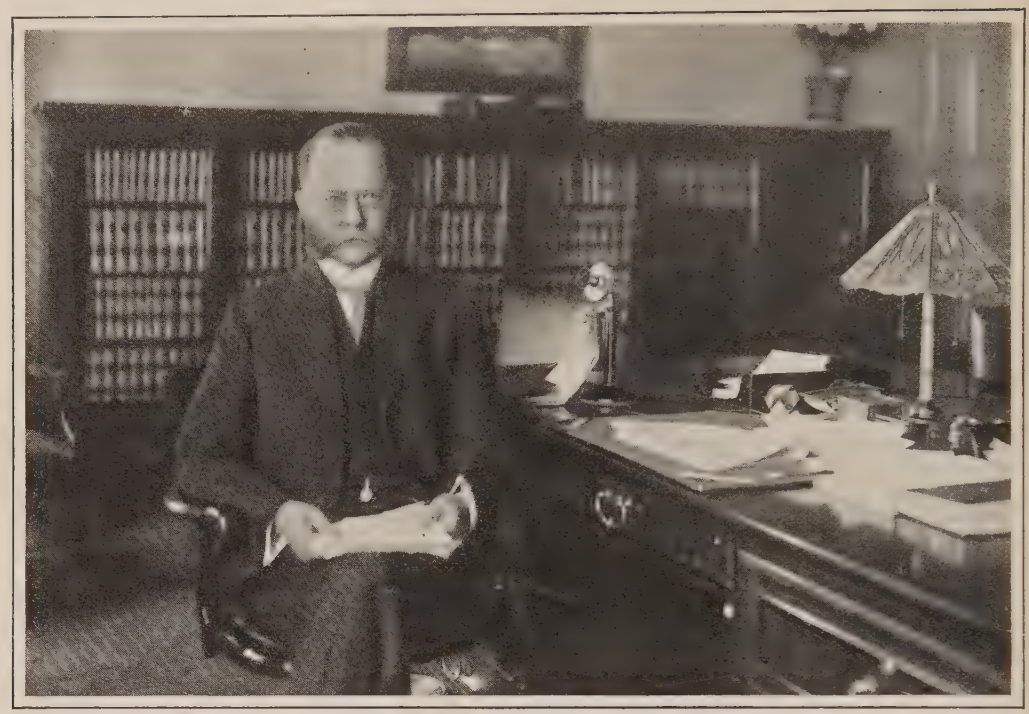
It is to be inferred that Mr. Wilson has kept consistently in mind the necessity of closer coöperation between the executive and legislative departments, and something should be said upon that topic. Meanwhile, however, we may take a glimpse at the cabinet itself, as now constituted, from the standpoint of its capacity for party guidance and general public leadership. The more carefully Mr. Wilson's selections are studied, we believe it reasonable to say, the more strongly will his new cabinet commend itself as exemplifying his long-expressed theories.

Leadership must be judged in the light of the country's needs and states of mind. Our citizens are not in a clearly partisan mood, but they are impelled by certain strong tendencies,—summed up best, perhaps, by the word "progressive." The people have lost faith in mere party names, and still more have they lost confidence in party machines. They are, however, under the sway of earnest convictions, and demand that leadership be in sympathy with new ideals of democracy and human progress. Mr. Wilson recognized this sentiment, and his candidacy last year was progressive in the most unequivocal sense.

He has shown no desire to perpetuate antagonisms among those who have a recognized place in the Democratic party; but he has seen clearly that his administration must be harmoniously progressive, and that no member of his cabinet, therefore, must be out of sympathy with the President's own convictions and those of nine-tenths of the intelligent people of the country. There is plenty of room for differences about details and specific matters, but not about fundamental things.

It is fair to suppose, then, that Mr. Wilson desired to select a cabinet of men belonging to the Democratic party, fully in sympathy with the progressive masses of that party, and publicly known by fit and unmistakable tests to be men of such purpose, as also of capacity for official business.

Thus it was his desire to have a cabinet that would unite him more closely with the country as a whole, that would enable him to work more directly and efficiently with Congress, and that would also share with him, on the principle of good team-work, the responsibilities for the varied duties of the executive. In solving this problem, he was, obviously, obliged to take the concrete situation as he found it.



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HON. WILLIAM COX REDFIELD, SECRETARY OF COMMERCE

BRYAN A CONSISTENT CHOICE

It was not, therefore, a mere compromise with expediency, or a recognition of services rendered in the Baltimore convention, that led to the selection of the Hon. William Jennings Bryan for the first post in the cabinet. The selection of Mr. Bryan was in accordance with those principles which Mr. Wilson had always laid down. Mr. Bryan had himself been nominated by his party three times, and he had been a dominating figure in its last convention. There was even greater reason for the selection of Mr. Bryan by Mr. Wilson than for Mr. Harrison's selection of Mr. Blaine as Secretary of State, or Mr. McKinley's selection of John Sherman. Mr. Bryan is, first, the foremost political leader of the Democratic masses; second, he has long been the champion and leader of his party's progressive tendencies; third, he is in harmony with the general aims of his present chief; fourth, he has had continuous and unbroken relationships with many of the Democratic leaders who are now dominant in both houses of Congress.

It is not necessary to the carrying-out of Mr. Wilson's theory of the cabinet that it should be made up altogether of the party's most conspicuous leaders. The President's view undoubtedly comprehends the working government as a whole. That is to say, he expects to have his cabinet functioning in reasonably close association and harmony with the foremost men in both houses of Congress, for the sake of results to be attained. It happens that Mr. Underwood, as chairman of the Ways and Means Committee and floor leader of the House, is in a position to cooperate more effectively, for purposes of legislation, with the new Democratic administration than if he had gone into the cabinet. Mr. Champ Clark, who was also a progressive candidate for the Presidency, is in the powerful position of Speaker of the House. Mr. Marshall of Indiana, also a candidate before the Baltimore convention, is now Vice-President; and Mr. Wilson has permitted the country to know that he regards Mr. Marshall as a part of the President's body of close and responsible advisers.

In the Senate, moreover, by virtue of a graceful and agreeable readjustment, the progressive wing of the Democracy is in control. Senator Kern of Indiana, has become the floor leader, and he, it will be remembered, ran for

the Vice-Presidency on the ticket with Mr. Bryan in 1908. Senator Kern remains in intimate political and personal relations with Mr. Bryan, and is a loyal supporter of President Wilson. Senator O'Gorman, the Democratic leader representing the State of New York, is a member of the new committee that formulates the programs of the Senate, and also one of President Wilson's closest political counselors. Senator Clarke of Arkansas, who has been regarded as a leader of the conservative wing, has been accorded the position of president *pro tem.* of the Senate, which makes for working harmony while it in no manner weakens the position of the progressives. Mr. Wilson made haste to show that it would be his policy to consult as frequently as possible with the recognized Democratic leaders of both houses of Congress, in order that there might be unity and efficiency in adopting policies and in carrying them out.

TARIFF POLICY ALREADY ENDORSED

Now, it is manifest that it would not have been very feasible to take from the House or from the Senate the chief party leaders who are now responsible for the legislative half of the public business. If the Democrats had not already formulated their tariff policy, it might, indeed, have seemed necessary to President Wilson to secure for the position of Secretary of the Treasury some great Congressional leader who had been most conspicuously identified with the Democratic demand for tariff reform. But Mr. Taft's mistake in calling the special session of 1911 to pass his reciprocity treaty had given the Democrats their chance. His championship of the Payne-Aldrich tariff of 1909 had resulted in the election of a Democratic Congress in November, 1910. His special session of March, 1911, had given this Democratic Congress an opportunity to assemble early. It had instantly responded to the mood of the country, and had proceeded rapidly to revise the tariff, schedule by schedule.

Through conciliatory work with the Republican progressives in the Senate, the Underwood bills had been passed in an atmosphere of unmistakable public favor. Whereupon Mr. Taft interposed his veto power. Again in the regular session the Democrats, with the coöperation of the Republican progressives, had adopted tariff-revision bills, and again Mr. Taft, early in 1912, had used the veto. The elections of 1912, while bringing the Democratic party into full power, had also quite properly been regarded as an appeal to the country upon Mr. Taft's veto of the Underwood bills. The country had overwhelmingly defeated Mr. Taft, and it was reasonable to infer that the general scheme of tariff revision, twice endorsed by Congress, had been thoroughly accepted and ratified by the country.

THREE TYPICAL CONGRESSMEN IN CABINET

Under these circumstances President Wilson's duty was clear. It was for him to call a special session of Congress soon after his inauguration, for the purpose of revising the tariff along the general lines that the leaders in Congress had worked out during the previous two years. It was not necessary to put in the position of Secretary of the Treasury a man conspicuously identified with the Congressional discussion of the tariff question, as had seemed desirable in President Cleveland's time.

Furthermore, the tariff has come to be regarded as a question of commerce, quite as much as one of fiscal policy; and in placing Mr. Redfield at the head of the Department of Commerce the President has chosen a man who has become a recognized authority upon the policy and the practical working of our tariff system. Mr. Redfield is one of three virile and notable members of the last Democratic Congress to pass directly, on March 4, from the House of Representatives to the headship of executive departments. These three have the advantage of knowing by recent experience both the men and the methods of the more popular branch of the lawmaking body. Mr. Bryan, while in Congress, was one of the chief tariff debaters on the Democratic side in the period of the McKinley and Wilson bills. Mr. McAdoo, the new Secretary of the Treasury, is a man who grasps economic and financial problems, and who comprehends the relationship of public policy to private business.

The cabinet as a whole is alert and energetic. Its members are men of force and courage. They are all men not only of capacity for public business, but of experience in affairs and of the habit of doing things in a representative and accountable way. Thus it should be remembered that the public man is not merely one who has filled political offices. He is a man accustomed to do a public kind of work, and to face responsibilities before his fellow-men, whether in a political office or in some other kind of position. In that sense the president of a great university is quite as much a public man as the governor

of a State. Thus President Hadley and Governor Baldwin are the two best-known public men of Connecticut. President Van Hise and Senator LaFollette are the two best-known public men of Wisconsin. It was rather pitiable, during the campaign last year to note a certain attempt to have it appear that Woodrow Wilson had suddenly emerged out of some sort of academic seclusion of a private nature, whereas he had been on his feet as a public man before the people of the United States for a great many years, and had, furthermore, by reason of his university work, become accustomed to executive business of wide range and exacting nature.

WELL-FOCUSED DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP

Thus it would seem that we are to have a responsible and well-focused party leadership at Washington, and that we shall experience something like party government in the true sense of the word. The President, Vice-President, and Secretary of State are contemporary party leaders of the first rank,—all of them recognized by the country as of "Presidential size." The Speaker and the floor leader of the party in the House of Representatives have concurrent rank in the same class. In the other house the new floor leader, Senator Kern, was on the national ticket with Mr. Bryan in 1908, and stands before his party everywhere as one of its foremost men. The Democratic majority in the Senate will be controlled in harmony with the administration.

The Wilson cabinet is composed of men who figure strongly in the Democratic party. Three of them (Burleson, Redfield, and Wilson) were members of the last Congress. Daniels and McAdoo were conspicuous as managers and party leaders in the recent campaign. Lane is the most representative Democrat of California, and McReynolds has had a lifelong place in the party councils of Tennessee. Mr. Garrison's position on the bench has precluded active party work, but he has been well known in his State as an influential member of the party. Dr. Houston as a distinguished educator has also been less active in party politics than his colleagues, but his affiliations have been with the leading Democrats of the South. Mr. Taft's cabinet, by marked contrast, was a non-partisan group, this being one reason for the split in the Republican party which began with Mr. Taft's attempted excommunication of the progressive Republican Senators.

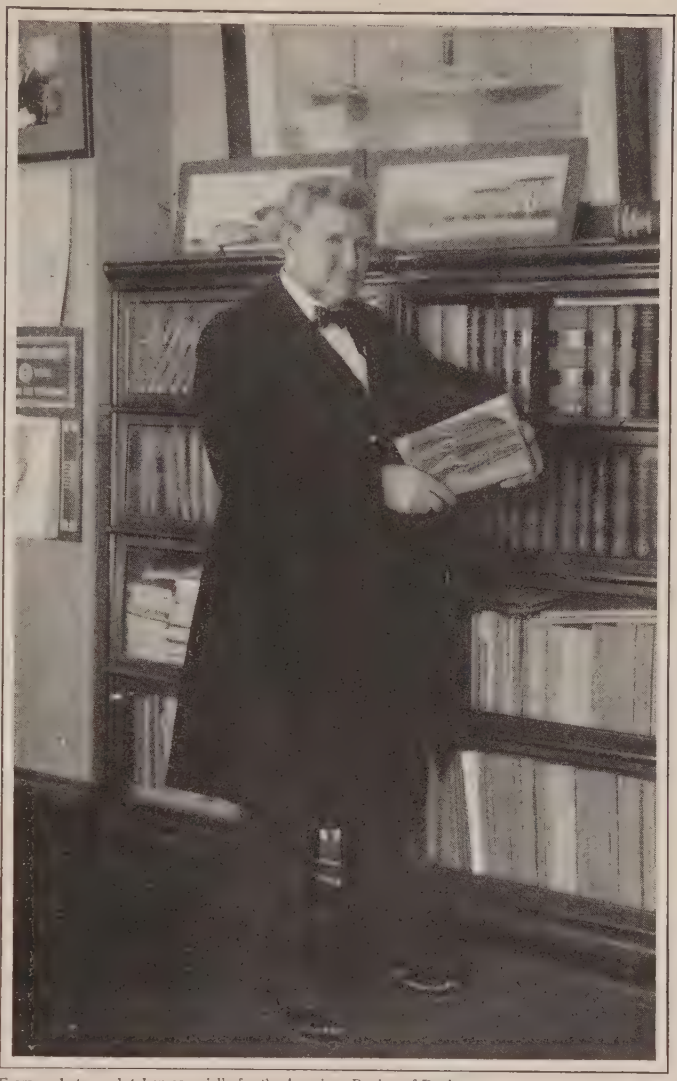
IV. THE NEW DEPARTMENT HEADS

The new Secretary of Labor is a public man in the full sense, not merely because of active service through three terms of Congress, but also because of many years of training as a leader in the army of organized labor. As secretary-treasurer of a great union, he was constantly bearing difficult and arduous executive responsibilities. Since Mr. William Bauchop Wilson occupies the cabinet position only now created by an act of Congress signed on the 4th of March by President Taft, some personal allusion to the members of the new cabinet might well begin with him. He was born in Scotland in 1862, came to Pennsylvania with his parents in 1870, and began at once to work with his father in the coal mines. At eleven years of age he was a junior member of the mineworkers' union, and rose from positions of local influence among the miners to the office of International Secretary and Treasurer of the United Mine Workers.

His fellow-miners reposed an implicit confidence in William B. Wilson, that was never impeached or betrayed. The very lack of opportunity in boyhood contributed to his sense of the need of seizing every possible moment for reading and study. Thus the hard-working mine boy, who went down into the coal pit at the age of nine or ten, has become a man of intellectual force and training, with literary and oratorical accomplishments. Above all, he has the name of a man of sterling character, with broad human sympathy and the executive habit. The scope of the new department can better be understood in the light of its concrete activities; and from that standpoint we shall endeavor to present it to our readers after the lapse of a few weeks or months.

Three great spheres of economic activity—namely, labor, agriculture, and commerce—are now represented by executive departments and seats in the cabinet. The Department of Agriculture has had wonderful expansion and has rendered the country a service that is now appreciated, not alone by the farmers, but also all by men who realize that the welfare of the country depends upon the permanent success of its agriculture. The department has become a congeries of notable scientific

bureaus. Its expert men constitute a body of scientific workers in many fields whose attainments and services are a just source of pride to the country. The retiring secretary, who has held the post for sixteen years, has been inspired by an unfailing enthusiasm for farm progress, and has supported every phase of scientific research.



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HON. WILLIAM BAUCHOP WILSON, SECRETARY OF LABOR, IN HIS OFFICE

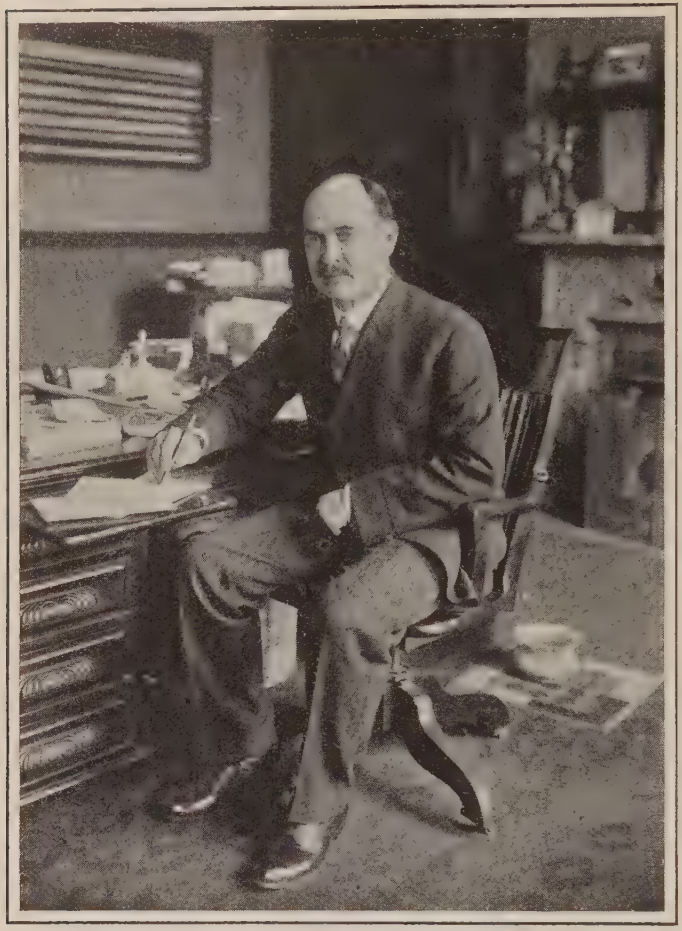
AN EDUCATIONAL STATESMAN

President Wilson had need to find a man who could also show a like enthusiasm and faith, and who could administer with knowledge and skill a great system of scientific research and application. A number of men of the type he needed have been developed in association with the growth of the series of agricultural colleges and experiment stations. Dr. Houston, the new Secretary of Agriculture, comes to Washington directly from the presidency of Washington University at St. Louis, an institution notable for its work in engineering and advanced technology. But before coming to St. Louis Dr. Houston had been successively president of the Texas Agricultural College and of the State University of Texas. He had gone from South Carolina to Harvard University for three years of post-graduate work in history and political science, and had secured honors for the same kind of mature study of American institutions and history that had brought distinction to President Wilson at the Johns Hopkins University when he wrote his first book, called "Congressional Government."

The South in recent years has developed a group of men justly entitled to be called educational statesmen; and David Franklin Houston is one of the ablest members of this group. While the South as a whole stands in greater need of the ministrations of the Department of Agriculture than either the Northwest or the Northeast, and while Dr. Houston is especially representative of the whole Southern stretch from Virginia and the Carolinas to Missouri and Texas, he is by no means a man of sectional mind. He is national in his vision; and the Northwest will as certainly adopt and cherish this new Southern Secretary of Agriculture as the whole South affectionately adopted as their own the sterling Northwestern Scotchman who retires from the department after so long a service.

REDFIELD, ECONOMIST AND BUSINESS MAN

A felicitous selection is that of William Cox Redfield for the Department of Commerce.



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DR. DAVID FRANKLIN HOUSTON, SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE

Mr. Redfield was a notable figure in the last Congress, and is an authority upon economic and commercial subjects. He is an unusual combination of the private business man, the public-spirited citizen, the politician, and the altruist. As the head of successful manufacturing enterprises, he is technically acquainted with business affairs in this country and Europe. His discussions of the tariff question show knowledge both of principles and of details. He has traveled in the Orient, and has outspoken views upon the subject of our continuing responsibility for the welfare of the Filipinos. He is a sterling citizen of the Greater New York, and a leader of all good things in his home borough of Brooklyn.

Mr. Redfield was favorably mentioned last summer, both for the Governorship of New York and for the Vice-Presidency. He is a convincing public speaker. Although born in the State of New York, he was educated in Massachusetts; and while New England happens to have no representative in this cabinet, there is very much in Mr. Redfield that is typical of the best qualities of mind and conscience of the men of the East. Mr. Redfield can also write the English language in a way that makes good reading. Last fall he brought out a volume entitled "The New Industrial Day," which discusses business economics in the most up-to-date fashion from the standpoint of the American manufacturer and his current problems as respects organization and efficiency. Mr. Redfield is a progressive, and has no political kinship with Tammany Hall.

LANE OF CALIFORNIA

When Mr. Cleveland first became President, in 1885, his lack of personal acquaintance with Washington and the affairs that center concretely in the District of Columbia was much commented upon. But Mr. Cleveland had no difficulty in surrounding himself with men of ample knowledge of the ins and outs of current life at the nation's capital. President Wilson, in like fashion, will be entirely safeguarded by the fact that a number of the men coming into his administration are versed in everything that the wise-acres of Pennsylvania Avenue count important.

The new Secretary of the Interior, for instance, is no greenhorn at Washington, nor can he ever be buncoed by political confidence-men or power-company lobbyists. The Hon. Franklin K. Lane is a California Democrat who was appointed to the Interstate Commerce Commission by President Roosevelt in 1905, and who has served upon that body for more than seven years, having for some months past been its chairman. During these years he has been one of the public men of mark and standing at Washington. He has a fine endowment of common sense, and a native intelligence that has taken on a high training. In matters involving the public welfare coming before the Interstate Com-

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HON. FRANKLIN KNIGHT LANE, SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

merce Commission, Lane has been always a tribune of the people, but never a demagogue. He is a good lawyer, is just and courageous, and is all the more respected by the masters of transportation because he has never condoned any of their shortcomings.

He is a graduate of the University of California, and as a young lawyer was corporation counsel of San Francisco from 1897 to 1902. Within a few years before his coming to Washington he was his party's candidate for mayor of San Francisco, for governor of California, and for the United States Senate. His duties as Interstate Commerce Commissioner have given him thorough acquaintance with economic conditions in every part of the United States. He is keenly alive to all the issues arising under the policies and problems summed up in the word "conservation." He has that blending of legal knowledge, administrative ability, and practical acquaintance with the Western States and Alaska that the portfolio of the Interior Department requires. By whomsoever Mr. Wilson was advised to make Lane Secretary of the Interior, that adviser deserves well of his country. Lane is the right man to solve the Alaska problems.

AN EDITOR TO POPULARIZE THE NAVY

Even those newspapers that were in doubt about all other selections for the cabinet had agreed, several months ago, that a place would probably be accorded to the Hon. Josephus Daniels of North Carolina. Mr. Daniels is the editor and owner of the Raleigh *News and Observer*, one of the most influential papers of the entire South. He has long been a man of leadership and force in his State, and has been known throughout the country among all newspaper men,—and also among Democratic politicians, inasmuch as he has for sixteen years been a member of his party's National Committee and has directed campaign publicity work. He held a post in Washington for a time under the second Cleveland administration. Like every other member of the present cabinet, he can face an audience and justify his cause in public speech. He also has convictions and courage, and fights for the things that he believes in. He was one of the "original Bryan men" in 1896, and he was also "one of the original Wilson men" last year.

Mr. Daniels finds himself intrusted with

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HON. JOSEPHUS DANIELS, AT HIS DESK AS SECRETARY OF THE NAVY

the portfolio of the Navy Department. It is important to be assured that he believes firmly in the maintenance of the navy and in the continuance of what is known as the "two-battleship" standard,—that is to say, the authorization by Congress each year of two new vessels of the most powerful class. Mrs. Daniels' brother was Ensign Worth Bagley, the first officer killed in the Spanish-American war, and another brother is a naval officer. The retiring Secretary, Mr. Meyer, had not been previously known as an authority upon naval matters, but he has conducted the department with remarkable ability. Mr. Daniels seems to have views similar to those of Mr. Meyer regarding the necessity of maintaining the naval strength and position of the United States.

A GOOD LAWYER FOR WAR AND "EMPIRE"

It seems to be commonly agreed that both the army and the navy are so fully supplied with professional experts that civilians should represent in the cabinet these two arms of the national defense. It has been customary, and experience has shown it to be desirable, that the Secretary of War should be a good lawyer. For a variety of reasons, broad legal knowledge is of greater service in the war office than routine executive ability. Most of the executive work of the War Department is carried on by the chiefs of bureaus and the army personnel. President Wilson having decided to retain Gen. Leonard Wood as Chief of Staff, the new Secretary will suffer no embarrassment from lack of acquaintance with military details.

In selecting Vice-Chancellor Lindley M. Garrison of New Jersey for the war office, President Wilson was choosing a man whose personal qualifications were matters of his own intimate knowledge. Mr. Garrison has behind him a record of long and successful practice at the bar and of marked distinction as an equity judge. Many of the questions of a legal kind that come to the War Department from the Philippines and our other insular territories will find the new Secretary especially qualified to deal with them. The New Jersey newspapers are enthusiastic in their praise of him as a man of worth, a brilliant public speaker, and a fit member of the new cabinet.

THE NEW ATTORNEY-GENERAL

Business men have been more acutely interested in the selection of a head for the Department of Justice than in any other of

President Wilson's appointments. The recent administration has pointed, with shrinking pride, to the list of trusts or business corporations against which it had brought lawsuits under the Sherman Act. Its press agents asked all the world to know that it had begun a much larger number of suits of this kind than the Roosevelt administration. But this is one of the least important phases of the whole matter. A thing that the country ought to know is that, for some years past, the office of the Attorney-General has been absorbed in an astounding practice of private consultations and negotiations; so that the reasons why all of the hundreds of trusts and monopolies have not been prosecuted would be better worth having than the reasons why two dozen or two score have been arraigned in court.

We raise no question of motives, but merely call attention to an intolerable situation. It is not necessary to make a direct charge that there has been abuse of power, and that the political motive has been injected into the selection of some corporations for attack and the grant of immunity to others. It is enough to say that the methods prevailing in the Department of Justice during the past few years have at least been open to abuses of the most abominable sort, and that they should be promptly ended, both by Congressional action and by executive policy. The appointment of James C. McReynolds as Attorney-General may well inspire hope for a better condition. Mr. McReynolds will not grant indulgences in some quarters while bringing improper suits in other quarters for political or personal reasons. The Taft administration, four years ago, was strongly committed to a reform in the whole machinery of national trust regulation. But when, gradually, those in office came to realize how vast was the power over men and affairs that they could exercise through the instrumentality of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, they became its chief admirers and defenders.

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HON. LINDLEY M. GARRISON, SECRETARY OF WAR

M'REYNOLDS AND THE TOBACCO CASE

Mr. McReynolds, meanwhile, had shown them how to make the Sherman Act effective in an actual prosecution. The Tobacco Trust, after complaints from the independent tobacco men and inquiry through the Bureau of Corporations, was brought into court by order of President Roosevelt, who had appointed Mr. McReynolds Assistant Attorney-General in 1903. After several years in the Attorney-General's office Mr. McReynolds had retired to private practice, but was retained by the Government as special Assistant Attorney-General in charge of the Tobacco Trust case. His victory in the United

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HON. JAMES CLARK McREYNOLDS, ATTORNEY-GENERAL

States Supreme Court was not won until some time after Mr. Wickersham had become Attorney-General. The Supreme Court ordered the reorganization of the trust's business, and the matter was left to be passed upon by the Circuit Court in New York, working in conjunction with the lawyers of both sides. Mr. McReynolds was known to be out of sympathy with a reorganization which had Mr. Wickersham's approval and which was regarded as highly profitable to the chief owners of the trust. Although Mr. McReynolds was not connected with the Standard Oil case, it is understood that he was equally out of sympathy with the Wickersham reorganization of the oil business.

It is conceded on all hands that Mr. McReynolds is a powerful lawyer and a courageous official. It must not be supposed that he is a fanatical crusader against corporations. He will not countenance the oppressive methods of industrial monopoly, but he recognizes our period as one of large and coöperative industry. The country needs his aid in a constructive effort to do away with the horrid game of regulating private business by government lawsuits.

Mr. McReynolds was born in Kentucky but educated at Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. His law studies were at the University of Virginia, and he has been identified during the greater part of his life with Nashville as his home city, although he has been much in Washington and has had a brief experience of law practice in New York. He is a man of great vigor of mind and body, and of broad general views which give him fitness for the duties of a cabinet officer.

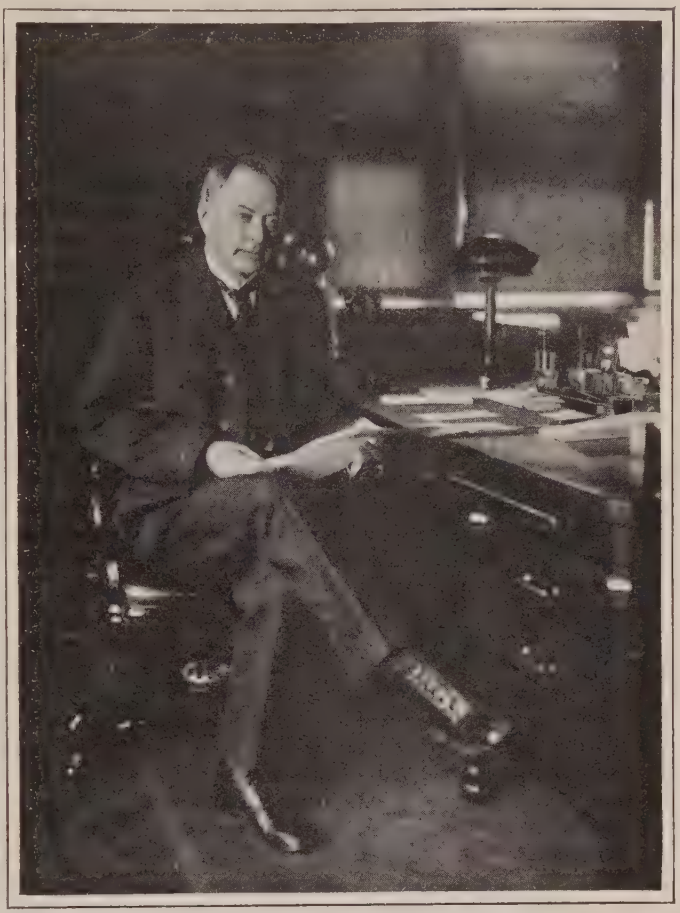
BURLESON AND THE PEOPLE'S DEPARTMENT

The new Postmaster-General comes to his desk in the granite building on Pennsylvania Avenue after an excellent record of fourteen years in Congress, to which he was re-elected in November for an eighth consecutive term. Albert Sidney Burleson was born in Texas in 1862, graduated from the Agricultural College of that State, studied law at the State University, and in 1885 became assistant city attorney of Austin. For some years he was state's attorney for the twenty-sixth judicial district. He has, therefore, held positions of official responsibility continuously since 1884. In Congress he had distinguished himself as a member of the Agricultural Committee, and had recently been the ranking member of the Committee on Appropriations.

What the Post-Office Department chiefly needs at its head is a responsible public man, of high aims and of capacity for business

problems. Mr. Burleson has the reputation of a man who meets problems squarely and who grows under responsibilities and difficulties. He felt himself more conversant with the work of the Agricultural Department; but his present position requires the varied knowledge of men and affairs that his long Congressional experience has given him. The new administration has shown no disposition to maintain the post-office organization as a political machine.

It is true that Mr. Burleson was prominent in the Wilson campaign, but no one has for a moment regarded him in the light of a patronage broker. He favors, as a principle, the placing of postmasters on the merit basis, while very properly raising some question as to those eleventh-hour orders of the outgoing administration which provided no test of merit for incumbents who had been appointed for political reasons and whose factional partisanship had been so inappropriate last year. Mr. Burleson is an excellent public speaker, and he is characterized by one who knows him well as "a most delightful and agreeable gentleman,—a smiling, good natured, pleasant man to meet, very affable in conversation, very pronounced in his views, hard to convince but not too stubborn to see when shown, with an industry and capacity for work that ought to make him a good cabinet officer."



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HON. ALBERT SIDNEY BURLESON, POSTMASTER-GENERAL

THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

William G. McAdoo, the new Secretary of the Treasury, has made a great reputation within a few years and has deserved it. He is a man who thinks in large terms and from the public standpoint. Unlike some men, of similarly bold imagination, he has an amazing gift for details, a tireless industry, and a dauntless courage. He is of the stuff that statesmen are made of, and he is in every way fitted for high political place. His father was an officer in the Mexican War, a Tennessee judge, a Confederate soldier, and in his last years a professor in the University of Tennessee. The younger McAdoo, after leaving the university, became a lawyer, found himself interested in transportation problems, and reconstructed the local transit system of Chattanooga.

He came to New York as a young lawyer in 1892. Ten years later he had entered upon the project of constructing the rapid-transit tunnels under the Hudson which now unite the city of New York with the New Jersey suburbs and the railway terminals at Hoboken and Jersey City. His chief stock in trade lay in his personal force and the confidence inspired by his own faith and enthusiasm. His project grew until it required the raising of about $75,000,000 of capital. The engineering difficulties that he overcame were formidable. Not less trying were the legal and political fights involved in securing

necessary franchises in two States, as against the hostility of powerful interests.

M'ADOO'S SERVICES TO TWO STATES

He has been praised a good deal; but it is literally true that McAdoo went out against opposing forces with the fine courage and audacity of a young David against Goliath and the Philistine hosts. New York is not merely indebted to McAdoo for the Hudson tunnels. It is also indebted to him, more than to any one else, for the vast project of new municipal subways that the Interborough and Brooklyn Rapid Transit Companies will operate, contracts for which have just now been signed. But for the way in which Mr. McAdoo came forward, a little more than two years ago, and offered to build the "triborough" route that the public service commissioners of New York had projected, the deadlocked situation would have not been broken. The Interborough from that moment realized that it must serve the public or be superseded.

Mr. McAdoo's way of winning public favor is to render public service. He could probably have had the nomination for Governor in 1910, if he had been sufficiently free from other obligations to accept. He has no kinship with the private money-making manipulators of corporation finance. Nothing in his career in New York commits him unduly to Wall Street or the money power, or in any manner disqualifies him to render service at the Treasury from the standpoint of the country as a whole. It will be remembered that Mr. McAdoo had taken great interest in Woodrow Wilson's candidacy, and that during the campaign he was joint manager with Mr. McCombs. He has always been a progressive in his convictions, and, while an active Democrat, he has never shown any of the narrowness of mere partisanship. He will unquestionably do everything in his power to promote the early reform of the banking and currency laws, and may be expected to promote economy and efficiency in public expenditure.

MR. BRYAN'S TEMPER AS SECRETARY OF STATE

Mr. Bryan, whose name heads the list of cabinet officers, is one of the two most widely known public men of the United States, and it would be superfluous here to characterize him. He was fifty-three years of age on the 19th of March, and is at the height of his mental and physical vigor. He is the most experienced platform speaker in the country, and in recent years has traveled abroad extensively, so that the more general affairs of all nations in both hemispheres are familiar to him. While differing very much from Senator Root in mental qualities, and in opinions about our own domestic problems, he is like this distinguished former Secretary of State in his habitual attitude of mind toward world conditions. That is to say, he stands for peace and good will among men, and believes in an American policy of friendliness and conciliation.

How he will be disposed to deal with particular problems we shall not try to guess. To assume that his views will be too positive and individual for those necessary compromises that must be accepted if the cabinet is to pull together, is not to do justice either to his temper or to his experience. He will not, of course, compromise upon ultimate points of conscientious conviction; but to suppose that he wishes or means to dominate is without warrant. He has gone into the cabinet to help the administration and to serve the country.

THE CABINET AS "CONNECTING LINK"

In concluding his remarkable article on the Cleveland cabinet, twenty years ago, Mr. Wilson made the following observations:

> The degree of separation now maintained between the executive and legislative branches of our government cannot long be preserved without very serious inconvenience resulting. Congress and the President now treat with one another almost like separate governments, so jealous is each of its prerogatives. . . . We risk every degree of friction and disharmony rather than hazard the independence of branches of the government which are helpless without each other. What we need is harmonious, consistent, responsible party government, instead of a wide dispersion of function and responsibility; and we can get it only by connecting the President as closely as may be with his party in Congress. The natural connecting link is the cabinet.

It would seem evident that the author of this quotation, now filling the Presidential office, has selected a cabinet well fitted to assist him in his executive work, to administer the departments, and to act in as close relationship with Congress as our existing scheme of government permits.

ALBERT SHAW.

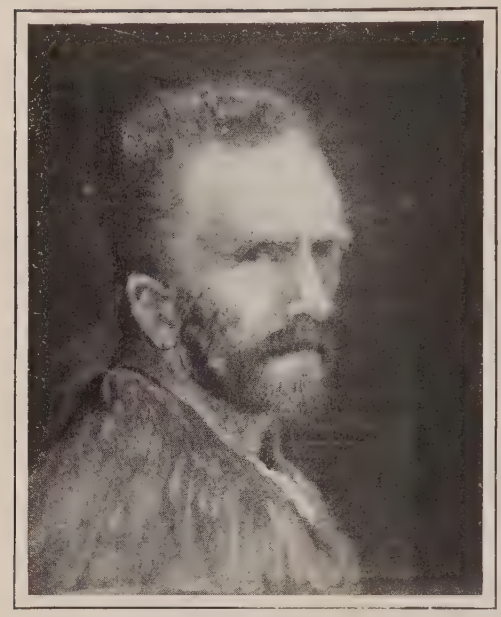
"PORTRAIT OF AN OLD WOMAN WITH A ROSARY," BY PAUL CEZANNE

(This picture, so intimate and tender in its human appeal, was one of the masterpieces of the exhibition. Cezanne stands alone among the Modernists, the boldest of the Revolutionaries, as one who has kept his artistic balance, who has drawn the good from the Classicist as well as from the Impressionist. Cezanne was called a recluse and a seer by his contemporaries. He was born in 1839 and died at Aix in 1906)

ART REVOLUTIONISTS ON EXHIBITION IN AMERICA

NO recent exhibition of art has so interested the general public as the showing of the work of modern European and American artists held in the Sixty-ninth Regiment Armory in New York City from February 17th to March 15th. The object of the Association of American Painters and Sculptors in bringing together these distinctively modern productions was to familiarize the public with the movement of modern art and to bring to attention certain Revolutionaries whose work is expressive of forces which have grown to such proportions that they can no longer be ignored.

"Science has disowned the past—so must art, to fulfill our intellectual needs" is the slogan of the new schools. In order fully to understand the work displayed at the exhibition, which is utterly new and strange to eyes accustomed to the restraint of a Corot or a Rembrandt, it is necessary for one to go back a little while in the history of art, back to the seventies, when Manet, Monet, Renoir, and Degas were contending with Bouguereau and



SELF-PORTRAIT OF VINCENT VAN GOGH, THE GREAT DUTCH MODERNIST

(This artist was one of the greatest of the Revolutionists, an exponent of the hidden spiritual quality in nature. He first began to draw in order to interpret the Bible to workingmen to whom he preached the gospel in his youth. The intense concentration of this portrait—the fiery red hair, the blue-green eyes, the pallid skin, boldly and loosely brushed in as if with rapid, nervous strokes—depicts the emotional stress that finally shattered the mind of the artist who desired to paint symbols of infinity. He was born in 1853 and died in 1890)

the whole Academic school for a wider individual expression in the art of painting. They called themselves "Impressionists," and desired a more vivid interpretation of the play of light and shadow upon objects, a place in the house of art for the fleeting moods and aspects of nature, and the actual reproduction of nature's colors rather than the dull sombreness of the studio-formula of the Academicians. These French painters, like that other great rebel against tradition, James McNeill Whistler, were accused of having produced pictures that were vague, bewildering and outrageous—insults to the very name of art. Yet so rapidly does time pass and so easily are our minds adjusted to new comprehensions of beauty, that to-day the once despised Impressionists are reverenced as masters; they have become the Academicians and beyond them, flowering from the great human plant whose blossoms are the minds of men, comes a still newer expression of art—an expression that is (as was the old art when fresh to our vision) singular, laughable, revolutionary, and audacious.

The "Modernist" artist springs from the continent—from Italy, France, Austria, Germany, Belgium, Russia, and the Scandinavian countries. From the continent the revolt has spread to England and into certain studios and schools on this side of the water. The participants fall naturally into groups, which differ as to method, but agree as to the end to be gained by the so-called Modernist art, which is the opening of avenues leading to regions where there is more actual reality than can be found in the objective, visible world. They seek the inner meaning behind the bodily form—the divine essence in nature.

Among the groups are those which call themselves "Post-Impressionists," "Futurists," "Fauves," "Pointillists," and "Cubists." After Manet the "father of Impressionism," came the "three Titans" of Post-Impressionism, Cezanne, Gauguin, and Van Gogh. Cezanne's painting, "The Old Woman with the Rosary," is conceded to be the masterpiece of the French section of the New York exhibition. It is most intimate and tender in its human appeal. In the

SELF-PORTRAIT BY CEZANNE

(Paul Cezanne was the great disciple of Manet. Twenty years ago one could purchase a picture by Cezanne for one hundred francs. They were then ridiculed as daubs and caricatures, and the artist was often called an old madman. He was a friend of Zola, who wrote a book about him. They were in the same class at college. Cezanne discovered a new way of painting, but he never worked out the method to his satisfaction. "I shall not realize, I am too old," he cried at the end of his life. "I remain the primitive of the way I have discovered")

cathedral cities of France one may meet many such old women patiently toiling along the dusty roads to mass on Sunday. This artist was the boldest of the revolutionists, one who departed utterly from tradition and sought new fields of expression, but he remained sane in his "respect for his design, his surfaces and his mediums." Gauguin, the "great barbarian," learned much from Cezanne; but that artist repudiated him as a disciple, and Gauguin in turn ridiculed Van Gogh. Gauguin was not well represented at the exhibition. Much of his best work was done in Tahiti, where he went to paint savage life and where he finally died in 1893. He was in the purest sense a decorative painter as shown in his pastoral painting, "Faa Iheihe."

Vincent Van Gogh, whose self-painted portrait is reproduced on page 442 was in his youth a teacher and a preacher in turn,—a man with tremendous religious conviction that amounted almost to mania. His great desire in life at that period was to interpret the Bible to working men. He preached Christ to the poor of London and in his attempts to explain the gospel began to draw in chalk on a blackboard. Afterward he studied for a time

"LA MADRAS ROUGE," BY HENRI MATISSE

(Matisse belongs to the "Fauves," who are revolutionists against the Impressionists. Some of his work resembles designs for Navajo blankets. His field is a side channel of art, an eddy of the current, that pauses to render in pigment the child's point of view and the vitality of primitive, savage decoration. "Why, my little boy could paint that picture," said a visitor on viewing Matisse's work in his studio. "I aim to see life exactly as the little boy sees it," was Matisse's answer)

"THE WAY DOWN TO THE SEA," BY AUGUSTUS JOHN

(Augustus John stands at the head of the English Impressionists. He is said to have learned much from Chavannes, but he is not archaic, nor does his work often have the flat effect of the great French decorative painter. He has great freedom of style, his color is fresh, and his composition rhythmically beautiful. He is one of the few impressionists whose work is never awkward or ugly. The third figure from the left in the painting reproduced here has exceptional grace and charm of posture)

with Mauve at Antwerp, and went to Paris in 1886. Van Gogh has given in his work his conception of the spiritual quality in nature. He became insane from a sunstroke while painting in the fields of Provence; and his last work was done within the walls of an asylum.

He realized his inability to accomplish the high task to which he had set himself, for he wrote toward the end of his life: "Had I the strength to go on I should have done saints and holy women from nature and they would have seemed of another age with likeness to the first primitive Christians. The emotion necessary would be too great. I will wait." Van Gogh was born at Groot Zundert, Holland, in 1853, and died by a self-inflicted wound in 1890. The intense concentration of his portrait, the bristling red hair, the greenish eyes, the pallid skin boldly and loosely brushed in as if with rapid, nervous strokes, depict the emotional stress that finally shattered the mind of the artist who desired to paint symbols of eternity. He was (as an artist) an "archaic symbolist," a genius "with the sun in his head and a hurricane in his heart."

"LA DANSE A' LA SOURCE," BY FRANCIS PICABIA

(A Modernist who paints in arrangements of geometrical forms, who interprets ideas by color masses that are mainly cubical in form. To those who possess like vision, these arrangements present a living reality. Look closely at this jumble of forms and it will resolve into two dancing figures with joined hands and uplifted feet. The reproduction fails to give the correct values on account of the absence of color. Picabia belongs to the "Cubist" division of the Modernists)

The men of the "Futurist" group are all young. Not one of them is over thirty-five. They issued a manifesto last year from the stage of a German theater signed by their five Italian leaders, Boccioni, Severini, Russolo, Balla, and Carra. The manifesto announces that the Futurists shall scorn imitation, also harmony and good taste, that all restrictions are to be cast to the winds, and the whirlwind of every-day life to be celebrated. Further, that complementary colors are as necessary to painting as blank verse to poetry; that motion and light destroy the concrete aspect of objects; that bodies are not opaque (the artist of the future will have vision equal to X-rays); that objects in movement multiply themselves (a runaway horse has not four legs but twenty); that space does not exist (a wet street with puddles of water reflecting the lights and the stars is hollow to the center of the earth). So much for their manifesto. As for their use of color, they paint vivid colors in human faces—red, yellow, green, violet, gold, and remind us that Henner painted green flesh—the reflection of light falling on the grass on a cloudy day in spring, upon the clear pallor of a girl's face. Even their shadows are more brilliant than we have dreamed color could be in intense light. They are the Pragmatists of art, and boldly quote William James in defense of their theories: "Suppose, for example, the whole universe of material things, the furniture of earth, and the choir of heaven should turn out to be a mere surface-veil of Phenomena hiding and keeping back a world of genuine realities. Such a supposition is foreign to neither common sense nor philosophy."

These Futurists are the individualists of art gone mad as it were; in their attempt to make painting motion like music, to create dynamic sensation. While their great imaginative vision makes much of their work interesting and worth attention, they need some common basis of agreement in their interpretations,—a common language that will make their work intelligible. At present, literary labels are necessary in order that we may know what the Futurist is driving at. For instance, if one of the cult were to attempt to illustrate Wordsworth's familiar poem, "The Daffodils," he would not (as a realist might)

NORTH END OF THE EXHIBITION, SHOWING SOME OF THE MODERNIST SCULPTURE

(At the left of the picture is a much-discussed portrait bust of Mlle. Pogany, a dancer, by Brancusi (Constantin). This freak sculpture resembles nothing so much as an egg and has excited much derision and laughter. Brancusi has reduced the movement of the conventional ballet to its simplest geometrical term—the ascending spiral, expressed in the portrait bust by the ovoid head with exaggerated eyes, with the arms twining about the neck. Watch the whirling of the conventional ballet dancer and you will find the geometrical term Brancusi has used for this portrait)

paint the actual daffodils or perhaps a maiden standing in a grassy aisle surrounded with flowers, either of which would give some clue in representation to the subject of the painting. The Futurist would paint orange stars bobbing in a green sky, or draw longitudinal brush strokes of vivid gold across a dull gray background; or he might paint March hares titillating upon pink hearts and true-lovers-knots,—all according to his individual phrasing in paint of a poem which ends—

> "And then my heart with pleasure fills
> And dances with the daffodils."

The "Neo-Impressionists," whose chief exponent is Signac, use pure colors abruptly posed one against another, while the "Pointillists," using also pure pigment, apply it in spots and patches to represent the vibration of the colors of the spectrum in nature. The result of the work of both groups is often attractive and as often violent and offensive. The "Fauves" are revolutionists against impressionism. Their leader, Matisse, is in revolt against good craftsmanship. He aims at the child's point of view, therefore he endeavors to paint like a child and to draw like one. And because he is not a child but a man, his work is a compromise between the naïveté of childhood and the sophistication of maturity that shocks by its crudity and disregard of values. Yet Matisse is an explorer; and while his particular art cannot be the art of to-morrow, it may be a step in the right direction, a clearing away of some of the rubbish that encumbers the road. At present it is a side channel of art, an eddy of the current that pauses to render in pigment the child's point of view and the vitality of primitive, savage decoration.

The "Cubist" school follow a classical rhythm of pure form, their so-called "rule of the cube" which interprets their subjects in geometrical masses of color placed in juxtaposition. Francis Picabia's work attracted attention at the exhibition. One of his pictures is herewith reproduced, "La Danse a' la Source." At first glance it is a meaningless jumble of pink and red geometrical forms; but as one gazes hard, it suddenly resolves into two dancing figures audaciously composed of blocks of color, but reproducing with fidelity the planes of light reflected upon dancing bodies. Near this painting was hung the Cubist art of the Duchamp brothers. An arrangement in browns resembled a pleas-

"THE GIPSY," BY ROBERT HENRI

(Robert Henri is the recognized leader of the art insurgents in the United States. He has "fought for the idea as against the technical stunt." This picture of a gipsy has great mastery of technique and the charm of warm, lureful coloring)

ing pattern for a rug, yet the catalogue stated that the picture represented a woman walking downstairs (*Nu descendant un escalier*). The explanation of the work was not as difficult to understand as it was to catch a glimpse of the lady. Motion multiplies images; there were six sections of the figure partly superimposed upon each other. With the assistance of a moving picture machine to telescope the sections together a single figure could be resolved from the geometric forms.

Among the followers of the Cubist School are André Derain, Georges Braque, Marcel Duchamp, Picasso, Herbin, Metzinger. André Derain asserts that he does not attempt to paint the beautiful, but what he thinks about the beautiful. Paul Picasso is one of the most gifted of their number; he has the audacity of a gamin combined with great mastery of technique. The "Exceptionists" were well represented by Constantin Brancusi. His portrait of Mlle. Pogany, a dancer, reduces the movement of the conventional ballet to its simplest geometrical form, an ascending spiral; the portrait itself closely resembles an egg, an ovoid head with exaggerated eyes and two tenacle-like arms twining about the neck.

But these ultra-Modernists did not usurp the entire exhibition. Among the younger men whose work will delight the lovers of the old schools is Augustus John, who stands at the head of the English Impressionists. He is said to have learned much from Chavannes; but he is not archaic, nor does his work have the flat effect of the great French decorative painter. He has great freedom of style, a fresh, living color, and his compositions are rhythmically beautiful. He is one of the few Impressionists whose work is never awkward nor ugly. There was a notable preponderance of French work at the exhibition, but that is explained by the fact that France has in modern times displayed the most vital art

impulse and spiritual leadership in art of any country. She has been called the "hub of the wheel of art." There were canvases from Degas, Courbet, Daumier, Bonnard, Chavanne, Mauquin, Renoir, and Maurice Denys, whose particular subject is mothers and children and young folk, family life and love. Side by side with French masters were hung paintings by Henri Rousseau, an official in the custom house, who paints, without much technical skill, strange beasts in combat in tropical forests, gigantic trees, and mystic allegories.

An entire room of the exhibition was given up to the work of Odilon Redon, who has much in common with Corot and Delacroix and who seems a rather less talented and less complex Gustave Moreau. Redon (as also was Moreau) is an esthetic symbolist who is a master of the quality of his medium, be it "etching or pastel or paint." His subjects are often drawn from mythology, to wit his Phaeton, Pegasus, and Chariot of Apollo. He paints flowers with rare fidelity to nature, with brilliant coloring and great transparency. One of the most attractive of the Redon canvases was a pot of red geranium.

"THE BIRTH," BY GEORGE GREY BARNARD

(One of a group of six marbles exhibited by this well-known American sculptor. Barnard is a Modernist in that he interprets emotion through the medium of his material, but the spirit and the form of his art are essentially classic. He has infused new vitality into the Greek rhythm of form)

Among the Americans the work of Arthur Davies, Childe Hassam, Walt Kuhn, Robert Henri, George Luks, J. Alden Weir, William J. Glackens, George Grey Barnard, John Henry Twachtman, George Bellows, and Robert Chanler stood out with the strength of leadership. Robert Henri is the leader of the Insurgent school in New York City and has fought hard and long for the "idea as opposed to the mere technical stunt." A certain poetical sincerity characterizes his art, and he is one of the few Americans who have a place in the Luxemburg. Gutzon Borglum contributed a fine bit of realistic work in bronze, "The Rough Riders." J. Mowbray Clarke was represented by "Parasites," also a bronze. A particularly strong piece of modeling was the figure of a young girl by Arthur Lee. George Grey Barnard contributed five small marbles. Barnard is a Modernist in that he interprets emotion through the medium of marble, but the spirit and form of his art is essentially classic. Like Rodin he has infused new vitality into the Greek rhythm of form. Two paintings by George Bellows, "The Circus" and "A Polo Crowd," were highly original in their treatment. Alden Weir exhibited a portrait that was a most satisfying piece of realistic painting. Childe Hassam's "Naples" and "Posilippo" in pinks, yellows, and

PORCUPINE SCREEN (IN BLUE, SILVER AND WHITE) BY ROBERT CHANLER

(One of the most significant features of the American section was the exhibit of decorative screens by this artist, who is original both in his designs and in the use of his pigment. The screens are made of seasoned oak, stained with several coats of black, and dried thoroughly; then they are ready for the ground-work of their decorations. Mr. Chanler does not complete his designs in detail before he starts to paint a screen. He sketches a general composition and lets the design work out in his mind as he paints)

violet-greys revealed this artist's peculiar coloring at its best.

A distinctive feature of the American section was a collection of screens by Robert Chanler, whose work shows originality both in design and in the use of pigment. The "Leopard and Deer" screen resembles a Beardsley drawing in its mastery of the grotesque; the "Porcupine Screen," on this page, is a symphony of dull blues, silver and white; another reveals a scene of tropical deep-sea splendor, corals, devil fish and the beady phosphorescence of trailing sea-weed.

If some of the new art fails it is for the reason that John Quinn has given, "that it is lacking in intellect and there can be no permanently satisfactory substitute for brains." While it is a fine work to preserve the art of bygone ages for future generations, it is even more praiseworthy to appreciate and encourage the art that is of the present. By our loyalty to living art, we measure the ratio of our artistic progression as a nation. We must continue to look upon the "young vision" in matters of art with indulgence, for who can tell when the pattern of life shall change. Every generation has a rhythm of its own art and the succeeding generations will break up this rhythm and form another as surely as age follows age.

THE KIND OF ROADS THE NEW SOUTH IS BUILDING,—VIEW IN LAUDERDALE COUNTY, MISS.

THE NEW SPIRIT IN SOUTHERN FARMING

Some of the Factors That Are Helping to Recast Rural Life in the South

BY E. E. MILLER

TO the late Dr. Seaman A. Knapp and the coöperative farm demonstration work he so successfully conducted much of the new spirit of Southern agriculture is due. Dr. Knapp was not only a great organizer, but also a great advertiser. He put his men to work on the farms of the South teaching and demonstrating better methods of cultivation, seed selection, and fertilization; he organized the boys as well as the men into Corn Clubs and other clubs to try for big yields; and then he let the whole country know just what he had accomplished.

The names of Jerry Moore, Bennie Beeson, and other Corn Club prize winners became familiar to men and women all over the country, along with their big yields—228 and 227 bushels to the acre, respectively, for the two boys named.

It is doubtful if any other one thing has done as much to bring a realization of the possibilities of Southern soils to the country at large as has this farm demonstration work. It has brought this same realization to thousands of Southern farmers also, and has given them an entirely new conception of their section and their calling. And this new appreciation of the possibilities and the rewards of farming is just as potent a factor in the remaking of Southern rural life as is the knowledge of better methods of doing farm work.

Southern farmers, and the whole country, are beginning to see that the small average yields of Southern staple crops are not necessary and permanent, but are only the results of poor farming by this and past generations of farmers. This knowledge carries with it the conviction that the methods and practices of past years must be changed. The South owes a debt of gratitude to Dr. Knapp and his co-workers, not only for what they accomplished but also for the fact that they told folks about it. A little inspiration is

worth more sometimes in accomplishing things than is a lot of knowledge.

And Southern farmers are beginning to accomplish things. Better farming is being done each year. The following statistics of the average corn yields in the Southern States show what is resulting with this one crop:

	1890 to 1899	1900 to 1909	1910	1911	1912
Virginia	19.1	22.7	25.5	24.0	24.0
North Carolina	13.0	14.8	18.6	18.4	18.2
South Carolina	9.9	11.6	18.5	18.2	17.9
Georgia	11.1	11.5	14.5	16.0	13.8
Alabama	12.8	13.5	18.0	18.0	17.2
Mississippi	15.0	15.2	20.5	19.0	18.3
Louisiana	16.3	17.5	23.6	18.5	18.0
Arkansas	18.2	18.7	24.0	20.8	20.4
Tennessee	22.0	23.0	25.9	26.8	26.5

The gains shown here may not seem large, but they go to show that the average farmer in the South is becoming a better farmer. Last year was a very unfavorable year for corn in most parts of the South, and this accounts for the slight decrease shown.

II

Of course, it would not be fair to attribute all this progress to the demonstration work. There was absolutely nothing new in the methods or principles taught by the demonstration agents. They merely went on the average farmer's land and convinced him of the practicability of what the experiment stations, the agricultural colleges, and the farm papers had been teaching, and what the best farmers had been doing for a long time. This was a great work and one that is bound to produce even greater results in future years; but without the work of the other agencies mentioned no such successes could have been achieved by the demonstration work.

Nor must it be supposed that these various workers for better farming are engaged simply in an attempt to help the farmer do his work better. Better plowing, better cultivation, better methods of seed selection, better tools and equipment—all these are of importance, of course; but the essential feature of the new agriculture in the South is the increasing realization of the fact that the whole system of Southern agriculture has been founded on a false ideal.

Southern farming has been based, as a rule, on the sale of a single "money" crop. Low cotton prices have meant poverty to cotton farmers. Low prices for peanuts and tobacco have spelt hard times in the peanut and tobacco regions. A big cotton crop brings, not only less profit, but actually less money than a small one. Here are the figures for three years: The crop of 1907, 11,107,179 bales, was worth $613,630,000; the crop of 1908, 13,241,799 bales, was worth $588,810,000; the crop of 1909, 10,004,949, bales was worth $688,350,000.

The reason for this is not far to seek. The farmers depended upon cotton, and when there was a big cotton crop the buyers, knowing that they would have in any case an abundant supply, simply took the cotton offered for sale in the fall, as much of it had to be, at their own prices. The producer was helpless. He had raised the cotton, but it largely belonged to the supply merchant or the banker.

This condition still prevails to a great extent. Even this year there will be organization and speech-making and great gatherings to limit the cotton acreage.

Such efforts in the past have probably not been entirely valueless; but that they should be considered necessary at all is sufficient proof of the essential wrongness of the whole system of farming.

This fact Southern farmers are coming to see. No one nowadays talks about increasing the total cotton crop. Indeed, some have gone so far as to say that Southern farmers know enough about growing cotton. This is ridiculous, for it takes fully three times as much land as it should to grow the number of bales produced in any one year. Thinking men all over the South realize, however, that this will continue to be true until the South changes from a cotton-farming section to a general-farming and livestock section.

The new spirit of Southern farming is not so much the spirit of reform as the spirit of revolution; and the revolution is even now taking place.

It is, to be sure, taking place so gradually that the actual change is really a process of evolution; and one which requires an observant eye to notice at all. But the spirit that inspires and directs the slow evolution from one system of farming to another is a radical spirit which has dared to cut loose from the old ideas and establish for itself ideals undreamed of by past generations.

A single-crop system of farming has never yet failed to result in depleted soils, and depleted soils always mean poor farmers. This the great body of Southern farmers are coming at length to see.

III

Many facts could be given to show the new interest Southern farmers are taking in live-

stock and livestock farming, and also much evidence to show that the Cotton Belt is naturally a livestock country.

With its long growing season and abundance of feed crops, the South should be able to grow the beef and butter, the bacon and lard it now buys, for just as little as any other section can produce them. And it can do this very thing.

Here is some of the testimony as it relates to pork production: Carefully conducted experiments at the Alabama Experiment Station show that an acre of soy beans will produce pork worth from $25.84 to $39.13. Hogs fed on corn and soy bean pasture made gains which cost from $2.59 to $3.36 per hundred pounds, charging everything against them. These results represent the work of three years. In Louisiana an acre of sweet potatoes produced pork worth $73.50. Farmers who have kept close account of the cost of their pork report this cost as low, in numerous instances, as 2½ to 3½ cents a pound. Of course, the average farmer does not produce pork this cheaply. These men utilized to the full extent the pasture crops—cowpeas, soy beans, sweet potatoes, peanuts, etc.,—which the pigs could harvest for themselves. In what other section can pork be produced at as small cost to the farmer?

The Southern farmer has in the past failed to get as much on the average for his work as has the farmer in the North or West, not only because of smaller yields, but because he has used less power in his farm work, depended more upon human labor, and so cultivated few acres and raised and harvested his crops at greater expense. This condition is rapidly changing. Census figures show that in the period from 1900 to 1910 the amount and value of farm equipment in the Southern States increased as follows: South Atlantic States—Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida—land, 155.8 per cent.; buildings, 126.8 per cent.; farm machinery 107.8 per cent.; livestock, including poultry and bees, 104.5 per cent. South Central States—Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas—land, 117.7 per cent.; buildings, 94 per cent.; machinery, 58.7 per cent.; livestock, 70.8 per cent.

Compare this with the increase in the three States of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois,—land, 84.9 per cent.; buildings, 70.8 per cent.; machinery, 51.6 per cent.; livestock, 58.3 per cent.

The three largest of the Northeastern States,—Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania,—make an even poorer showing compared with the South, as follows: Land, 19.8 per cent; buildings, 31.2 per cent.; machinery, 39.7 per cent.; livestock, 38.4 per cent.

A VIRGINIA CORN CLUB BOY AND HIS CROP

More convincing evidence of the South's progress along agricultural lines would be hard to find.

This increase in farm equipment may not seem at first thought to have much bearing upon the change from market-crop farming to livestock farming, but when it is analyzed the relation will be evident. The single-crop cotton or tobacco farmer can get along with very crude equipment—"a nigger, a mule, and a Dixie plow" used to be the rule; but when a farmer raises grass and grain and keeps more livestock he needs more machinery and more expensive machinery.

Of course, better equipment is being obtained for the cotton field and the tobacco field; but this unprecedented increase in the equipment for farming—which is also an increase in the ability to farm—is part and parcel of the movement toward a rational system of crop rotation and stock feeding.

Just one more example of the advance of the diversified farming idea, and that is the progress of the cattle-tick eradication work. The cattle tick (*Margaropus annulatus*) is the carrier of the dreaded Texas or cattle fever, which has long been the greatest hindrance to cattle-raising in the South. The losses from this disease, even among native cattle

used to the ticks, have been enormous and the man who has brought cattle from tick-free territory into infested territory has done so at the risk of losing them. Just to-day on my desk was a letter from a farmer who told of buying a blooded heifer, and receiving a note from the seller; "If you are going to put her out among ticky cattle, kill her at once."

Equally great has been the loss to the farmers from the lower price received for cattle from tick-infested territory. Such cattle—even if of good quality, as they usually are not—can be sold only for immediate slaughter when sent above the quarantine line, and require special cars, yards, and handling precautions. All this, of course, means a smaller price for them. In any section of the South where the eradication work is going on, cattle above the quarantine line are worth more than those of the same grade below it.

The way Southern farmers are getting rid of the cattle tick is an inspiration to one interested in better farming. Since the work began an area of more than 187,000 square miles has been freed and the interest in the work is greater now than ever before.

The Federal government is coöperating in this work with the States, the communities, and individuals, but in many cases the farmers themselves are shouldering the whole burden. Here is an extract from a letter just received from a gentleman in Louisiana:

> A great deal of work is being done in a number of parishes by private capital and public subscription, which, not being made public, the State gets no credit for (in official reports). Washington Parish, without State aid, has constructed five dipping vats and others are to follow right along.

The passing of the cattle tick means more and better cattle and better prices for them; and the work of eradication is a profitable work for any quarantined community to engage in. The old agricultural South, trusting to cotton for its salvation, would, however, never have put forth the effort or borne the expense of the work. It is a work that appeals only to the men or the community with the new farming ideal—the ideal of flocks and herds and pastures and silos as well as of snowy fields and happy negro pickers.

IV

But it is not only in better farming methods and in a new ideal of a system of agriculture that the new spirit of the Southern farmer is making itself manifest. There are two other notable developments of the time of almost equal importance with the steady and conscious change from one system of farming to another. That these developments are mentioned briefly is not because they lack importance in the life of to-day or promise for the life of to-morrow.

The first of these developments is the growth of the coöperative spirit among the farmers. There have been many attempts to unite farmers for business and political ends as other classes have largely been united, but most of these efforts have accomplished little. Usually they have failed because of unwise leaders or impossible aims. From all these failures, however, the more thoughtful farmers have learned lessons of real value, and coöperation among Southern farmers was never as general or as effective as it is to-day.

Notable results have been obtained along some lines by the Farmers' Union and other organizations; and even where these organizations have failed, they have often left among the farmers a new idea of their dependence upon one another and of the practical advantages closer coöperation would bring. The big problem of marketing farm products to advantage has been the one the big organizations have tried, and are trying hardest to solve. There has been, of course, much wild talk, and many impracticable theories have been advanced by self-appointed leaders; but the day has passed when the farmers, especially the long-oppressed cotton and tobacco farmers, will be content to let their products go at prices which they have had no part in fixing.

The laws of supply and demand do fix prices; but when the demand can be controlled by great combinations it is not reasonable to expect the men who produce the supply to make no effort to safeguard their interests. The farmer is not getting a square deal when he comes to sell his products and he now realizes that fact. The actual accomplishments of the efforts for better marketing facilities and methods may not be great, as yet; but some progress is being made, and farmers are coming to study the problem in a cool, dispassionate manner, taking their own share of the blame for the present unscientific system and setting themselves to the first task—that of having a product of standard quality to offer.

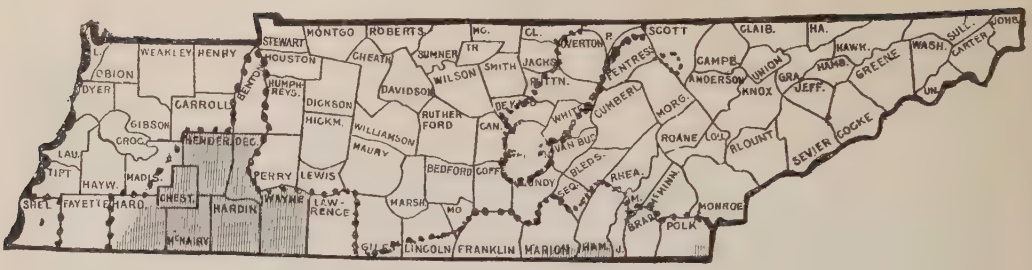
This extract from an address to a plant breeders' association by the president of the South Carolina Farmers' Union is a good example of the new spirit:

> Where each farmer has his type, the coöperative marketing of the products of the farms of a neigh-

PEANUT PICKING—THE OLD WAY

PEANUT THRESHING—THE NEW WAY

(Nothing could more graphically illustrate the changed farming methods in the South than the two pictures—from actual photographs—on this page)



TICK ERADICATION WORK IN TENNESSEE

(Territory below dotted line infested in 1908; shaded area infested in 1912)

borhood is almost prohibited, certainly seriously impaired, however willing or enthusiastic the farmers of that neighborhood may be to organize and coöperate. All because there are too many types, and not enough of any one kind to find the market in which it is in demand. I feel sure our everyday city markets would be much more satisfactorily served if we could persuade our farmers to standardize their crops and stock; and that it would be much easier to establish economical selling agencies than it is now. And when it comes to shipping produce, this is essential.

The coöperation that is accomplishing most just now, however, is the coöperation in things of local interest, in drainage districts and local school taxes, in the purchase of machinery and fertilizers and breeding stock, in similar work which is of purely local interest.

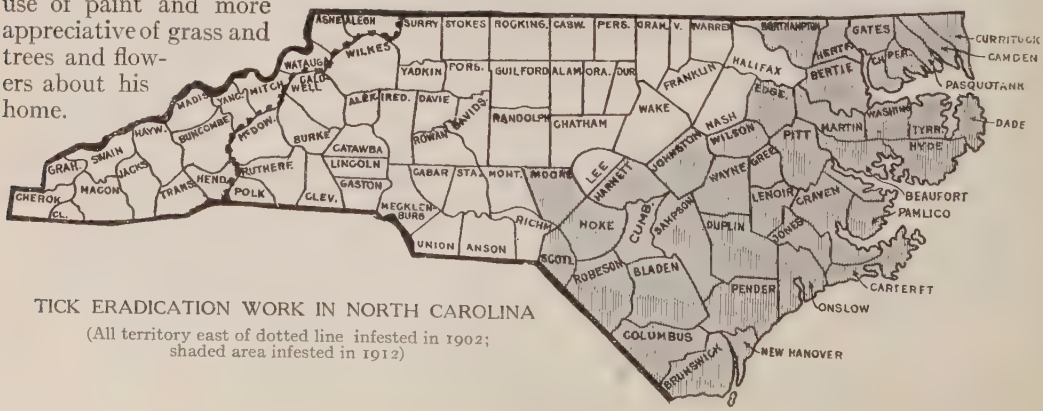
The farmer is not losing his individuality but he is losing his exclusiveness, and learning the great lesson of class coöperation in dealing with other classes and of neighborhood coöperation in matters that touch his own and his neighbors' interests.

The second development of the new time and spirit in Southern agriculture is the increasing appreciation of a higher standard of living. The farmer of to-day wants a house with running water and a bathroom in it; he desires a good road to drive over when he leaves home; he has come to regard the telephone as a necessity; often he lights his house with acetylene or electricity; he is more liberal in his use of paint and more appreciative of grass and trees and flowers about his home.

Above all, he is more interested than ever before in the education of his children. I am thoroughly confident that no people in America are making greater efforts to provide their children with fair educational opportunities than are the farmers of the South who have caught the inspiration of the new spirit of progress.

Not long since the teachers of North Carolina met and said what they thought the State should do for the schools. A little later the Farmers' Union met and their platform was far in advance of that the teachers had framed. These demands, including compulsory education and a six-months' school term for every country child, were complied with, too, to the surprise of many who did not know how well the farmers were organized or how much in earnest they were. These same North Carolina farmers have in the last two decades almost built up a system of public education, and they have done it chiefly by self-voted local taxes.

The poor showing the South now makes in educational comparisons is known to all. What all do not know is the progress that is being made each year, and the increasing interest of the farming districts. This increasing interest in the education of the children should of itself be evidence that a new spirit is quickening the rural South.



TICK ERADICATION WORK IN NORTH CAROLINA

(All territory east of dotted line infested in 1902; shaded area infested in 1912)

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COÖPERATIVE ALLIANCE AT THE GRAVE OF SVEND HOGSBRO, MINISTER OF THE DANISH CABINET, AN ARDENT COÖPERATOR

(From left to right, Dr. O. Schar, E. Angst, O. Dehli, A. von Elm, A. Whitehead, E. Gyorgy, Dr. Benito Karpeles, William Maxwell, chairman of the Alliance; A. Nielsen, A. Williams, S. Jorgensen, D. McInnes, H. Kaufmann, J. Goedhardt, Dr. Hans Muller, J. Deans, Fr. Nielsen)

CONSUMERS' COÖPERATION,—THE NEW MASS MOVEMENT

BY ALBERT SONNICHSEN

(General secretary of the Coöperative League)

THE many and the varying remedies suggested for "the high cost of living" serve to remind us how acute that problem has become of late. Closer inspection of weights and measures, charity stores, municipal market schemes, standardizing the dollar, housewives' and housekeepers' leagues are only some of these remedies, adapted to interest the middle classes.

To the wage-earners the high cost of living is an old problem, though to them it has been familiar as "low wages." It is only since the evil has begun to invade and affect the salaried classes that the more genteel phrase has been adopted. But from bitter experience they all know that both terms are synonymous; that the cost of living is only high or low in its relation to the standard of wages, or salaries. The humblest navvy knows that a loaf of bread would be cheap to him at twenty-five cents if he were earning six dollars a day, while five cents a loaf is dear at his present dollar-a-day wage.

For over a century the wage workers have been trying the remedy that seemed to them the most obviously effective,—trade unionism. But while trade unionism has taught them the power of association, they are beginning to suspect that in its main object it is proving an abject failure. The resort to terrorism by the steel structural workers' unions, the recent outburst of syndicalism, with its program of "sabotage," and the increase of the Socialist vote are only a few of the chief symptoms of this awakening sense of disillusionment.

PRICES ADVANCE WITH WAGES

What has deceived trade unionists so long has been their supposition that a dollar was always a dollar; that its purchasing value was always the same. And in dollars the standard of wages has risen, especially in the organized trades.

When the coal strike, ten years ago, ended in the triumph of the striking coal miners, all organized labor rejoiced. Then the price of coal rose quietly and has remained high ever since. That was one big object lesson. Another was the Lawrence strike; the strikers gained their 10-per cent. increase. Simultaneously wholesale dealers in cotton goods in New York began announcing 10, 15, and even 20 per cent. increases in their prices. So the disillusioning goes on; intelligent workingmen are beginning to perceive that whether they win or lose their strikes all costs and losses and a slight margin over are charged up to the consuming public, and they belong to that part of the consuming public which can least afford to pay higher prices.

Then comes the Socialist and gathers in his converts. But however logical the arguments of the Socialist may seem, he himself states that that part of his program which really means something cannot be put into effect until a majority of the nation's electorate has been won over to Socialism as a theory. Unfortunately the vast majority either cannot grasp an abstract theory or they are too full of their own troubles to worry about posterity. Socialism can promise neither immediate action nor immediate relief.

I have, of course, presented only the situation in this country. Abroad, where the evils of our present industrial system have developed further than here, the masses have progressed further in their search for remedies. They have gone through all our experiences and are now entering a new field of experiment,—new at least in its recent development, but so infinite in its scope and its future possibilities that what is now being accomplished reads almost like one of H. G. Wells' earlier romances. We have so far followed in the footsteps of the older countries; that we shall follow them into this new field is inevitable.

SELF-GOVERNING WORKSHOPS

There are many who still remember the self-governing workshops of twenty-five and thirty years ago,—small factories that were owned and controlled by the men employed within them, sharing with one another in the profits as well as in the responsibilities. Among the best illustrations of this peculiar system of industrial organization were the coöperative cooperage shops in Minneapolis and St. Paul, supplying barrels to the flour mills. At that time many of the advocates of the system believed that here was the germ from which would spring a new social order, that the industries of the future would be based on this plan.

But very few of these self-governing workshops now exist, except in industries where hand labor is still a large part of the process of manufacture, as in cigar-making. New inventions in machinery, leading to the centralization of industries and the reduction of skilled labor have made such shops impossible. From the failure of these enterprises arose the general impression that coöperative production had failed and was not adapted to conditions in this country.

The appearance of these shops in America was only the result of a much earlier movement in Europe of a similar nature. The theory on which it had been founded in England had been expounded since the early part of the century by a group of brilliant professional men, calling themselves Christian Socialists, among whom were Charles Kingsley, Vansittart Neale, Thomas Hughes and G. J. Holyoake, all disciples of Robert Owen.

At that time England was troubled with very much the same problems that are worrying us now; the agitation that resulted in the repeal of the Corn Laws was only one manifestation. From above came the same flood of suggested remedies. But, just as here, the workers put their faith in trade unionism and, later, took up political action.

ENGLAND'S COÖPERATIVE STORES

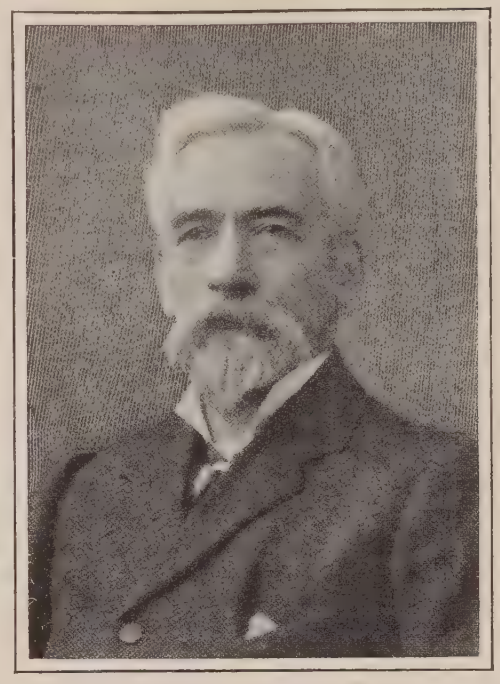
But there was a third line of action that developed to unusual strength there. All over the country the working people organized coöperative societies which hoped to cheapen the cost of living by combining the purchasing power of their members.

But, like the trade-union method, coöperation showed one inherent weakness—the same weakness, in fact, though from the other end of the workingman's purse. The coöperative stores did eliminate the profits of the small retailers and so cheapen the cost of living, but simultaneously there appeared a tendency among the big middlemen to raise prices, the theory, often voiced openly, being that "coöperators could stand the increase."

The dealers and the manufacturers supplying the coöperative stores calmly appropriated the benefits and divided them among themselves, leaving the consumers where they stood before.

It was this obvious tendency which raised within the coöperative movement the cry for "a coöperative source of supply." And in response to that demand the Christian Socialists offered their idea of coöperative production,—the self-governing workshops, suggested to them by the communist theories of Robert Owen and the Fourierist experiments in France.

At that time the tendency toward industrial centralization was not so marked and the new scheme appeared feasible. Among the Christian Socialists were rich men who financed the first experiments. Among them were also some brilliant writers and they began creating a literature on coöperation in which the self-governing workshop idea shone forth predominant. The movement spread, even to this country.



WILLIAM MAXWELL, CHAIRMAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL COÖPERATIVE ALLIANCE, ONE OF THE VETERANS OF THE COÖPERATIVE MOVEMENT

COÖPERATIVE PRODUCTION

But even before it was an undoubted failure the leaders of the coöperative store movement began realizing the fallacy of the fundamental principles underlying the self-governing workshops. At the national coöperative congresses the members of the workshop societies raised the cry of "loyalty;" it was the duty of the store societies to buy from them. In actual practice the self-governing workshops proved just as greedy after profits as the private dealers. Between the two,—the small, exclusive producers' societies and the great body of the coöperating consumers,—was a sharp line dividing their separate, conflicting interests. One bought, the other sold; each was on the other side of the counter. The productive societies were no less capitalistic than private corporations. The consumers' movement swept away from this form of coöperative production and passed onward.

Long before it was clear how a "coöperative source of supply" could be established, the stores found a way to eliminate the big middlemen from the field. They carried their principle of joint purchase a step further, federated into a national wholesale society, and began to deal directly with the big manufacturers. To oppose this new step the middlemen organized a traders' protective association whose purpose was to force the manufacturers to boycott the wholesale society. To their own great misfortune they were in a measure successful.

With the financial strength of the whole movement behind it and an organized market of a million consumers before it, the co-operators' central purchasing agency, the Coöperative Wholesale Society, could afford to be independent of any single manufacturer. So it was from necessity that the Wholesale began manufacturing biscuits at Crumpsall, to supply the needs of its own constituents, the local stores. And incidentally they discovered a "coöperative source of supply." To-day the many industrial plants of the Wholesale Society cover nearly every one of the prime necessities.

The difference between the two systems,—the self-governing workshops on the one hand and the big consumers' plants on the other,—must be strikingly obvious. The one, adapted to petty competition, must die with the competitive system. The other was closely adapted to the modern tendency toward centralization. Under the first system small, exclusive groups of workers with restricted interests manufacture to sell, demanding as much as the market will give them. Under the second system the people, as consumers, manufacture to supply their

own needs, for use only. To the one profit is a vital necessity; the other abolishes the profit system.

For a time the partisanship aroused by these two contending forms of production created a split in the coöperative movement, but it was a fair fight and the fittest survived. To-day the partisans of the self-governing workshops are assembled in England under the banner of the "Labor Co-partnership Association," which demands only that employers, whether private or consumers' coöperatives, shall "share profits." They are no longer a factor in the coöperative movement.

THE GREAT WHOLESALE ORGANIZATIONS

To-day the English Coöperative Wholesale Society's gigantic factories, including the biggest flour mills and the biggest boot and shoe factory in Great Britain, with a capital of $37,000,000 and 21,000 employees on their payroll, fully indicate the progress made in England alone. The big industrial center at Shieldhall, owned and controlled by the Scottish Coöperative Wholesale, employing another 8000 workers, proves that Scotland was not far behind England in adopting the new system.

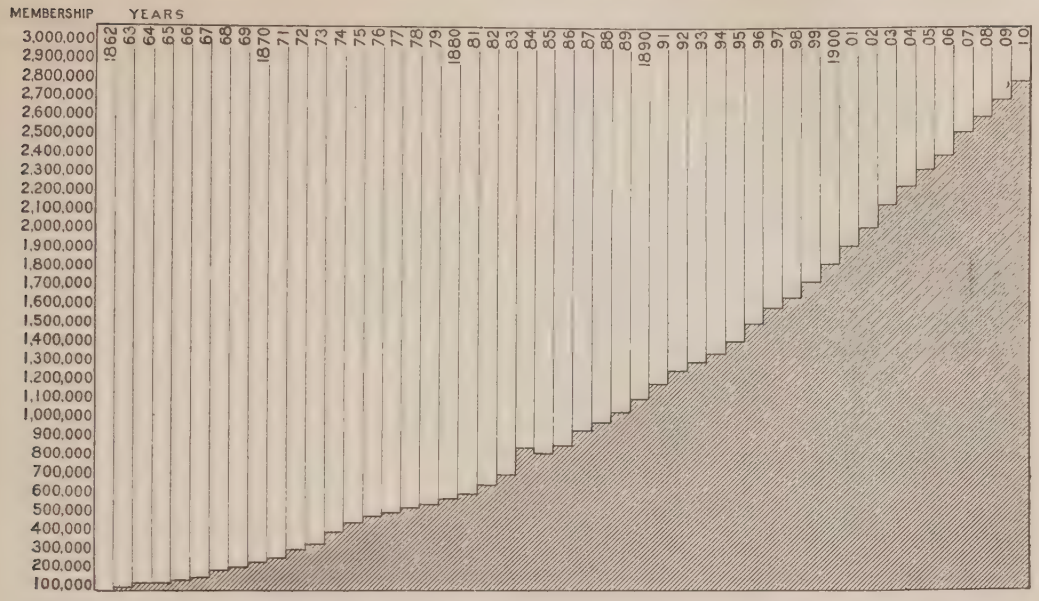
For nearly thirty years these two countries were the only fields of experiment; the continental coöperators apparently wanted to see federal coöperative production thoroughly tried out before taking it up themselves. It was not until ten years ago, when a general international congress of the movement convened at Manchester, the headquarters of the English Wholesale, that the continental coöperators realized that the "coöperative source of supply" was an established fact.

This long period between the initial experiment in the early '70's and the universal adoption of the principle involved is a silent testimony to the many difficulties that taxed the patience and endurance of the English coöperators. First and foremost was the one that has killed off so many workingmen's enterprises in their infancy,—incompetence. One incident illustrates the low level of moral responsibility from which coöperation has since raised its participants. The first conference of delegates from the Scottish societies that met to consider the organization of a wholesale society elected a committee to prepare plans. For months no report was forthcoming; inquiry revealed that all the members of this important committee had emigrated to America, absolutely forgetting the duties to their comrades which they had undertaken.

The grade of business ability required to organize and conduct such enterprises as the present English and Scottish wholesale industries is of the type that demands million-dollar salaries in the capitalist world. Naturally the coöperators could not afford to hire such men. They must train their own people. And that they have done so and also retained them is perhaps the most astounding result of the coöperative movement; it upsets the theories of most economists. One by one these captains of democratic industry arose from the little store committees and made good. Nor does the lure of capitalist gold seem to tempt them. William Maxwell, for thirty years the president of the Scottish Wholesale, conducting a fifty-million-dollar-a-year business, never demanded a higher salary than $38 a week. And he is only one of many.

Before the Manchester congress, in 1902, there were only half a dozen wholesale societies outside of Great Britain, of which only Germany had as yet ventured into production. The rest were mere purchasing agencies. To-day there are twenty national wholesale societies in as many countries, the last being established in Poland last year, while Canada promises to organize the next this year. Before gauging the significance of these federations and their activities, it is necessary to explain a few of the principles on which they are organized.

The unit of organization is the head of the family, man or woman, who may be an unskilled laborer, a clerk, a doctor, a novelist, or the governor-general of Canada. Earl Grey was, in fact, an ardent member and honorary president of the International Coöperative Alliance. These units form the local society, which conducts anything from a small grocery store to a chain of big department stores. The capital of this local society has in the beginning been subscribed by the members, but later has been augmented by a percentage from the profits, gradually becoming collective capital. In some older societies new members pay only a small initiation fee. The fundamental principles of the local societies are: One man one vote; the lowest market rate of interest to invested capital, which must never share in the profits; the distribution of the profits among the members in proportion to their purchases, unless devoted to collective enterprises, and membership open to all comers.



THE GROWTH OF MEMBERSHIP OF COÖPERATIVE SOCIETIES IN GREAT BRITAIN FROM 1863, THE YEAR IN WHICH THE ENGLISH WHOLESALE SOCIETY WAS FOUNDED, UNTIL 1910

(The above chart is drawn from the official figures of the British Registrar of Friendly Societies and therefore includes an outer fringe of societies that have not yet affiliated with the Coöperative Union. The figures are therefore slightly higher than those compiled by the Coöperative Union, as quoted in the text. Many of the societies in this outer fringe are, probably, like the Army and Navy Stores in London, coöperative only in form and not in spirit, and have nothing in common with the general movement)

The local societies again form the units of organization in the wholesale societies, to whose quarterly meetings they send their delegates on a per capita basis. At these meetings the delegates choose the boards of directors which direct the enterprises of the wholesales. The profits of the wholesale are subject to the same treatment as the profits of the local enterprises. They must manufacture for and sell to only their constituent members, the local store societies. From this it will be seen that the profit system is abolished; the surplus from trade is returned to whence it came, or is applied to further collective enterprise.

In 1911 seventeen wholesale societies reporting did a business of fifty million pounds sterling (nearly a quarter of a billion dollars). This was an increase over the previous year of $18,500,000. No society showed a decrease, but some almost doubled. In Germany, third in importance, the increase was 24 per cent.; Hungary 25 per cent.; France 40 per cent.; Belgium 41 per cent.; Bohemia 58 per cent., and Russia 82 per cent. These figures do not cover the many local productive enterprises, not adapted by their nature to centralization, yet carried on under the same system. Obviously bread cannot be baked far from the consumer; the same is true of market gardening. Such enterprises are undertaken by local societies, either singly or through district federation. The biggest bakery in the world, in Glasgow, comes under this head: it supplies the coöperators in Glasgow and its suburbs with their morning loaves. The second biggest bakery in the world supplies the coöperators of Vienna. The biggest bakeries in Belgium belong to the coöperators in Brussels and Ghent. The same societies also conduct farms, dairies, slaughter-houses, etc.

But however big and important these infant democratic industries may be, behind them stands a far more significant fact,—the organized consumers. Over all the world spreads this vast body, bound together by a single purpose: to India, to Japan, to Bulgaria and Servia; to Spain, to Cape Town, to Argentina and to Canada, its units, each the head of a family, numbering ten millions, representing fifty million consumers.

In Great Britain the membership is now 2,700,000; counting them as heads of families,—one-fourth of the total population. Germany follows with 1,600,000; France with 800,000; Austria with 500,000; Russia, with 300,000, and Italy and Switzerland with

a quarter of a million each. The rest are distributed among the smaller countries, especially Denmark, Sweden, Belgium, Holland, and Finland, where, though their actual numbers are smaller, they form even a higher percentage of the population than in some of the bigger countries.

Just what the rate of increase of this vast, world-wide organization has been within the last few years can only be estimated accurately in those countries where the movement has long been self-conscious. In most of the continental countries there was no general movement ten years ago and the importance of gathering statistics was not thought of. The International Coöperative Alliance has only just established a system of comparative statistics and henceforth the growth will be accurately recorded. In 1884 British coöperators numbered 717,000. In 1894 they numbered 1,200,000. In 1904 they numbered 2,180,000. The average rate of increase during this period has been 70,000 a year,—about 300,000 consumers. Each year this coöperative state, within the British state, has added to its domain a city the size of San Francisco. One would naturally expect to see this rate of increase diminish as the movement itself expanded, but last year the added membership amounted to 99,000. Judging from this record of growth in Great Britain, where progress has been more gradual, it is a conservative statement to say that the international movement has doubled within the last ten years.

And is not this rapid expansion an answer to the question, What has coöperation done for the masses? If you take the point of view that the majority are moved only by material advantages, which is undoubtedly true, the answer is complete. Yet this question may be answered with something more definite than a sweeping conclusion.

INDIVIDUAL BENEFITS

Last December the English Wholesale Society returned to its constituent societies $1,100,000 as their share of the $1,600,000 net profits, made during the last six months; half a million dollars was retained for extending the enterprises. Under the capitalist system that money would have gone into the pockets of private capitalists. The local stores return about $60,000,000 a year in rebates, representing profits the retailers do not get. It is no uncommon practice for the local societies to build their members' houses which are paid for by their rebates, thus enabling them to "eat themselves into house and home," as Mr. Maxwell expressed it. I once asked a Glasgow woman to give me, in round figures, an idea of what her family had got out of dealing with their local coöperative stores. She said: "During all the years I lived with my sister, her husband and their child, a small family, as you see, we never paid one shilling rent. At the end of each quarter we handed over the rebate check from the store to the landlord and sometimes there was change coming to us." As rent is usually about one-fourth of a family's living expenses, this bears out the general rule that a well-conducted society, dealing in a full line of merchandise, should return to its purchasing members about five shillings on the pound. That, of course, is only possible in a country where the movement has already begun to attack the profits of the manufacturer.

But even the material benefits cannot all be reckoned in hard cash. There is the elimination of that constant and insidious drain on small family purses,—adulteration, short weight, overcharging, and the other varying forms of commercial dishonesty common to private trade all along the line from the small retailer up to the big trust magnate. The coöperative shopkeeper has no possible motive for cheating his customers, because the results of his deceptions would be theirs anyhow. The same holds good of the board of directors of the wholesale; the directors derive no other income from the enterprises except their fixed salaries. If they do not constantly keep their goods up to the highest standard of quality, they soon hear about it from the local delegates at the quarterly meetings,—those representatives of the consumers who can put them out of office if their services are not satisfactory. One has only to read the reports of these meetings to realize that. Within its own domain coöperation has completely sterilized trade of all fraud.

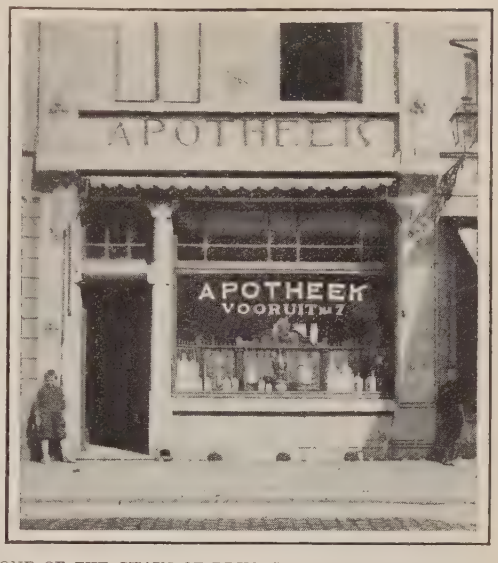
BELGIUM'S SYSTEM OF CLUB-HOUSES

If you were to attempt to measure the benefits of coöperation by dollars in Belgium, there would not be much to show. There, as well as in other countries where the Socialists dominate the movement, the return of the profits to the purchasing members in the form of cash rebates is much deprecated. Instead they are devoted almost entirely to collective purposes,—sick and death benefits, free medical aid, old-age pensions, maternity subsidies, day nurseries, and general club-houses. These latter are especially famous:

the Belgian *maison du peuple* is known to all tourists through Belgium, though few know of the movement behind it. It has been called the Belgian form of settlement house, which it is, except that it is supported from below and not subsidized from above. In every town or city local coöperative social activity centers about the *maison du peuple.* Here the members meet for social intercourse and are afforded free libraries, reading rooms, lectures, concerts, dances, and moving-picture shows. In Ghent the local *maison du peuple* includes a theater where the audiences elect the actors and choose the plays. The building cost the local society one and a half million francs. It was decorated by the famous Flemish sculptor, Van Beesbroeck, who has his studio on the upper floor where he is permanently subsidized by the society to decorate their buildings and to create a working-class art. Outside the building is a park where the band plays in summer and the people promenade the walks or drink beer under the trees.

In the Borinage, the coal-mining regions, the coöperators had a more special reason for this method of organizing the people socially as well as economically. Thirty years ago, as one may know by reading Zola's novel, "Germinal," the people of this region were unusually degraded. To attract them the first coöperators had to present something more lively than economic theories or even the prospect of saving a few pennies. The *maison du peuple* did the work. Another handicap was the gin shops; the miners spent their time as well as their wages there and starved till next pay-day. The coöperators established coöperative breweries, whose cheap, wholesome beer was sold in the *maison du peuple* beer gardens. It seems almost incredible that a temperance crusade should employ beer as one of its weapons, but it was the coöperative beer gardens that drove the low gin shops out of existence. On the barrels are pasted labels, bearing such mottoes as "*A bas l'alcholism,*" or "*L'alcholism est le plus puissant propagator de la tubercolose.*"

Another feature of Belgian coöperation is the organized exchange of children between members' families in the Flemish provinces and the French, or Walloon, provinces, enabling the children to spend long periods in households where the other language of the nation is spoken. Thus they learn to read and write and speak both fluently, besides having their mental norizons broadened. It was the Franco-Belge Coöperative Society in



ONE OF THE CHAIN OF DRUG STORES MAINTAINED BY THE VOORUIT OF GHENT, BELGIUM, FOR THE BENEFIT OF ITS MEMBERS

Lawrence, founded by Belgian immigrants, that suggested to the strikers the employment of this method to save their children the privations of the strike.

A NON-POLITICAL MOVEMENT

I have said that the Socialists are prominent in the movement in some of the continental countries. But outside Belgium the movement, as a whole, stands neutral so far as political parties are concerned. Even the last International Socialist Congress, held in 1910, in indorsing coöperation and urging all Socialists to support it, recommended them to respect this independence of political parties.

Until recently the coöperative movement as a whole pretended to no social theories or philosophy; all it promised its converts was immediate and an increasing degree of relief from economic pressure and it saw no further than the next turning. But the rapid development of federal production has placed in the hands of the organization a power in the exercise of which it has awakened to a consciousness of a great purpose.

Six years ago, at an international congress in Cremona, Dr. Hans Muller, a Swiss delegate, presented a resolution by which an international wholesale society should be created. Luigi Luzzatti, Italian Minister of State and an ardent member of the movement, was in the chair. Those who were present say Luzzatti paused, his eyes lighted up, then, dramatically raising his hand, he

said: "Dr. Muller proposes to the assembly a great idea; that of opposing to the great trusts, the Rockefellers of the world, a world-wide coöperative alliance which shall become so powerful as to crush the trusts."

That end, voiced by an Italian statesman and not by a Socialist, is definite enough; it is something even more than the cheapening of the cost of living. But the means to that end are even more definite.

Here is an illustration of the awakening power of coöperation, as yet only an outpost skirmish when compared to the struggle that is bound to come within a few years, if the movement advances any further in the carrying out of its new program:

Last year, in February, the Swedish Wholesale began a determined attack on the sugar trust. The trust controlled the Swedish sugar market and, owing to a highly developed organization of districts, dictated prices all over the country. It had fixed the price of sugar at two and one-fourth oren (about three-fifths of a cent) above the prices of all the other sugar markets of the world, in addition to the import duty. If an individual trader tried to import sugar on his own account, the trust would immediately lower the price in his neighborhood and drive him out of business.

The Swedish Wholesale had obtained permission from the trust to supply sugar to its societies in the neighborhood of Stockholm, but not to others. All the other societies were obliged to buy from private merchants in their own particular districts, as specified by the trust. Suddenly the directors of the Wholesale decided to import sugar themselves, in spite of the high duty, and so liberate the whole movement from the dictation of the sugar trust. The trust at once lowered its prices until they were less than the prices in other countries, regardless of the duty. But the Wholesale had acted in a favorable moment and could easily undersell the trust, whose control over the coöperative societies was completely broken. Another result of this fight was that the Swedish Parliament was obliged to take up legislative action against the sugar trust and break its power over the private dealers as well.

At the same time, the Wholesale also engaged in a similar struggle with the margerine combine, with even more decisive results, for after suffering a loss of 2,300,000 crowns the margerine combine was obliged to dissolve. In Switzerland the Wholesale has just forced the dissolution of the shoe manufacturers' association. And now there is trouble in store for the coal operators in England; the Wholesale is making big purchases in coal lands. Such triumphs are permanent, for the result of each is the establishment of an independent source of supply outside the private monopolies.

The declared aim of the coöperative movement does not differ from that of the Socialist parties, but their means of attaining that end are radically different.

The Socialists base their program on political action and, to some extent, industrial action—the general strike.

The coöperators base all their hopes on economic action.

The Socialists exercise their power as voters and workers.

The coöperators exercise their power as consumers. To them political action is incidental; it may be employed to defend the movement against restrictive legislation; to force the capitalist to fight fair.

The coöperator believes that it is as consumers that the people hold supreme power. The capitalist unconsciously demonstrates this fact in his attitude toward the people in these two positions; as workers he spurns them, as consumers he prostrates himself before them.

The coöperative movement's program is purely constructive. It does not really set out to destroy capitalism, but the fact must be recognized that, as coöperation becomes established, so capitalism must wither. The life of capitalist trade is absolutely dependent on the support of the people as consumers. If the people gradually build up a new source of supply outside of capitalism, superior to it, then capitalism must decay, die of starvation. Necessarily it will be the capitalist who will attack and the coöperator who will be in a defensive position. The coöperator neither seeks nor avoids this struggle; he goes on building. If coöperation is superior to capitalism it needs no revolutionary upheaval to establish itself; it will be established through its own inherent power, its fitness to survive the struggle. And that struggle must, as much as possible, be confined to the field in which the people have the advantage—the economic field. As voters we may be counted out, as workers we may be locked out, but as consumers the capitalist fears the power of every one of us. In that field there is universal suffrage; we all consume, from the baby just weaning to the old grandmother; on the milk of the one and the tea of the other there is a profit indispensable to the capitalist system.

MEMBERS OF THE COÖPERATIVE LEAGUE OF NEW YORK, GATHERING FOR MAY DAY PARADE

This is the coöperators' main argument. But incidentally he adds:

The Socialist depends on majority action. The coöperator would not oblige an intelligent minority to wait for an ignorant majority.

The Socialist cannot begin reconstruction until he has captured the political machinery of the state.

The coöperator has already begun reconstruction. What are those big industries of the wholesale societies but the nucleus of the national industries of the great industrial democracy of the future?

Both movements must educate the ignorant majority, but beside the abstract arguments of the Socialists the coöperator presents the concrete facts of what he has already accomplished. The Socialist can only promise. The coöperator makes good at once. One talks, the other acts.

The Socialist program, especially in so far as it is based on industrial action, demands heavy sacrifices from its units.

The economic action of the coöperators has never yet caused more misery to the already suffering people; on the contrary, it has given nothing but benefits; a fuller life to millions. Its biggest conflicts with capitalism have left, and will leave in the future, nothing but bounties in their trail. Coöperation promises all that socialism promises for the distant future, yet it also gives immediate relief.

For the coöperative program is closely adapted to the laws of normal evolution, natural growth. It will destroy nothing that it cannot immediately replace with something better.

On the other hand, it cannot be denied that it has been the late infusion of young blood from the Socialist parties that has given the coöperative movement its higher idealism. Ten years ago it stood, irresolute, contemplating impossible alliances with natural enemies, toying with propagandas of profit-sharing among private corporations, afraid to declare itself for a logical carrying out of its own principle because such a course might injure the high lords of finance. Today, it stands boldly facing the future, its path sharply defined, leading straight ahead.

PROGRESS IN AMERICA

And how does all this affect our country? The standpatters, hardly aware of the exist-

ence of this movement abroad, have not yet declared that "a foreign movement will not thrive on American soil." They did say that about Socialism, which again doubled its vote this last election.

While it is true that coöperation has developed slowest in this country, its coming is as inevitable as was the coming of Socialism and trade unionism. Already it is here, though not yet in a conscious stage. For twelve years a strong movement has been developing in California and now it is organizing a central management committee. In the Northwest there is a store movement so strong that last year Wisconsin was compelled to pass special incorporation laws for coöperative societies. In New York City, the Coöperative League, a thoroughly conscious organization, numbers 600 individual members and 83 affiliated organizations,—altogether about 10,000 individuals. Within the last two years societies have been organized in New Jersey in Paterson, Montclair, Passaic, Jersey City, Hoboken, Elizabeth, Newark, and a number of other smaller places. These again have federated into the American Coöperative Alliance of Northern New Jersey and through it are beginning to purchase together,—the rudiments of a wholesale.

On the other hand, there is the wide unrest and the agitation in favor of the middle-class schemes mentioned at the beginning of this article. However ridiculous these schemes may appear to those of radical temperament, yet they indicate a groping for the light. All that this misguided energy needs is a knowledge of what has been successfully accomplished abroad and then it must crystalize into intelligent action.

When William Maxwell, now chairman of the International Coöperative Alliance, was here, a little over a year ago, I asked him what he thought of the possibilities of establishing a strong movement here. He replied:

> I am struck with the ignorance displayed by the educated classes here of our movement. But I am also struck by the changes in economic conditions since I was here years ago. I think the time for a beginning must soon be ripe. And from what I know of American character—what wonders may not develop!

COÖPERATION IN WISCONSIN

BY ROBERT A. CAMPBELL

(Secretary of the Wisconsin State Board of Public Affairs)

THE coöperative movement is not new in Wisconsin. It has been a part of the social and industrial development of the State. Historically it may be classified roughly into two parts, the local coöperative units and the periodic waves of coöperative enthusiasm that come with every farm and labor movement. Each played its part; the larger, more temporary organization furnished the coöperative spirit, the inspiration and the enthusiasm, and the local unit developed and tried out the fundamental principles and the practical business side of coöperation.

Each local group of coöperators learned as best they could how to organize, how to grade and market their products, how to purchase and sell their goods, and how to divide the profits. They struggled with the difficulties of organization and management, the trials of working together, and either mastered them or went down to defeat and failure.

These little groups of coöperators contended with powerful forces from within as well as without. On the inside there were jealousy, ignorance, short-sighted policies, poor business methods, loose accounting systems, a lack of sufficient capital, and a failure to understand the social and economic possibilities of working together. On the outside there was the strong competition—sometimes fair and sometimes unfair—of large and well organized business. The competing concerns often covered a wide territory and were thus enabled to crush out small local units. This was particularly true of cheese factories, creameries, and warehouses.

There was no permanent central organization to which coöperative concerns were required to report, no central auditing department to examine their accounts, no clearing house of information on difficult or disputed points.

In spite of these difficulties much has been accomplished and many phases of coöperative activity have been undertaken and carried on with a marked degree of success. Coöperative stores have been organized to reduce the cost of living; coöperative fruit-

THE SOCIETY OF EQUITY HAS 10,000 MEMBERS IN THE STATE AND HAS BEEN AN ACTIVE INFLUENCE IN PROMOTING COÖPERATION (SEE PAGE 468)

growers' associations, grain elevators, and potato and tobacco warehouses to grade, store, and market commodities, coöperative live-stock shippers' associations to market live-stock, coöperative butter and cheese factories to manufacture and market dairy products, coöperative cow-testing associations to improve the herds and increase the profits of the owners, mutual fire-insurance companies for the protection of property and mutual telephone companies for the convenience of users.

PRESENT-DAY COÖPERATIVE ACTIVITY IN WISCONSIN

In the past, coöperative stores have been exceedingly difficult to organize and manage with any degree of success. In America the word coöperation was long synonymous with coöperative store and coöperative store with failure. The Right Relationship League of Minneapolis has, however, brought about a remarkable change in the field of coöperative activity. There has been a striking increase in the number of stores established and a marked decrease in the number of failures.

The success of the store movement in the Northwest to-day is due almost entirely to the organizing genius and business ability of the officers and staff of the Right Relationship League. Mr. E. J. Van Horn, president, W. F. Vedder, vice-president, and E. M. Tousley, secretary-treasurer, are experienced organizers, and close followers of the English store system. They have mastered the fundamental principles of coöperation by careful study and long experience in the field.

The work of the league may be roughly divided into three parts,—agitation, assistance in organization, and management. The league does not organize a store unless the conditions are favorable. The business opportunities must be good, the number of members sufficient, and the funds adequate for the undertaking.

One or more competing stores are bought wherever possible in order to reduce the competition. The store once established, the

league does all in its power to make it a success, to encourage its growth and to aid in its development. The store's accounts are audited, its reports checked, and advice given on business management and accounting. Timely and helpful suggestions are made regularly in *Coöperation*, the organ of the league.

Out of the experience of the league a set of fundamental principles and rules have been evolved. The most important of these rules are (1) that no stockholder shall have more than one vote, regardless of the number of shares held; (2) that shares may be paid for in small installments, if necessary; (3) that the company shall have the prior right to purchase shares when the owner wishes to sell; (4) that all goods shall be sold for cash and at prevailing prices; (5) that a sufficient amount shall be allowed for depreciation; (6) that the capital stock shall be paid a small dividend of from 5 to 7 per cent. per annum; (7) that the remaining profits shall be divided among the members and customers in accordance with their patronage; (8) that one-half as much dividends shall be paid to non-members as to members on patronage; (9) that a uniform system of accounts shall be required; (10) that frequent audits shall be made; (11) and that a good business manager shall be secured.

The success of the league stores is proof of the business ability of the organizers and of the soundness of their plans and methods. At the present time there are 141 league stores, mostly in Wisconsin, Minnesota, and the Dakotas, with a total membership of 11,200, a total invested capital of $1,500,000 and total annual sales amounting to six million dollars.

COÖPERATIVE GRADING AND MARKETING—FRUIT-GROWERS' ASSOCIATIONS

The Sparta Fruit-Growers' Association is the oldest, largest, and most successful organization of its kind in the State. It now has a membership of 285, a capital stock of $6000, and sells over $50,000 worth of fruit annually. Its expenses are sometimes as low as 3½ per cent. of its gross receipts.

The Door County Fruit Exchange, the Bayfield Peninsular Fruit Association, and the Washburn Fruit-Growers' Association are organizations of a similar nature. Each association is located in an unusually productive and well-defined fruit section. It is the purpose of these societies to encourage the growth of a high-grade uniform standard fruit, to grow it in sufficient quality to attract the attention of buyers, and market it to the best advantage.

Fruit-growers' associations are among the most successful of our coöperative organizations and have aided materially in the development of the fruit area.

One of the largest and best prefected marketing associations in the State is the Wisconsin Cranberry Sales Company. This association handled about 33,000 barrels of berries, or 90 per cent. of the total Wisconsin crop, in 1911 and returned $200,000 to the growers. The industry was centered in the hands of a comparatively few men and each received an average of about $5000 for the season. The cost of handling is from one-eighth to one-tenth of the gross receipts. It is a State-wide organization and any grower of cranberries may become a member. The object of this association is to produce high-grade berries, to sort them and market them to the best advantage.

BUTTER AND CHEESE FACTORIES

Wisconsin is the leading butter and cheese State of the Union. Wisconsin's total dairy product for the year 1912 has been estimated at $100,000,000. This means hundreds of cheese factories and creameries scattered throughout the whole dairy region. The dairy division of the Bureau of Animal Industry gives Wisconsin credit for nearly 3000 cheese factories and creameries. Many of these factories are owned by private individuals, usually the cheese or butter maker, and many of them are owned by joint-stock companies, but a goodly proportion—about 350 creameries and 250 cheese factories—are cooperative. In most cases where the cheese or butter maker owns the factory he is paid a certain fixed amount for manufacturing the product; the total output then belongs to the patrons and is sold by them through the maker or some other agent.

The investigation carried on by the State Board of Public Affairs and the letters received in that office since the issue of its report prove that the fundamental principles of coöperation, in so far as they apply to cheese factories and creameries, are less uniform and not as well defined or clearly understood as in other industries. Replies to a series of detailed questions show that out of 169 coöperative creameries reporting, seventy-two or 42 per cent. made provision for voting by shares and not by the fundamental coöperative principle of "one man one vote." Few of them have attempted to organize subsidiary coöperative enterprises in connection with the creamery. It is encouraging to note that 95 per cent. of the creameries report that they

are working to secure a purer and fresher grade of cream and 27 per cent. of them state that the establishment of the coöperative creamery has resulted in an extension of social activity among the patrons.

Reports were received from 126 cheese factories. Of this number fifty-four, or 47 per cent., still voted by shares. Only thirty-eight of the coöperative cheese factories investigated used a milk test of any kind. In the remaining factories milk was paid for at a flat rate without regard to its cheese-producing qualities. In more than 84 per cent. of the factories, there has been no effort to increase the amount of butter fat per cow, and 88 per cent. have made no effort to secure the use of one breed of cows by all the farmers. Less than 17 per cent. of these factories used their organization to extend social activities to their communities.

COÖPERATIVE GRAIN ELEVATORS, POTATO AND TOBACCO WAREHOUSES

Wisconsin is no longer a single-crop grain State, and the importance of grain has decreased with the increasing attention given to dairying and diversified farming. Grain is, however, stored in large quantities and the coöperative elevator is becoming more and more popular as time goes on.

The potato industry is concentrated in certain sections of the State where the soil is especially adapted to their production. The yield is so great that the crop can only be handled by the use of warehouses. The tobacco industry is also localized by soil and climatic conditions. Under the old system of marketing each farmer usually sold his crop to the small local dealer and he in turn disposed of it to the jobber. The farmers' products passed through too many hands, to the loss of both producer and consumer. The farmers are fast realizing that these industries are unusually well adapted to coöperation. The quantity produced is large, the industry is well centralized, and the output can be easily and satisfactorily graded.

Coöperative elevators, warehouses, creameries, and factories are less uniform in their organization, management, and general practices than other coöperative organizations. Each warehouse or creamery is an individual unit and follows its own business methods and practices. There has been no central organization or clearing house of information to which they could appeal. Economic justice is slowly being worked out, but there is much to be done and much room for improvement.

COW-TESTING ASSOCIATIONS

Dairymen know that there are great differences in cows; that some produce large quantities of rich milk, while others do not produce enough to pay for their keep. They also know that animals capable of producing large quantities of milk and butter fat tend to produce offspring of a like or similar capacity. The only way to determine the value of a cow for milk-producing purposes is to weigh and test the milk. The State Dairymen's Association is organizing cow-testing associations for this purpose. An expert tester visits every herd of the association one day each month, weighs and tests the milk of every cow, and keeps full and complete records. The fee is a dollar a year for each cow, and the owner is relieved of the responsibility. Owners who have continued the test from year to year have gradually improved their herds, and those who have discontinued the test have done so largely because the results warranted the sale of all or the major portion of their stock.

Cow-testing associations were organized about six years ago. Since that time 1500 dairymen have held membership, and 17,500 cows have completed a year's record.

MUTUAL FIRE-INSURANCE COMPANIES

Perhaps no coöperative associations are so numerous, so widespread, or so close to the people as the mutual fire-insurance companies. These companies should be divided into two groups,—the city and village mutuals, and the town mutuals.

The city and village mutuals, as organized at the present time, are not marked successes. Too large a percentage of the companies write insurance cheaper than they can furnish it. Calamity and losses bring failure and failure brings court litigation. At the present time there are about fifty city and village mutual fire-insurance companies in the State.

As a rule the town mutuals are more carefully and conservatively managed than the city and village mutuals and fewer failures occur. When failures do occur, the difficulty is met in a practical way,—an assessment is made, the loss covered, and no litigation results. A maximum value is placed upon all live-stock and buildings are carefully appraised by an officer of the company. Fire losses are paid by the levy of fees and assessments. In 1900 there were 189 such companies in the State, and the amount of property insured was valued at $191,000,000.

In 1912 there were 205 companies and the amount of property insured had increased to $404,000,000. These figures indicate that the increase has come largely in the area covered, and in the business done, and not in the number of companies. The town mutual fire-insurance company has proven a very satisfactory form of insurance.

MUTUAL TELEPHONE COMPANIES

The telephone has spread rapidly to the rural communities. In most cases the initiative has been taken by the farmers. It is a very common practice for the farmers to contribute materials, time and money to the construction of a telephone line. Many of these are not incorporated and only those charging a rental to non-members are required to report to a department of the State. The total number cannot be ascertained, but the total number incorporated and charging rental in 1912 was 309, and the total number of families served was 21,049.

TRUE REASONS FOR COÖPERATION

After this brief survey of Wisconsin's coöperative activities, the question naturally arises, why have these men coöperated in so many lines of activity. We know the dairymen and farmers of Ireland and Denmark and the city people of England coöperated because of poverty and want. They coöperated because times were always hard, land yielded a niggardly return, and industry a low wage. The forces driving men to coöperate were stronger than the selfish, individualistic forces that held them apart.

The Wisconsin farmer, dairyman, and fruit-grower has not coöperated because of poverty and want, but rather to increase his profits in a given industry. He has learned to coöperate, because he desires a square deal and believes that a reasonable percentage of the final cost of a commodity should go to him as a producer. Oftentimes his whole attention is given to a single crop like potatoes, tobacco, or fruit; or to a single business like dairying. When this is true the farmer or dairyman markets his product with more thought and care. The small loss in marketing a few chickens or vegetables does not arouse his interest. The American farmer does business in a big way, and coöperates because he wants to save dollars in big transactions, not a penny on every transaction. The saving that appeals to the European peasant and laborer does not appeal to him. He has combined not because he could not pay the price as a consumer or because he could not live on the returns paid to him as a producer, but because he would not. He has also combined in a non-competitive field to increase his product or to improve his herds or to insure his own mutual benefit, protection, and convenience.

After a long and varied experience coöperative associations of the State have proven that there is a sound, economic basis for coöperation in Wisconsin, and that successful coöperation is possible. This has been demonstrated not only in one line but in several lines. It seems evident that the thing most needed now is some educational and centralizing force that will bring the experience of all the coöperative societies of the State together and serve as a bureau of information.

SIR HORACE PLUNKETT'S INFLUENCE

Perhaps no State in the Union is so far advanced along these lines as Wisconsin. This is due in no small degree to the influence and activity of Sir Horace Plunkett, who has been so largely responsible for the origin and success of the coöperative movement in Ireland. Sir Horace Plunkett spoke once before the Legislature of 1911 and again before the Legislature of 1913. During his last visit to Madison he held conferences with the Governor, with State officers, with the president of the University, and with the dean and faculty of the College of Agriculture.

At the present time numerous forces are working in Wisconsin to bring about better agricultural conditions, better marketing methods, and a closer relation between producer and consumer. These forces may be divided into the voluntary organizations, the semi-public, and the governmental.

VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS

The American Society of Equity began active organization work in Wisconsin in 1903, but the Wisconsin State Union was not formed until January, 1906, and the State paper, the *Wisconsin Equity News*, was not established until May, 1908. The Equity Society is an educational organization and to date has not engaged in any business activity. This being true, the actual results of its teachings are not easily traceable, but directly or indirectly it is responsible for much of the coöperative spirit and many of the coöperative associations organized in Wisconsin. At the present time the Wisconsin branch has an

active membership of over 10,000 members in this State. Many more have lost their membership, but not their interest. The State headquarters are located at Madison and are in charge of Mr. M. Wesley Tubbs, State secretary and editor of the State official paper. This voluntary association has taken a deep interest in all legislation affecting cooperative societies and an active interest in all matters affecting the agricultural interests of the State.

The Right Relationship League is of more recent origin and has confined its activities to coöperative stores and warehouses, with special emphasis on the farmer. This organization is more than educational in its nature. It not only advocates the formation of coöperative stores, but actually aids in their organization and management. The growth of the organization has been very rapid and the success of the undertaking very marked indeed. Perhaps no form of coöperative organization is more difficult than coöperative stores and yet the Right Relationship League has had but a few scattered failures. Its success is due mainly to the fact that it has mastered the fundamental principles of organization and management and succeeded in carrying them out in actual practice.

EDUCATIONAL AGENCIES

The College of Agriculture has always been a powerful force in the rural development of the State. It has always been active in research, investigation, and experimentation and has accumulated a vast quantity of information and knowledge along all lines of scientific agriculture.

The college has never been content with the mere acquisition of knowledge. At first regular students were instructed; then farmers' sons were induced to take the winter course and later the farmers and their wives were induced to spend a brief but active period at the University. Not satisfied with this the Extension Division of the Agricultural College is carrying its information to the farmers.

Until recently the emphasis has been laid upon more and better live-stock, more and better seeds and grains, more and better dairy products, all without soil exhaustion or depletion. The University realizing that increased production is not sufficient, is turning its attention, through its Extension Division, to marketing and better social conditions. At the suggestion of the State Board of Public Affairs the College of Agriculture recently established a professorship of agricultural coöperation and marketing. Prof. B. H. Hibbard, who holds this position, is not only instructing the students in coöperation and marketing, but is lecturing and acting in an advisory capacity for coöperative organizations throughout the State. Prof. H. C. Taylor, head of the Economics Department of the College of Agriculture, at the suggestion of the Board of Public Affairs has made the most complete and thorough investigation of the production and marketing of American cheese that has been made to date. In brief, the University is working for a realization of Sir Horace Plunkett's ideal—"better farming, better business, and better living."

SEMI-PUBLIC AND GOVERNMENTAL ACTIVITIES

Perhaps the best illustration of the activities of a semi-public organization is the work of the State Dairymen's Association. This organization, made up of the leading dairymen of the State and supported in part by money from the State treasury, is devoting its entire time and funds to the organization and management of cow-testing associations. At the present time this association is testing about five thousand cows for quantity and quality of product.

Prior to 1911 coöperative societies were organized under the general corporation laws of the State. Unfair competition from large and powerful organizations, especially in the grain and dairy industries, led to legislation during 1909 forbidding companies and corporations to pay a different price in one section than in another for the purpose of creating a monopoly and destroying the business of a competitor. In 1911 the legislature passed a very comprehensive law providing for the organization and management of all coöperative concerns. Governor McGovern's message to the present legislature strongly advocated the introduction of cooperative rural credit and a strong central organization to instruct and assist all associations desiring to coöperate in a legitimate way.

BILLS IN THE LEGISLATURE

Numerous bills relating to credit associations, coöperation, and marketing have been introduced in this legislature. One is a comprehensive measure defining trusts and unlawful competition, and providing methods and means of control. Another provides for an appropriation of $25,000 to be spent jointly by the University and the State Board of Public Affairs in educational and extension

work in coöperation and coöperative credit; and a third for the creation of a semi-public organization to bring about a closer relation between the producer and the consumer.

THE STATE BOARD OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

The State Board of Public Affairs, created at the last session of the legislature, was instructed by the act to make a careful investigation of coöperation. This board, working in conjunction with the Legislative Reference Library, made a preliminary investigation of all the coöperative organizations of the State, and a study of coöperation and coöperative conditions abroad.

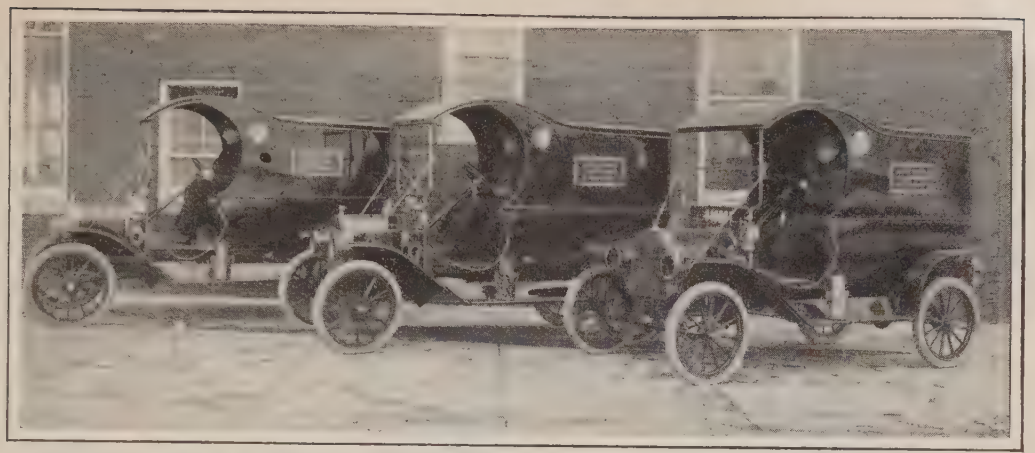
This investigation was made with three objects in view—first, to ascertain the extent and present status of coöperation in Wisconsin; second, to learn the causes for the success of existing coöperative organizations and causes for the failures of those that had not been able to withstand the struggle; and third, to see what lessons could be derived from abroad and how they could be applied here.

The investigation of conditions abroad was very helpful and encouraging. Half a century ago Denmark was a barren waste of sand dunes and many of her people were in poverty. Her agricultural population was unorganized both for purposes of production and marketing. During the last half-century Denmark has undergone an agricultural evolution, and to-day is one of the most prosperous countries in all Europe. Her farms are fertile and productive, her people are well educated, industrious, and prosperous. There is no dead level of uniformity but each finds opportunity according to his ability and resources. The two great factors in this movement have been education and coöperation. Denmark has taught her people how to improve their methods of production and how to market their products successfully through coöperation.

Ireland was a land of poverty, misery, and despair. She had lost a large part of her population and all of her prestige as a dairy nation. To-day Ireland is rapidly regaining her place as a dairy country and her people are fast becoming optimistic and contented. The change is due to the introduction of better farming methods, better business practices, and better living conditions. In all this coöperation has been a great factor.

The recognized success of the movement abroad, the widespread activity and unusual success in Wisconsin has encouraged those interested in better agricultural conditions to believe that if all the forces working for coöperation in Wisconsin will coöperate and work in harmony, the movement can be placed on a sound, economic basis and the great majority of the usual and customary failures avoided.

The spirit of coöperation that prevails among the organizations working for coöperation and marketing and better rural conditions is well illustrated by their activity and conduct in the organization of the cheese producers of Sheboygan County. The farmers were dissatisfied with the management of the cheese-selling board at Plymouth, the leading cheese board of the State. A long period of agitation following. During this period the Society of Equity carried on a general campaign of education and organized numerous local unions. When conditions were favorable a meeting of the farmers was called and about 1500 attended. Representatives from the Society of Equity, the University, and the State Board of Public Affairs were present on invitation and spoke at this meeting. The result of the agitation and mass meeting was the appointment of an executive committee to draft a constitution, articles of agreement and by-laws for the association. The executive committee to date has had four meetings, all of which have been attended by representatives from the University and from the State Board of Public Affairs upon request. Information and assistance have been given to the executive committee along economic, business, and legal lines, and the articles of the association, the constitution and the by-laws are now nearly ready for submission to the patrons of the creamery. The organization, when perfected, will compare very favorably with the largest marketing cooperative concerns in the United States. It will be composed of over 100 cheese factories having a yearly capacity of over 14,000,000 pounds. The annual value of the product, conservatively stated, will amount to over two million dollars.



RAPID DELIVERIES AT A LOW COST OFFER A STRONG ARGUMENT IN FAVOR OF THE SMALL CAR

THE COST OF OPERATING COMMERCIAL VEHICLES

Showing What the Motor Truck Actually Costs Its Owner and What the Items of Operating Cost Really Mean

BY J. M. VAN HARLINGEN

THE result of careful study of road transportation as it is to-day shows that there is little accurate information available regarding the cost of transportation. Efficient transportation depends largely upon a complete knowledge of the cost of operation: and a system of transportation fully developed is standardized to such an extent that its cost is accurately known.

In an endeavor to obtain the necessary figures for presenting the actual cost of transportation by motor trucks, a large number of users were personally appealed to for information regarding the cost of operating their vehicles. The answers to these inquiries gave much data that was incomplete and it seems safe to assume that few owners realize what their equipment really costs to operate. In short, few attempts have been made to standardize this work. Many replies received from owners contain the statement that when they first purchased a motor truck the cost of operation was carefully kept for a few months. The results obtained in a comparatively short time assured them as to the general results that might be obtained from their operation and they were either satisfied or dissatisfied with the truck on this basis.

The first users of motor equipment considered their trucks as a novelty rather than as a practical method of transportation and the records which were kept during the early days of motor-truck transportation are more a matter of historical interest than a basis on which to figure modern operating costs. This lack of accurate information on the cost of operating the first motor vehicles which were put in service, makes it necessary to rely upon the figures recently compiled by a few motor-truck users.

Estimates on the cost of operation as supplied by manufacturers and engineers are based on the actual results of operating under most favorable conditions. These figures are, in many cases, conservative and results have been obtained in actual practice by some users of motor vehicles which are lower than the estimates furnished by the manufacturer.

Manufacturers' estimates and records of actual operating cost supplied by truck users are apt to be misleading unless they include all the items which should be charged against truck operation.

A manufacturer using a one-and-one-half-ton gasoline truck for general delivery work reports that during six months the truck made 3767 miles, or an average of 254 miles per day. It carried 451 tons in this time. The truck was in service 149 days and made 418 trips during the six months.

This firm states that the cost for this work was $5.07 per day. This figure is given without any itemized list of expenses, but since the truck costs approximately $2100 the interest for six months would amount to $273, making the cost per day for this item, $1.83, while the

A FIVE-TON GROCERY TRUCK WHICH TAKES THE PLACE OF MANY MULE TEAMS IN A SOUTHERN CITY

driver's wages at $75 per month, the rate paid by this concern, brings the sum of these two items up to $4.83 per day, leaving $0.24 to cover all the other expenses of operation. In this case it is obvious that some important items must have been omitted and that these figures, as they stand, are apt to be misleading.

This method of estimating the cost of operation is common and it is frequently found that statements of this kind are issued by concerns whose business is well standardized in other departments.

In the actual cost figures given it will be noted that all items are included in the cost of operation, or that attention has been called to any omission. In several cases attention will be called to the difference between the actual cost of operation and the cost of operation as estimated by users.

INTEREST AND DEPRECIATION

The items which are most frequently omitted in submitting figures on cost of operating motor trucks are, interest, depreciation, and overhead charges. It has been found that few small truck owners have any conception of the terms amortization or depreciation. In figuring the items of interest and depreciation, care should be taken to adjust the figures given for any particular year so that the interest paid will not cover the full amount of the investment, except during the first year of operation.

By depreciation we mean the loss in value due to age, use, or abuse which cannot be covered by current repairs. Amortization is the replacement of this value by setting aside a fund sufficient to replace the value at the end of the useful life of the truck. The item of depreciation or amortization should offset the original investment by a definite per cent. of original value of the truck each year, thereby reducing the original interest charges. This method of handling is given merely as a suggestion, but the omission of these items from a cost account renders it inaccurate.

As a typical illustration of the method of handling these charges, we have taken a five-ton truck costing $5000; the owner estimates that the truck will be efficient for five years, or that he will wish to replace it at the end of that time. He charges his original investment at 6 per cent. and amortizes his truck at the rate of 20 per cent. per annum. This amortization fund is assumed to draw interest at 6 per cent.

The following table shows the amounts chargeable in any one year to these items:

RELATION BETWEEN INTEREST AND DEPRECIATION AS ITEMS OF THE OPERATING COST OF MOTOR TRUCKS

	Interest Paid On	Actual Interest at 6 Per Cent.	Amortization Fund at End of Each Year at 20 Per Cent.
1st year....	$5000	$300	$1000
2nd year....	4000	240	2000
3rd year....	3000	180	3000
4th year....	2000	120	4000
5th year....	1000	60	5000

OVERHEAD EXPENSE

The overhead charges may not be in such shape that they can be charged to the expenses of a single truck, but where the equipment is larger there is sure to be a certain amount of superintendence and general office expenses, taxes, insurance (other than auto-truck insurance), etc., which should be charged to the transportation cost.

These charges include a variety of items depending largely upon the size of the equipment and plant. If cost accounts are kept requiring the attention of part of a bookkeeper's time, a portion of the salary should be charged against the truck. If the light

THE REAL HORSE AMONG MOTOR VEHICLES. IT HAS THE GREAT ADVANTAGE OF BEING READILY ADAPTABLE TO ANY KIND OF BUSINESS

and heat used in the garage is part of the general lighting and heating system of the plant, a fair porportion of this expense should be charged to the trucks.

It is frequently said by truck owners that there will be no garage expense, because there is a stable where the truck will be kept. In this case taxes are paid on the stable, or it is considered as an asset; there is an interest and depreciation charge against this building and the occupation of it is costing something all the time. It is not always possible to use this method of reasoning, as the stable expense may be charged to horses or warehouse and the space occupied by a single truck is so small that it is impossible to compute a proper charge; but it is advisable in all cases to assign some garage expense to the truck where it is possible to do so.

THE DRIVER

Having selected the type of truck, the most important step has been taken in the installation of motor equipment, but in order to operate successfully a good driver must be obtained. From the experience of many truck owners, it is a conservative statement that a good driver will often save his own salary in keeping down repairs and increasing the efficiency, while a poor driver will always cost the company his wages over again in repairs as well as crippling the service through having the truck laid up. It is poor economy to pay a poor man and great economy to encourage a good one. Under the heading, "Time Element," a practical method of interesting the driver in economic operation is suggested.

INSURANCE

The item of insurance is so variable that it is almost impossible to say more than that it should be carried in some form on every truck. The most usual form is insurance against fire. The rate for this insurance is fairly steady and depends upon the value of the truck. Liability insurance varies according to the business in which the truck is

THE ELECTRIC VEHICLE IS OFTEN USED WHERE THE POSSIBILITIES OF FIRE PREVENT THE ADOPTION OF THE GASOLINE VEHICLE

engaged and the locality in which it is operating.

OPERATING CHARGES

The item of maintenance should cover overhauling at least once a year, repainting, adjustment, replacement of parts, and, in the case of electrics, battery renewals.

The charge per mile against this item depends largely upon the conditions under which the truck is operated and upon the driver; the total yearly charge should be proportional to the mileage covered. The cost per mile for tires should be based on the guarantee mileage given by the manufacturer and the first cost of the tires. A set of tires costing $400, guaranteed for 8000 miles, would cost two cents per mile.

This is the only fair basis on which to make this charge as the renewals should be made, and price adjusted with the manufacturer, on a mileage basis.

The cost of gasoline, oil, and grease will depend largely upon the driver and his knowledge of the truck and engine adjustments. The manufacturer who inspects his trucks should assist in keeping down these costs if they seem to be too high.

TIME ELEMENT IN TRANSPORTATION COST

Since the motor truck represents a far larger individual investment than the horse-drawn vehicle, it is therefore true that the cost of keeping a truck standing idle is far greater than the time wasted by the horse-drawn vehicle. In order to arrive at the approximate cost of allowing a motor truck to stand idle, let us divide the fixed charges of a five-ton motor truck by the number of hours in a working day. The original investment in this motor-truck equipment is about $1200 and the fixed charges, including driver's wages, etc., will amount to about $8 per day. This means that in a ten-hour day the idle truck costs 80 cents an hour or a little over one cent for every minute that it is not in actual operation. It is a comparatively easy matter, therefore, to demonstrate that by installing labor and time-saving devices the efficiency of the truck will be greatly increased and the original cost of such devices paid for in a reasonably short length of time.

A method which has been used with considerable success by large organizations would seem to be equally practicable in the case of a concern operating only a few trucks. By this plan the coöperation of the driver or shipping clerk is enlisted by setting a figure for unit delivery and basing the profit or loss of the department on this figure. Whether the reward be an increase in pay or a substantial bonus for savings effected, this method will invariably produce a remarkable reduction in transportation costs. The driver, by saving a few minutes on each delivery, will, at the end of the year, have increased his capacity to a very marked degree, and by careful handling of his machine the costs of operation may be reduced to a minimum. This personal factor in the economic operation of com-

THE WORK DONE BY THIS MONSTER CAN HARDLY BE COMPARED WITH THAT OF HORSE-DRAWN EQUIPMENT (SEE PAGE 477)

mercial vehicles is believed to be a most vital one.

As an illustration of the influence of the time element on the cost of operation, the following table is given which shows the effect of an increase in time required for deliveries. In this table the effect of change in delivery time between one minute and two minutes for both gasoline and electric vehicles is shown.

VEHICLE	1000-lb Electric		1000-lb Gasoline		1-Horse Wagon	
Time of Delivery	1 min. per del.	2 min. per del.	1 min. per del.	2 min. per del.	1 min. per del.	2 min. per del.
Standing time, Hours	4.6	5.7	4.75	5.9		4.9
Miles per Day	35	26	38	28	25	20
Distance Factor, per cent	89	75	48	35	83	68
Cost per Delivery	5.4c.	6.9c.	6.5c.	8.4c.	5.9c.	7.2c.

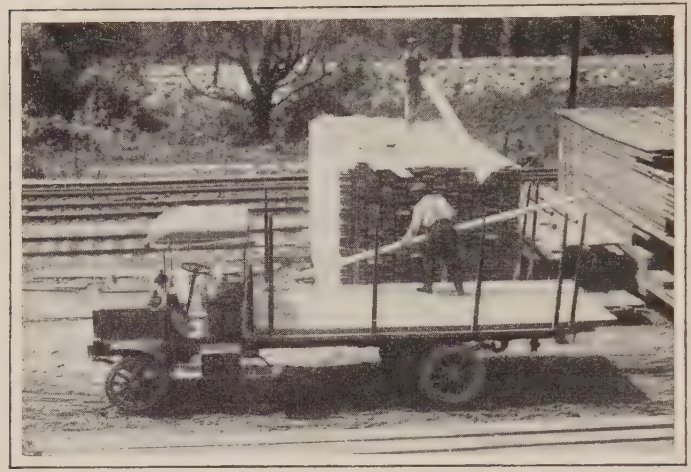
The above table was compiled from figures taken from a report of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and assumes the following conditions:

COST OF PARCEL DELIVERY

Average maximum load ..... 1000 lbs.
Number of trips per day 3
Deliveries per mile 4
Hours working per day 9
Hours per trip for loading 0.75
Time for each delivery ..... 1 min.

VEHICLE	1000-lb. Electric	1000-lb. Gasoline	1-Horse Wagon (2-Horses)
Average running speed, miles per hour	8	9	5
Standing time, hours	4.6	4.75	4
Running time, hours	4.4	4.25	5
Distance-capacity, miles per day	40	80	30
Actual miles per day	35	38	25
Distance-factor, per cent	89	48	83
Investment	$2,200	$1,800	$950
Days used per year	285	260	285
Vehicle miles per year	10,000	9,900	7,100
EXPENSES—ANNUAL:			
Operation:			
Running repairs and lubricants	$120	$325	.....
Shoeing and veterinary	.....	.....	$75
Electricity, gasoline or feed	160	155	360
Garage or stable	200	200	225
Driver	710	780	645
Maintenance:			
Battery	200	.....	.....
Tire	125	180	.....
Overhaul	80	250	50
Painting	60	60	50
Fixed Charges:			
Amortization	238	400	170
Administration	60	60	40
Interest	55	41	24
Insurance, Fire	27	32	12
Insurance, Liability	100	100	20
Taxes	17	13	8
Total annual expense	$2,152	$2,576	$1,679
Cost per day used	$7.55	$9.93	$5.90
Cost per delivery	5.4c.	6.5c.	5.9c.
Cost per mile	21.5c.	26.0c.	23.5c.

The horse vehicle does only about two-thirds as much work per day as either of the motor vehicles.



WITH BETTER LOADING FACILITIES A TRUCK OF THIS TYPE CAN REPLACE FIVE TEAMS
(Modern transportation and obsolete loading methods are not usually a paying investment)

FIELD OF THE SMALL TRUCK

The field of the small truck is limited almost entirely to the delivery of light packages and the choice between electric and gasoline vehicles for this purpose is dependent very largely upon the conditions of service which are to be met with in any particular line of business.

The light electric truck is used almost entirely for city delivery work where a large number of stops are made and deliveries are frequent. It is found that the cost per mile of the gasoline truck is far higher in this class of service than in any other. This is largely due to the wear and tear caused by constant starting and stopping of the truck and to the fact that the motor is allowed to run a large part of the time when the truck is not actually in motion. For this reason, as well as the fact that it is more easily operated than the gasoline truck and therefore requires a lower grade of driver, the electric truck is largely used for city delivery work where high speed is not essential. The light gasoline truck covers very much the same field as the electric, but is more widely used for suburban deliveries and special city work where high speed is required.

The following figures represent a fair average cost of operating small gasoline trucks in general suburban delivery work. These figures were obtained from an organization noted for its thorough accounting system and may be relied upon for accuracy in every respect.

The method of presenting these figures is unique in that it gives a basis by which to compare the cost of each class of delivery work. The report from which these figures were taken gives similar data for larger and smaller types of trucks used by the same company and classifies the work done by each type of vehicle.

The large trucks are used on long hauls; the one-and-one-half-ton trucks are used for delivery work in suburban territory, and the small 1000-pound cars are used for city deliveries. The average cost per mile for three-ton trucks in this work was approximately 18 cents and for the 1000-pound delivery wagons approximately 15 cents.

Following are the actual figures on one-and-one-half-ton gasoline trucks, equipped with pneumatic tires, used for suburban deliveries by this store, which operates over fifty of these trucks, covering an average of sixty miles per day each.

Month	Mileage Made With All Trucks	Total Maintenance Per Mile
April	15,742	23.6 cents
May	21,760	14.0
June	20,573	16.5
July	21,300	14.0
August	21,627	11.5
September	21,703	11.5
October	28,812	10.0
Total	151,517	
Monthly average	21,645	14.31 cents
Tire cost per mile		.175 cents
Oil cost per mile		.05 cents
Gasoline at 16 cents per gallon (8 miles per gallon)		.02 cents

Note: These figures include,—

Insurance, Light, Heat, Rent, Overhead Supplies, Parts, Incidental Expenses and Depreciation, figured as follows:

1st year—33 per cent. 3rd year—18 per cent.
2nd year—25 per cent. 4th year—20 per cent.
5th year—12 per cent.

In contrast to these figures another department store, operating in another city, presents figures on the cost of operating a one-and-one-half-ton truck where operating conditions are adverse, the conditions of the streets being poor and the truck being used in city as well as suburban work.

This truck is equipped with solid tires and the figures shown are for the second year of service.

	Total	Cost Per Mile
Gasoline	$219.22	$.0127
Oil	47.47	.0027
Electric current	1.20	.0001
Batteries	2.54	.0001
Grease	2.57	.0001
Carbide	2.08	.0001
Other supplies	9.46	.0005
Tires	391.02	.0227
Repairs and added equipment	167.57	.0097
Salary	919.50	.0533
Licenses	34.68	.0020
Insurance	196.92	.0114
Depreciation at 33⅓ per cent.	999.96	.0580
Total Cost of Operation	$2,994.19	$.1734
Total Cost per Day (306½ Days)		$9.75
Total number of Miles per Year		17,226
Average number of Miles per Day		56.2

A firm operating twenty-five small electric vehicles shows the result of two and one-half years' careful observation and the figures show the correct charges which should be made against the operation of this type of commercial vehicle. These trucks were used for general delivery purposes and were only a part of the large equipment operated by the same company. It is therefore safe to assume that the average operator of a single small electric vehicle would probably be unable to approach the economies effected by this large and well organized company, but it is interesting to note that the work accomplished by these vehicles is fully 25 per cent. greater than that of the horse-drawn equipment used previously by the same concern. These figures, however, do not include the items of depreciation, interest, and administration. These items together would add in the neighborhood of 4 cents per mile to this operation, making the total cost per mile—25.10 cents.

	Total for 2½ Years	Average Per Mile Per Vehicle
1. Drivers	$44,175.00	.065
2. Garage rent	22,819.12	.0325
3. Current	18,743.43	.0274
4. Bat. men and machinists	10,000.00	.0144
5. Bat. renewals	16,242.14	.0237
6. Repair parts	13,996.39	.0205
7. Insurance	6,600.00	.0095
8. Superintendence	3,048.06	.0044
9. Painting	2,763.32	.004
10. Tires	2,651.71	.0038
11. Washers	2,793.85	.0041
12. Soap, oil, grease	1,133.33	.0017
Total	$144,966.35	.2110

The above is for a total of 682,331 miles run.

The average daily mileage made by these trucks is 30, making the approximate cost per day $7.50.

THE UTILITY OF THE HEAVY TRUCK

The chief difference between the light delivery truck and the heavy truck lies in the fact that in the case of the light truck the capacity of horse-drawn vehicles is duplicated, the advantage of the truck lying in its ability to make rapid deliveries and to operate under conditions which greatly decrease the efficiency of the horse. With the use of the heavy motor truck, however, the advantage of carrying a heavier load in quicker time at a lower cost for each load unit presents the most favorable argument in favor of the motor vehicle. The engine and body of the heavier tonnage motor truck form a very powerful combination for the more efficient handling of merchandise, while the adaptation of the motor truck to a wide variety of uses has kept pace with the rapid advancement in other fields of commercial activity. Aside from the haulage of merchandise and the transportation of raw materials, the modern motor truck is used in a variety of ways which prove interesting to the investigator and tax the ingenuity of the motor-truck designer.

The largest truck now manufactured carties ten tons on its chassis. This load is drawn by an engine having no larger horsepower than many of the engines supplied with trucks of smaller capacity.

This type of truck, however, is not recommended by the manufacturers for use outside of cities where well-paved streets and operating conditions are most favorable. The use of the motor truck as a tractor is comparatively little known in this country, but in Europe, where the road conditions throughout the country districts are very much superior to our own, it is not unusual to see a five-ton truck hauling three-, four- and five-ton trailers of from one and one-half to three tons' capacity each.

For city operation and for use where the road conditions are unusually good this type of operation would seem to be by far the most economical, but the development of good roads in this country is so far behind that of European countries that it does not seem likely that the adoption of the motor truck as a tractor will be at all general for some time to come.

In everyday use, the heavy motor truck has invariably proven its superiority in every way to the horse-drawn vehicle, but the question of superiority of the gasoline or electric truck is one which is almost entirely dependent upon the conditions as noted elsewhere.

The effect of constant starting and stopping with heavy loads is likely to be much more injurious to the mechanism of the heavy truck than in the case of the lighter type of motor vehicle, and the operation of the engine for comparatively long periods of time when the truck is not actually in motion is a very much larger item of expense in the heavier types of trucks. It is for this reason that the majority of motor-truck users who have tried out both the electric and gasoline trucks, have restricted the use of their gasoline vehicles to long-haul work where the advantages of speed and flexibility of operation enable them to cover a much larger territory in a shorter period of time than would be possible with the electric vehicle. The electric vehicle, however, is admirably adapted to the transportation of freight in the congested parts of the city, as well as to the distribution of freight where deliveries are made within a limited area.

A LUMBER COMPANY'S EXPERIENCE

The following figures show what has been done by a large lumber company, comparing this work with the use of horses.

Four months of actual usage of a five-ton truck, during which time an accurate record of the truck and also of the company's teams was kept, has developed some surprising facts and figures. The computation in both cases is based on the total investment, insurance, interest, up-keep, repairs, etc.

It has been thoroughly demonstrated that the truck replaced five and one-half teams and that the truck will deliver lumber at 36 cents per 1000 feet while the teams cost 75 cents per 1000 feet, or more than twice as much.

	Five-Ton Truck	Two Horses
Total Investment, with equipment	$5,362.12	$1,510.00
Total Expense per Day	$15.26	$5.63
Average Mileage per Day.	42.5	15.00
Average round-trip haul-miles	5	5
Average number trips per Day	8.5	3
Average Load — Dressed Lumber	5,000 ft.	2,500 ft.
Average Weight per Load.	5 tons	2.5 tons
Carrying total per Day...	42,500 ft.	7,500 ft.
Total expense per 1000 feet	36 cents	75 cents

The truck is equipped with a roller body and as an accessory, a small four-wheel loading wagon for gathering lumber about the yards and having load ready for truck. By actual timing it has been found that it takes three minutes to transfer the lumber to the truck and two minutes to unload without damage of any kind to the lumber.

OPERATING COST OF A THREE-TON GASOLINE TRUCK IN SERVICE OF A PRINTING HOUSE

This truck makes long hauls, and while no accurate record of mileage was kept during the year, it was estimated that the truck was in operation 300 days and made an average of forty-five miles per day.

300 Working Days per Year.
45 Miles per Day (estimated).
13,500 Miles per Year.

Insurance	$193.75
Wages	1158.10
Tires .062 cents per mile	844.31
Gasoline .031 cents per mile	423.80
Oil and grease .014 cents per mile	199.60
Maintenance	97.86
General repairs	535.53
Total for the year	$3452.95
Total for a day	11.51
Approximate cost per mile	0.253

ACTUAL COST OF OPERATING A FIVE-TON TRUCK IN SERVICE OF A MANUFACTURER, HAULING VERY HEAVY MERCHANDISE

6 per cent. Interest on $5000 per Year	$300.00
10 per cent. Amortization per Year	500.00
Four Kinds of Insurance	382.50
Total per Year	$1182.50
Total per Day	$3.95

This represents absolute fixed charges for the first year which cannot be reduced.

In addition to that come as relatively fixed charges:

Garage per day	1.00
Driver per day	3.00
Making total fixed charges per day	$7.95

The actual operating expenses per day on a basis of 50 miles per day include:

2 helpers per day	$4.00	
Gasoline—12½ gal. at 15 cents	1.87	
Oil—½ gal. at 50 cents	.25	
Tires—6 cents per mile	3.00	
This is on a basis of a guarantee of 8,000 miles for tires costing complete, $480.00.		
Repairs—4 cents per mile	2.00	
This is on a basis of a general over haul per year and minor repairs from time to time, all costing, $600.00.		
Depreciation estimated at 2 cents per mile	1.00	12.12
Total cost per day at 50 miles		$20.07

It is safe to estimate that $20 per day covers the entire expense of Fixed and Operating Charges per truck.

On this basis the average delivery of

5000 lbs. per day would cost	.400 cents
6000 " " " " "	.333 cents
7500 " " " " "	.266 cents

THE POET OF THE WESTWARD MARCH

JOAQUIN MILLER, who died on February 17, in his one-room cabin near Oakland, Cal., was seventy-one years of age. Cincinnatus H. Miller, which was his real name, was born in Indiana. His name, however, has for more than half a century been associated with the mountains and mines of the Far West, a figure inseparable from California and the Golden Gate. Miller has been farmer, miner, lawyer, judge and editor. He attempted to sell his first manuscript to Bret Harte when the latter was editor of the *Overland*. His books of poems, "Songs of the Sun Land," "Ship of the Desert," "Shadows of Shasta," "Memories and Rhymes," "49, or the Gold Seekers of the Sierras," "The Destruction of Gotham" and others, have earned him a high place on the literary roll of our country's formative period. Miller's topics were not those of the border, as might have been expected, but the common qualities of humanity: honor, courage, love and truth. He had a sense of musical poetic style well developed, and all of his verse is steeped in the imagery of the Bible. His philosophy of work was that the art of poetry is found in books, but the inspiration of poetry only in nature.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

THE MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS

THE serious articles in the early spring issues of the popular magazines are perhaps rather less numerous than earlier in the year. The *Atlantic*, however, is well sustaining its reputation for sound and enlightening contributions to current discussion. The opening article in the April number is by Brooks Adams on "The Collapse of Capitalistic Government." Other notable contributions to this number are "Constantinople in War-Time," by H. G. Dwight; "Both Sides of the Servant Question," by Annie Winsor Allen; and "Book-Publishing and Its Present Tendencies," by George P. Brett of the Macmillan Company.

The *Century* has made a special effort to bring out material of timely interest in relation to the change of administration at Washington. "The Kind of Man Woodrow Wilson Is," by Mr. W. G. McAdoo, who, since the writing of this article, has been made President Wilson's Secretary of the Treasury, is an intimate revelation of a personality concerning whom the American public cannot at this moment be sated in its quest for information. Prof. Bliss Perry offers an admirable appreciation of "Woodrow Wilson as a Man of Letters." Of special significance at the threshold of the new President's official career at Washington is the brief account of "Grover Cleveland and His Cabinet at Work," by President Cleveland's Secretary of the Navy, the Hon. Hilary A. Herbert.

The most notable pages in *Scribner's* for March serve as a reminder of the *Titanic* disaster nearly one year ago, and are contributed by Captain Rostrom, commander of the *Carpathia*, which rescued so many of the survivors. This unpretentious narrative is remarkable for its clarity and directness.

Harper's continues its series of suggestions for better farming with a paper on "The Conservation of the Fertility of the Soil," by A. D. Hall, F. R. S. Edward Hungerford gives a good description of the Great Lakes and the steamboat traffic thereon.

In *McClure's* an able defense of the militant suffragettes in England is made by Elizabeth Robins. We quote on another page of this department from Mr. Burton J. Hendrick's article on "The Jewish Invasion of America." Two new departments have been started by *McClure's*—"Health, Public and Private," under the supervision of Samuel Hopkins Adams, and a new department for women, edited by Inez Milholland.

Mr. Albert W. Atwood gives in the *American Magazine* a vivid and startling picture of American railroad wrecks with some of the reasons for their rapid increase.

The principal article in *Everybody's* is "The Balkan Thunderbolt," by Frederick Palmer. We quote elsewhere in this number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS from Mr. Palmer's graphic description of the seat of war.

The *Popular Science Monthly* for March publishes three articles of unusual interest to farmers—"A Chronicle of the Tribe of Corn," by Prof. E. M. East; "The Utilization of the Nitrogen of the Air," by Arthur A. Noyes; and "How European Agriculture Is Financed," by Prof. H. C. Price.

Important articles in the *North American Review* are: "American Libraries and the Investigator," by Herbert Putnam; "The Commercial Awakening of the Moro and Pagan," by Major John P. Finley, U. S. A.; and "The Virginians and Constitutional Government," by Thomas Nelson Page.

Only one of the *Forum's* articles for March has a direct bearing on American political conditions. That is a study entitled "The Changing Focus in Politics," by Walter Lippmann. This a suggestive survey of the most recent movements in the direction of socio-political reforms in this country. The aim of the writer, however, is not to emphasize specific reforms in themselves, but to direct attention to the great possibilities that they foreshadow. "Whether or not we adopt certain specific bills, high tariff or low tariff, one banking system or another, this trust control or that, is a slight gain compared to a change of attitude toward all political problems." In his view the method of reform matters even more than the reform itself. "A man who couldn't think straight might get the right answer to one problem, but how much faith would we have in his capacity to solve the next one?"

THE NEW "CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY"

THE appearance of a new review with a serious purpose and wide field is always a noteworthy event. The *Constructive Quarterly*, the first number of which appeared last month, aims to be a journal of the "faith, work, and thought of Christendom." It will be edited from New York by Silas McBee, formerly editor of *The Churchman*, and a man of solid attainments in many different phases of religious and philosophic thought. The *Constructive Quarterly*, we are informed in the introduction to the first number, attempts to build on what the Christian churches are actually believing, doing, and thinking. "The purpose is to create an atmosphere of mutual confidence, of mutual knowledge, of mutual desire for fellowship." It is to be "non-official, non-sectarian and impartial." The editor will be "responsible for the kind of writers admitted to its pages, but the writers are alone responsible for what appears over their own names." An editorial board made up of eminent authorities all over the world assists the editor.

Photograph by Hollinger, New York.
DR. SILAS M'BEE, EDITOR OF THE NEW REVIEW, THE "CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY"

This number contains a list of articles which are presumed to represent the tone and scope of the magazine's purpose. Dr. William P. Du Bose, Dean Emeritus of the Theological Department of the University of the South, leads with an article on "A Constructive Treatment of Christianity." He writes boldly and tolerantly, holding for what he regards as essentials, and emphasizing what he calls "the universal drawing of humanity to Christ." Mr. Wilfrid Ward, an eminent Roman Catholic publicist and leading member of the Council of the Catholic Union of Great Britain, and, since 1886, editor of the *Dublin Review*, follows with a discussion of "Union Among Christians." He is not sanguine of an early realization of this ideal, but he says that it commends itself in many ways to the ancient Church of Rome. Archbishop Platon, the head of the "Christians of the Holy Orthodox Russian Church in the United States and Alaska," contributes a cordial message of hope and good cheer. Dr. Friedrich Loofs, Professor of Church History in the University of Halle, and an authority on Lutheran apologetics, gives "A German View of the Sola Fide." He maintains that justification by faith alone must be the basis of all evangelical dogmatics. A survey of the church of France to-day is contributed by Professor Georges Joyau, Fellow of the University of France, author, contributing editor to the "Catholic Encyclopedia," and assistant editor of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. Professor Joyau points out the devotion of the priesthood in France, and rejoices in the way the "curé of the Concordat has transformed himself into a curé of the Separation."

The Rev. John W. Wynne, S. J., one of the editors of the "Catholic Encyclopedia," a member of the faculty of Fordham University and editor of the Roman Catholic weekly known as *America*, sums up the "Reforms of Pius X." These reforms in educational matters and matters of the details of many of the ceremonies Dr. Wynne calls constructive in the best sense. They have, he says, preserved the integrity of the Church; brought the hierarchy and the people into closer union; expedited the routine business of the Vatican; "enhanced the beauty of the liturgy; strengthened religious knowledge; and magnified in the eyes of the faithful the three great sacraments,—Matrimony, Holy Orders and the Holy Eucharist."

"Presbyterian Reunion in Scotland" is the topic treated by Rev. W. P. Paterson, Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh, and a well known theologian of the established Church of Scotland. Dr. Pater-

son traces the history of Presbyterianism in Scotland, and sets forth the present status of "reconciliation." Dr. Shailer Mathews, widely known as a popularizer of biblical scholarship, and for the past five years Dean of the Divinity School of the University of Chicago, writes on "The Awakening of American Protestantism." Far from being decadent, American protestantism is renascent, he maintains. Its real awakening, however, "is inward and best seen through its rapid readjustment to the new conditions in the midst of which it finds itself." The necessity of emphasizing the importance of conversion is insisted upon by Dr. J. F. McConnell, one of the newly elected Bishops of the Methodist church. The knowledge of religious processes which we have to-day, says Bishop McConnell, in conclusion, would warrant us in attaching "more importance than we do to the approach of the kingdom of God through the experience of the humble and contrite heart." "St. Paul's Message to Religion" is analyzed and interpreted by Dr. Benjamin W. Bacon, Professor of New Testament Criticism and Exegesis in Yale University. Dr. Bacon, who is one of the best-known Congregational leaders, characterizes St. Paul's message as an original contribution and a permanent addition to the religious consciousness of the race, yet "anything but a substitute for the message of Jesus Himself." Dr. Robert E. Speer, Lay Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, well known as a traveler and writer on the philosophy of missions, gives, under the title "An American Saint," a sympathetic character sketch of Henry Clay Trumbull.

The less strictly religious topics considered in this number of the new quarterly are by Dr. William Sanday, Professor of Divinity and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, and one of the most distinguished scholars of the Church of England, and Mr. Arthur Henderson, M. P., Secretary of the English Labor party. Professor Sanday discusses "The Pacific and the Warlike Ideals," commenting on the recently issued book of General von Bernhardi, the German military writer, who glorifies war. He—Dr. Sanday—sums up his argument by saying that, since things always tend to be rational and war is essentially irrational, "we cannot doubt that in the long run war must give way." Mr. Henderson, who has long been prominent in the councils of Trade Unionism and of the British Wesleyans, asks: "What are to be the future relationships between the forces of religion and labor?" He concludes that the labor movement in Great Britain is tending towards rather than veering from a revived religious consciousness. The churches and organized labor, he says, "in conjunction with the power of an all conquering Christ, will transform individual existence, give it a new life, beautify the houses of our people, ennoble our cities and assist in bringing in an era when the beatitudes may become the common rule, and when the moral ideas of the prophets are embodied in the ordinary habits of a contented people."

ARE WE BETTER THAN WE USED TO BE?

THERE are many persons—and among them are men distinguished in various fields of science—who hold that, however much our material well-being may increase, moral progress is impossible. Sir Alfred Russel Wallace, for example, says, in his work "The Wonderful Century," that "the discoveries from the mechanical point of view during the past century exceeded in value all else that has been accomplished during the period that separates us from the time of Jesus Christ." But, subsequently, in an article on "Evolution and Character" in the *Fortnightly Review*, he voices his conviction that "we are today, in all probability, mentally and morally inferior to our semi-barbaric ancestors."

This view is not shared by the well-known French writer M. Jean Finot, who in *La Revue* (Paris), under the caption at the head of this article, discusses at some length the entire question of human progress. "Happily for us," he says, "and for our efforts, the elevation of our souls is as real as the increase of our material welfare." He considers that "the best method of proving the possibility of human progress is to demonstrate its reality." The fact is that "a misapprehension, as old as human culture itself, persists between material and moral progress." The perceptible signs of progress form but an insignificant part of it. We should consider "the parallel evolution of our sentiments and sensations, of the increase of the sympathy which animates us, and of the larger and more profound altruism which fills modern humanity."

Comparing the man of to-day with his an-

cestors, M. Finot decides in favor of the twentieth-century representative.

The modern man has his attention fixed on all the points of the globe. A civilized European takes part in the misfortunes of China or of Australia; his heart beats in unison with his fellows dispersed over the globe, whatever the form of their beliefs or the color of their skins. And hereby he becomes better. He dreams of universal peace, of international amity; and he sets his course for this regime of love. . . . The *ensemble* of our social and international life demonstrates that the man of our day, taken as an abstract entity, is better than his ancestors of a dozen centuries. . . . Modern man loves more, but he also loves more intelligently, more humanly. His thought animating his goodwill enables him to climb heights which were inaccessible to his ancestors of past epochs. . . . An average being of today often in this respect excels the geniuses and supermen of past times. The essential principle of all morals and all religions, "Love thy neighbor as thyself," takes on an extension unknown in the past.

In support of his argument M. Finot analyses the "best men in the Bible," who, though "venerated for centuries, are for us only cruel, amorous, if not highly immoral, beings." The venerable Samuel, ordering Saul to kill the Amalekites; Elijah, killing the 450 prophets of Baal; the biblical God himself, all "sadden and disconcert the modern soul."

The tenderest cult of the past does not oblige us to shut our eyes to its sins and defects. And the Divinity himself has in His turn undergone an evolution. The God of the ancient Hebrews, with His access of anger, His lack of scruples, His thirst for vengeance, His intolerance which hesitated at no cruelty is transformed into the Jesus of the modern conscience, a being of goodness and solidarity, who illumines our life with the hopes which environ it, and who orders us to make our life more and more worthy of him.

M. Finot contrasts the saints of old with those of our own day. He pictures St. Simeon the Stylite on his pillar, St. Macaire in his swamp, St. John silent in the desert for sixty years, from among the hundreds who furnish examples of edification; and he comments thereon:

Heaven preserve us from uttering the least disrespectful or impious word with regard to this innumerable army of a duty variously conceived, but how heroically accomplished. After having paid the tribute of homage and admiration due to all these lives extinguished in the aureole of sanctity, we feel strangely moved before the lessons that they offer to the modern conscience. The reason for these useless sufferings, of these flights before real human duties, obsesses our thoughts. The personal health of the soul, the unique feature of all their lives, appears to us rather the result of an inconsiderate egoism. The act of secluding oneself in a desert for a number of years, or that of abandoning one's fellows a prey to temptations and sufferings, in order to gain for oneself grace and the divine mercy, seems to us nothing less than a simple betrayal of the duties of man. . . . One bows before their sanctity, consoling oneself that it is not of our day.

Speaking of the saints of our day, M. Finot remarks that "the unexpected flashes which illumine from time to time the depths of the modern conscience show the grandeur and the beauty of it." A catastrophe such as that of the *Titanic* proves that the humanity of today shelters an incalculable number of heroes of duty. In his eloquent depiction of the scenes of the wreck occurs this passage: "The serene majesty with which these hundreds of voyagers quitted the world is one of the most brilliant and comforting testimonials in favor of the human race." He also makes the following touching reference to the late W. T. Stead:

I lost in the shipwreck one of my dearest friends, W. T. Stead. When the first news of the disaster reached me, my sorrowful heart left me no hope. From the moment that it was seen there would be victims, Stead could not be among the survivors. My consolation was great when I learned from one of the saved that Stead had realized in the decisive moment the ideal of his whole life: fidelity to duty. In vain was it proposed that he save himself. All the sophisms proffered, to prove that his life was worth more than those of the unknown who struggled beside him, were rejected by him.

M. Finot goes on to speak of the increase in the present day of the number of those who are willing to sacrifice themselves for the good of others.

Our calm virtues, realized by normal men, are often worth more than those of the professional saints, practised in the ardor or the hysteria of their faith. The complaisance with which the poets, historians, and hagiographers of the past treat certain acts or exploits which appear to us insignificant shows better than anything else the progress realized by the human conscience.

Is our morality better, and we ourselves, are we better? M. Finot makes the following reply:

Yes, our morality no longer consists in the spasms of ecstasy, in prayers and oblations, in the hysteria of communions with the Divinity, in the paralysis of our being confounding itself with the unreal. . . . The modern man no longer shirks his duty to his neighbors—the emperor of all duties. . . . Rejecting dead formulas, he replaces automatism by creation, and intuition by an enlarged and deepened love. . . . A humble bourgeois of our day often possesses sentiments excelling in nobleness and in generosity those of a saint in bygone times. . . . Comparison between the moral thought of simple brave men of the twentieth century and that of the gods of Olympus, or many of the affirmations and conceptions of a Buddha, of Confucius, or of Mohammed, would be, we may be sure, in favor of the aspirations of our time. . . . There is a moral progress, as there is more of happiness on the earth.

GETTING AMMUNITION TO THE FRONT

(A scene in Asiatic Turkey)

THE TRUE INWARDNESS OF THE BALKAN WAR

IT was formerly the custom, thanks to the popularity of a recent piece of dramatic cleverness, to refer with rather amused tolerance to the military establishments of the Balkan states as the chocolate soldiers. The war with Turkey, however, has changed all that and the chocolate soldiers are now being taken very seriously. Just how seriously and why, Mr. Frederick Palmer, the celebrated war correspondent, vividly narrates in an article in *Everybody's Magazine* for March. Mr. Palmer was the only American to report the war from the victorious side. It was a great experience, he tells us, great—"in the name of Christ against Mohammed, of church spire against minaret, of suffragette against harem favorite, of the Holy Grail against the Arabian Nights, of parliaments against padishahs, of the hat against the fez."

With swift, graphic strokes, Mr. Palmer pictures the physical and geographical conditions in the Balkans, which he calls Little Europe, and its diplomatic, political, economic, social and religious relations to the rest of the continent—Big Europe. "Little Europe was regarded as a part of the Orient, a concern of Big Europe's politics, but not of her soul." He indicts the Turk for misrule,

THE WAY THE TURK TRANSPORTS HIS SUPPLIES

(An ox convoy in Asiatic Turkey)

SERVIAN HOME FOLKS WAITING FOR NEWS FROM FATHERS, HUSBANDS AND ELDER BROTHERS AT THE FRONT

beyond the comprehension of the western mind. He rapidly traces the rise of Servia, Montenegro and Bulgaria to independence, graphically describing the admirable national character of these peoples, and incidentally paying a compliment to Robert College in Constantinople. These young nations "stumbled of course . . and every time any one of the little nations tripped, Big Europe said cynically, 'There, you see what a miserable lot these Christians of the Balkan and the Egean are. They are only fit to be governed by the Turks.'" The Balkan nations, moreover, Mr. Palmer continues, have had hard luck in the matter of their kings, until finally, under their present heads, they have attained some degree of national efficiency.

Then came the Young Turk revolution. "There was to be real parliamentary government—only there was not. There were to be real reforms—only there were not. The Turkish army was to be increased and reorganized—on paper. Turkey was to be another Japan—in imagination."

The new Turkish army was a strange combination of von der Goltz, medievalism, and sophomoric theories. At its head was the new sultan, whose character had been developed as a prisoner in a garden up to the age of sixty, without being allowed by his fond brother Abdul Hamid to read anything or to meet any men except the eunuchs of his harem. When he came to the throne he wanted to know if it were true that the Giaours had invented a machine that enabled one to talk over wires. If so, he wanted one installed at Yildiz Palace. Such was the padishah of reform!

Meanwhile conditions in Macedonia went from bad to worse, and Bulgaria, Servia, Montenegro and Greece saw their brethren ground to pieces beneath the heel of Turkish misrule. Servia was almost stifled.

Like Switzerland she had no seaport; and unlike Switzerland she could not live off the hotel and guide business. She was wedged between Austria and Turkey. Her exports had to go over foreign railroads, and Austria held a tariff pistol to her head. The Austrian agrarians had only to establish a quarantine, on the ground that there was cattle and swine fever in Servia, and Servia could not get a market for her beef and pork.

Big Europe smiled when rumors began to circulate that Bulgaria, Servia, Greece and little Montenegro were forming an offensive

alliance. Then when the mobilization reports came from the Balkans, Big Europe smiled again. Snow will be falling soon, said the experts, and these chocolate caramel armies cannot possibly stand a winter campaign. The sluggish Turk made no preparations, depending on the promise of the powers that they would intervene.

But the powers were a trifle late. Little Europe knows well the impotence of the concert of Europe, understands clearly that the big nations will act together only in a negative sense, and that no one would ever be commissioned as policeman to enforce the mandate of the concert. Besides, despite their reputation, the physique of the Balkan people is admirable. "Nowhere will you find 4,000,000 men who surpass the Bulgars physically." They are a "superbly moral race, the product of many generations of rigorous living in the open air . . . they marry young and marital virtue is absolute." Every peasant is a land holder and a patriot.

The statesmen had looked carefully to financial contingencies.

They were ready for a three months' campaign. If they could not win in three months, everything was lost. The food for the army was inside of the national borders under national control. There was no need to import grain or meat. Whether at war or not, the same number of mouths must be fed. Therefore the regular supply was sufficient and the outside world could not inflate food values.

From the people the government had power for extreme war measures; for the people wanted war. Any ambitious speculator who might have a corner in the grain market in mind was forestalled. Through a leading bank the government bought up most of the wheat in the land at the ruling price, while a ruling price was paid to the mills for grinding it. Anybody caught charging more privately was arrested, fined—and his goods impounded.

The Turkish commanders apparently could not work together.

That old pincushion of a helpless sultan agreed with the view of the latest adviser who had been granted an audience. Indirection of policy ruled in the effort to apply the German system of mobilization to a disorganized army scattered from the Montenegrin and Greek borders to Adrianople. The isolated garrisons were without sufficient food or a common plan. A badly equipped Turkish single-track railway with scant rolling-stock was the link between them and their base.

The allied staffs understood the situation of the enemy perfectly. They were in touch with the Christian conscripts in the Turkish ranks and with Christian residents of towns and villages. They knew the numbers of the enemy and where located, and at what point reinforcements and supply trains were *en route* to the isolated garrisons. They did not worry about a reserve army. They put their trust in the spirit which had been making medicine for this war for centuries. We know how long the Hessian outrages and the Indian massacres kept sections of our own country bitter against the British through grandfathers' and grandmothers' tales. Consider, then, that in this army there was hardly a man who had not been brought up on stories of women of his family wronged and massacred!

When the forces of the Bulgar, Serb and Greek were ready, the telegraph flashed the word go. The war had begun, but it was already three-quarters won.

HAS THE WAR CORRESPONDENT SEEN HIS LAST FIGHT?

THE degradation, nay, the elimination of the war correspondent is the subject of a vividly written article in the *Contemporary Review*, by Francis McCullagh, well known all over the world as a member of that now disappearing profession. In future wars, says Mr. McCullagh, correspondents may be allowed to write under a severe censorship from the capitals of the warring nations, "but the front they will never see again."

In Mr. McCullagh's opinion it is due partly to the invention of the telegraph and other improvements in the means of communication, but primarily to the modern craze for sensation. Forbes, Kinglake and MacGahan wrote articles which could be republished with very little alteration as serious history. To-day, however, the demand is for "flaring sensationalism which is worthless for historical purposes."

The public demand this sensationalism and enjoy the thrill which it gives them, but despise in their heart the people who provide the thrill, and when, in future wars, the thrillers are banished to a more quiet place hundreds of miles from the firing line, the public will say, "serves them right!"

Primarily, of course, says Mr. McCullagh, the public themselves are to blame.

A journalist sees a battle for a quarter of an hour, talks to a few officers, fugitives, military *attaches*, wounded people, and then makes off in his motor car to cable four lines of fact and four columns of *cliches* and padding. The padding consists of descriptions of cavalry charges which never

took place. It tells how the enemy's guns got the range "with miraculous accuracy," how "our" batteries were silenced by those of the enemy. It presents us with all the stock pictures of brave men, their back to the wall, grim, silent, uncomplaining; men who show the world the way to die. Rivers run with blood. Soldiers on either side throw away their arms and jump at each other's throat with naked hands. Desperate cavalrymen, with the cry of "Allah-il-Allah" on their lips, charge thin brown lines of infantry. Wounded Turks stagger homeward followed by huge, sagacious vultures, which seem to have shrewdly calculated the moment at which the quarry will collapse. For eighty miles and a half "Our Own Correspondent" travels over roads littered with corpses, not ordinary, prosaic corpses, but corpses stiffened in every conceivable attitude of picturesque tragedy and theatrical despair. Some breathed out their souls to Allah while trying to assume the eastward position, and to pray with their faces turned towards Mecca. Some had evidently attempted to write with their own blood on the margin of a Turkish newspaper a last message to the dear ones at home. And so on, and so on. All the usual clap-trap is rammed in by the yard. The correspondent hates very often to indulge in this revel of mendacity (for it is nothing less), but the public want it. If he sends a true and restrained story he finds it printed in small type on some obscure page, while the gory fantasies of some imaginative foreigner who "saw" the battle in the bar-room of some Sofia hotel stagger under a load of headlines next the "leader" column. If he afterwards tries to set the public right, he will find that the public do not want to be set right. They will have forgotten all about the war and have become interested in rag-time, Welsh Home Rule, or the Duke of Scrobia's divorce case. His voice will be drowned in cries of "professional jealousy," "an otherwise meritorious book marred by a disgraceful attack on a brother correspondent," etc.

His only alternative, then, is to send a thrillling story himself. All he really sees at the front are shells bursting at a distance of three or four miles, and, close at hand, a friendly battery which is firing these shells. He makes friends with the battery commandant, who is profane, preoccupied, and quite ignorant of what is going on in other parts of the field. Besides, he does not speak any language with which the journalist is acquainted. In the night-time the battery suddenly moves backwards, and he goes with it. The retreat is due to a flanking movement thirty miles off, but neither he nor the battery commandant knows anything of this.

When our correspondent reaches a safe place and begins to write his "story," his mind is very much disturbed by two or three things. In the first place his paper has, so far, spent more than a thousand pounds on him, though there were several amateurs who offered to pay their own expenses. In the second place, that fool Boffins is sure to exaggerate as usual. This last argument is of tremendous importance, but to appreciate it at its full value one must be a journalist. The result is that the old woman lying drunk by the roadside becomes transformed into a pile of gory corpses, six feet high. The story of the tipsy *attache* goes down as if the correspondent had witnessed it himself, also the story told by the Greek widow, and a few columns of own personal adventures, which had really befallen another correspondent (at least the other correspondent said so). The whole forms a thrilling tale with about one per cent. of truth in it. The sub-editor in Fleet Street indignantly knocks out the one per cent. of truth, expands the remainder to twice its length, and tacks on as part of the original a little gem of his own, a striking bit of descriptive stuff really paraphrased from a poem by Mrs. Hemans.

This writer accuses the average correspondent of bad faith. Many of them, he declares, have a "veritable cult of trickery and a total forgetfulness of all promises and all engagements whenever this forgetfulness gives them a chance of making what they themselves call a scoop." He cites instances of this bad faith and trickery, and then proceeds to point out how the photographer and the moving-picture man have become so objectionable to the armies of civilized nations that the correspondent will hereafter be banished. It is all again a matter of the popular craze for what is technically termed "hot stuff."

The military objection to war correspondents, besides that arising from that of their proneness to "give away to the enemy," is based on their enormous number. Forty years ago the war correspondents with an army might number half a dozen.

If a government prepares to declare war at present, it suddenly finds itself besieged by hundreds of correspondents, most of them knowing nothing about war, and some of them very shady characters indeed. In Tokio there were over one hundred correspondents at the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war. In Sofia there were about one hundred at the outbreak of the present conflict. There were only forty in Constantinople, but with their cooks, grooms, interpreters and assistants, they were so numerous that a special train had to take to the front them and their provisions, photographic outfits, tents, stores, cooking apparatus, horses, pack-animals, and fodder. The handling of such a large detachment of men necessitates the employment of special and highly educated officers. Now, in a life-and-death struggle no nation will ever consent to put up with such a loss of officers, of time, and of trains.

In the old style it is all over. But the press will be richer than ever, Mr. McCullagh believes, competition between newspapers will be keener than before.

The public will be more anxious for information from the front than any public ever was in the past, for the military precautions taken to prevent information leaking out will only whet the popular appetite for news. Newspapers will consequently send secret agents to every war, and those secret agents may possibly be able to send out far more news than the recognized correspondents are able to send out at present. Such men would have to be sent to a likely theatre of war before a conflict actually broke out. In fact, that practice is followed to some extent even now. I myself was sent to Port Arthur by an American paper six months before the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese

war, and in Port Arthur I met with a secret agent of another paper. If, before the outbreak of the present conflict, men had been despatched by Fleet Street to Adrianople, Kirk Kilisse, and Lüle Burgas, they could either have left those places with the other refugees and brought to Constantinople a detailed account of the fighting, or else have sent on their news by messengers and remained behind to await developments. In a European war this would probably lead to some correspondents getting shot as spies, but there will always be journalists ready to face even that risk.

THE "GRILL OF BUSINESS" BETWEEN HUSBAND AND WIFE

THE English essayist and novelist, Arnold Bennett, is fond of preaching lay sermons to the Plain Man,—which is the British equivalent of the Common People. In the *Strand Magazine*, Mr. Bennett, assisted by Alfred Leete, the artist, thus castigates the man who says: "My business demands much reflection—constant watchfulness." By way of comment thus says Mr. Bennett:

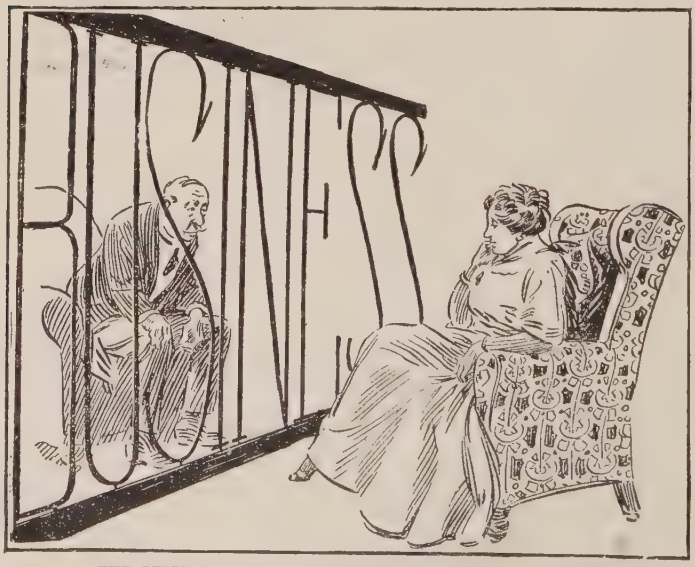
Well, in the first place, an enterprise which demands watchfulness day and night from the same individual is badly organized, and should be reorganized. It runs contrary to the common sense of Nature. And, in the second place, his defense is insincere. He does not submit to the eternal preoccupation because he thinks he ought, but simply because he cannot help it. How often, especially just before the dawn, has he not longed to be delivered from the perfectly futile preoccupation, so that he might go to sleep again—and failed to get free! How often, in the midst of some jolly gathering, has he felt secretly desolate because the one tyrannic topic would run round and round in his mind, just like a clockwork mouse, accomplishing no useful end, and making impossible any genuine participation in the gaiety that environs him!

Instead of being necessary to the success of his business, this morbid preoccupation is positively detrimental to his business. He would think much more usefully, more powerfully, more creatively, about his business if during at least thirteen consecutive hours each day he never thought of it at all.

And there is still a further point in this connection. Let him imagine how delightful it must be for the people in the home which he has made, the loving people whom he loves and to whom in theory he is devoting his career, to feel continually that he only sees them obscurely through the haze emanating from his business!

As to this terrible obsession of business, the British critic thus grows stern:

Why—worse!—even when he is sitting with his wife, he and she might as well be communicating with each other across a grill against which a turnkey is standing and listening to every word said! Let him imagine how flattering for her! She might be more flattered, at any rate more thrilled, if she knew that instead of thinking about his business he was thinking about another woman. Could he shut the front door every afternoon on his business, the effect would not only be beneficial upon it and upon him, but his wife would smile the warm smile of wisdom justified. Like most women, she has a firmer grasp of the essence of life than the man upon whom she is dependent. She knows with her heart (what he only knows with his brain) that business, politics, and "all that sort of thing," are secondary to real existence, the mere preliminaries of it. She would rejoice, in the blush of the compliment he was paying her, that he had at last begun to comprehend the ultimate values!



THE GRILL BETWEEN THE MODERN HUSBAND AND WIFE

There may be a cure for this malady, but Mr. Bennett is not sure. However, he says on this point:

So far as I am aware, there is no patent desire for suddenly gaining that control of the mind which will enable one to free it from an obsession has as the obsession of the plain man. The desirable end can, however, be achieved by slow degrees, and by an obvious method which contains naught of the miraculous. If the victim of the obsession will deliberately try to think of something else, or to think of nothing at all—every time he catches himself in the act of thinking about his business out of hours, he certainly will, sooner or later, cure the obsession.

It is a treatment easier to practice during daylight, in company, when distractions are plentiful, than in the solitude of the night. Triumphantly to battle with an obsession at night, when the vitality is low and the egoism intensified, is extremely difficult. But the small persistent successes of the day will gradually have their indirect influence on the night.

Mr. Bennett observes that if these remarks apply with justice to Englishmen they apply with even greater force to Americans.

WILL JAPAN ADOPT THE WESTERN ALPHABET?

A GOOD many arguments have been advanced in favor of the adoption by Japan of the Roman letters in printing and writing. The best summary of these arguments which has recently appeared is contained in an article by Baron Sakatani, Mayor of Tokyo, in the *Japan Magazine*. The Baron says in part:

Japan is to-day laboring under her burden of Chinese ideographs, which are hindering her progress and stultifying her intellect. The number of years spent in memorizing thousands of Chinese characters is an immense and unnecessary weight upon the Japanese youth, when he might find far more complete equipment for expressing the sounds of his language by learning the 26 letters of the English alphabet in a week or so. Yet the adoption of Romaji (the western letters) meets with strong opposition in Japan still, chiefly on the part of sticklers for conservative ideas, people who are in reality opposed to progress. From these restrictive and retarding notions our people will suffer until education becomes more widely diffused, and people become more familiar with the advantages of occidental letters. Once it comes into very general use the advantages and convenience will become so apparent that no one will venture to oppose it.

As to the prospects of an early adoption of the western alphabet, Baron Sakatani continues:

In my opinion the time when adoption of western letters arrives, will depend largely on the progress of common education whereby the rising generation will become familiar with the use and superiority of Romaji. Let a fair amount of time be given to it in the public schools. By this method it may take thirty or even fifty years to accomplish the result, but it will be accomplished, no doubt. If people are rational they always come to adopt what they regard as most for their benefit. If Romaji is really a superior way of writing language, as all western nations now claim, it will come into use in Japan by force of sheer merit, as it has done abroad. The old Chinese characters will gradually disappear before the light of progress, as the ghosts of superstition have done. . . .

A movement ought now to be made to introduce Romaji into the school text books. In this way the children of the nation will become familiar with it, and will come unconsciously to see its superiority and use it permanently. . . . We have learned how to telegraph according to western modes, and we can now learn how to write. As all the nations of the west have learned Romaji, as a necessary means of communication, so Japan must inevitably learn it too. There is no doubt that the use of it tends greatly to the facilitation of international intercourse and mutual civilization. The nation that uses Romaji is in a position to transfer its thought into the language of the world. To-day the world knows little or nothing of Japanese language and literature, which is a tremendous hindrance to promotion of international intercourse. We learn foreign languages and thereby we get to know foreigners; but they do not know us, and will continue so until they begin to study our language and literature. That day will not come till Japanese language and literature is expressed in Romaji writing.

BARON SAKATANI, MAYOR OF TOKYO

(Who is an enthusiastic advocate of the Western alphabet for Japan)

Baron Sakatani closes with an urgent suggestion to his countrymen to do their best to adopt the alphabet of the West.

WHAT CANADA OWES TO THE ROBERTS FAMILY

IN a graphic bit of description under the title, "A Vignette in Canadian Literature," in the *Canadian Magazine* for March, Bernard Muddiman pays an earnest tribute to the literary work of Charles G. D. Roberts.

He introduces us to Roberts when the author was professor of English Literature at King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia:

A medium-sized man of about five feet, nine inches; his blonde beard and brown goggled eyes gave him the appearance of a Northern Frenchman, a Breton, with the rapt myopic vision of one who sees visions accentuated, yet evidently muscular, an athlete who could wield paddle or turn lightly on the horizontal bar. The easy swagger with which he carried himself was of one accustomed to the difficult ways of the woods and wilds.

When the history of Canadian literature comes to be written, continues this writer in the *Canadian Magazine*, it will be round this old college in those as yet not very distant days that the historian will place the best work of Roberts and Carman his closest friend.

Here in the land of Evangeline Roberts wrote his best poems and tales and raised our native literature by his influence on his contemporaries to a technical pitch that earned it recognition. Previously home grown poets and novelists, to say the kindest words, were uncouth and impossible. Haliburton, who years before had also lived at Windsor, Nova Scotia, gained, it is true, a world-wide fame with his immortal "Sam Slick." But he is the exception that proves the rule.

In swift strokes Mr. Muddiman paints the career of Charles G. D. Roberts.

He came to Nova Scotia as Professor of English Literature at King's College in 1885. He had previously edited the late Goldwin Smith's newspaper *The Week* in Toronto, where he published Lampman's first poems. He had also already issued his first volume of rather boyish verse. It was, however, from Windsor that he published his second and what I believe will be ultimately considered his best poetic volume—"In Divers Tones." Among his other output from here is his Shelley centenary ode "Ave," his historical novel "The Forge in the Forest," also two guide books, and a history of Canada, while "A Sister to Evangeline" was also written here.

He had leisure at Windsor such as he never has had since. It was not a question of keeping the pot boiling. He wrote well, for he had time and ease. His best work, when all is said and done, will be found to be that which he wrote at Windsor. And the same statement holds good of Carman, who, since he has left Canada, has written perhaps too much. Particularly in those days of youth at Windsor when visiting his cousin did he possess himself of the muses. He has never surpassed "Low Tide at Grand Pré." The land of Evangeline kindled him to his purest melody. The College Woods at Windsor gave him the bravery of true poetry with which he wrote his contributions to "Songs from Vagabondia" planned and written with Richard Hovey. In the College Woods he no doubt pruned and lopped those fascinatingly musical stanzas of "The Wraith of the Red Swan."

It was in the College Woods the fiery genius of the late Richard Hovey camped all one summer in a caravan with his strange wife. It was from here in winter the Windsor "Arctic Club" founded by Roberts as a snow-shoeing fraternity debouched on to the white crystalline land. It was here in Indian summer the cousin poets planned and sketched poems and tales to be, discussed the intricate questions of art, of its form color and message being one.

There had been no such works as these of Roberts and Carman before in Canadian literature. Mr. Muddiman continues:

We had only had poetry of the mistaken grunt and spasm order which, when it did not succeed in being involuntarily humorous, kept a dull level of flatulent futility. But Roberts at Windsor changed all that. He taught Canada literary technique; he saved us in so doing from provincialism. It is true he sang nothing that has Canada for its sole home, that has a cachet indigenous; but, at any rate, he had "art" and none had had that before him. So he made the more poetic nature of Carman so long as it was purely under his influence express itself in the purest notes of song. So he made every student at King's College a would-be poet scribbling ballades and sonnets.

"THE RECTORY" AT FREDERICTON, NEW BRUNSWICK
(The old Roberts Mansion where Charles G. D. wrote his early works)

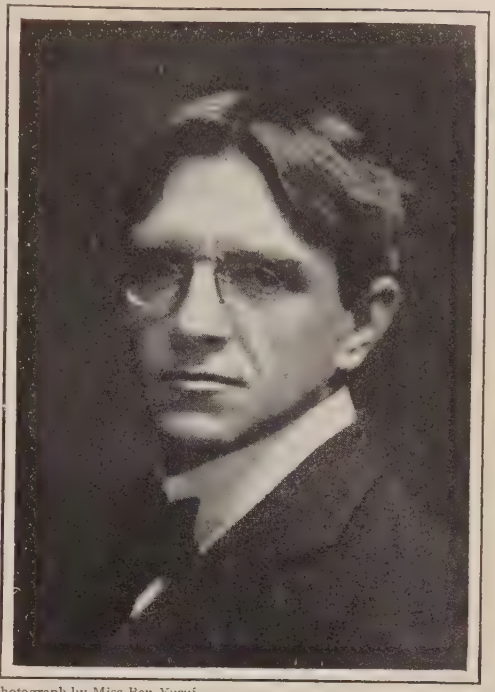
His true attitude to Canadian literature is patent when we remember that it was at Windsor he instructed Sophie Almon, the poetess, in verse technique.

Canada, we are told, owes a debt to the whole Roberts family which it can never repay.

They gave us the gift of artistic song. And Roberts himself, their literary chieftain, seems to have had the true quality of leadership that is the faculty of inspiring others. In Windsor at this time, for instance, there was a village schoolmaster. His name was Hall, and he too blossomed out into a volume of curious verses that I came across in a little deckle-edged volume some three or four years ago. As far as I remember it had a strange fondness for Wagner's heroines and the flower known as a "nightshade." Roberts, in fact, acted as a kind of Pied Piper of Canada to the horrified decorousness of amazed Windsor. Even in big European cities poets and artists occasion hand-raisings and prayers. In Windsor they occasioned a consternation almost volcanic. A professor who is a poet is not likely to follow academic plumb and line, and Roberts we may no doubt feel sure was only too glad when the hour was over for expatiating on Chaucer or Milton to a crowd of uncomprehending dunderheads and he could retire to the house in the wood.

Of course he and those with him had a hard struggle. Life demands of every artist a hard fight for existence. Yet, concludes the writer from whom we have been quoting: Roberts, Carman and the American Richard Hovey were sure of themselves.

They knew they had the gift that no editor could make or mar. They were out, to put it vulgarly, for literature, pure and simple. Unlike their contemporaries the Ontario group of Duncan Scott, Campbell, and Lampman, who migrated into the Civil Service at Ottawa, they remained true to their calling. In fact the poets of the Maritime Provinces were artists of a higher order in that they could and would live by nothing else but their art.



Photograph by Miss Ben-Yusuf
CHARLES G. D. ROBERTS, WHO GAVE CANADA THE "GIFT OF ARTISTIC SONG"

CANADIANS "IN OUR MIDST"

ONE of the most valuable publications in this country, in regard to economics, is the *Annals* of The American Academy of Political and Social Science. The January number is devoted to "Canadian National Problems;" and even a cursory glance at the table of contents is sufficient to show how wide is the scope of the subjects treated. Besides papers on Canadian art, Canadian banking, mining legislation in and the mineral resources of Canada, the volume contains a number of articles of especial interest to Americans, as, for instance, "Reciprocity," "Canadian Trade with Great Britain and the United States," "Canada and the Chinese: a Comparison with the United States," "Canadians in the United States." The last-cited paper is by Mr. S. Morley Wickett, Ph.D., of Toronto, who presents some statistics which are as interesting as they are remarkable. It appears that we have to depend upon Canada for the figures, for, as Dr. Wickett tells us, "the insuperable difficulties in the way of counting people who enter the United States by way of Canada make the United States annual returns of Canadian immigrants unreliable, and of late years the attempt to compile them has been abandoned." There was a time when Canada was actually scared by the proportions of the wave of emigration to the great republic at the south. To quote from the article:

During the second half of the last century at least 1,800,000 Canadians moved across the border into the United States The exodus stands as one of the notable facts in Canada's history. For a time it dismayed a large section of the Canadian people and brought them almost to despair of a political future. But that chapter is closed. In 1900 there

were 10,356,644 foreigners who had become domiciled in the United States. Of these 1,181,255, or 11.4 per cent., were Canadian-born. Out of this number 785,958 were English, and 395,297 were French Canadians. By "Canadian" the census always means "born either in Canada or Newfoundland," although Newfoundland is not yet part of the Dominion. In estimating the number of Canadians we must take into account that many British-born Canadians, after living in Canada for a number of years, have moved south and have been enumerated there as British, not as Canadians. One may hazard the estimate that their number is one-eighth of that of the Canadian-born English-speaking immigrants, *i.e.* 100,000. With 450,000 children born in the United States of these Canadian parents the total thus becomes 1,731,000; 995,000 (57 per cent.) being English Canadians, and 736,000 (43 per cent.) French Canadians. . . An allowance will have to be made for the many other Canadians by birth, who, report has it, prefer to report themselves as British and are so enumerated. They bring the grand total up to at least 1,800,000 Canadians at present living in the United States, that is one-third of the population of the Dominion as it stood in 1901.

Including the 450,000 children referred to in the foregoing extract, Dr. Wickett finds the annual loss of population to Canada for the last half-century (1850–1900) to have been 2,200,000, composed approximately of 1,200,000 English and 1,000,000 French immigrants. What this meant to Canada is strikingly set forth in the following paragraph:

Every adult costs his native country at least $1,000 to nourish and educate. So, after making allowance for the 100,000 of British birth and education, Canada may be said to have invested in the American Republic living capital assessable at $1,650,000,000—a sufficiently severe drain on a young nation! This enormous loss Canada has withstood, although at the same time it has been steadily carrying on extensive public works. It makes one marvel at the recuperative power of young fertile countries. . . There is a contra account, of course, of United States emigration into Canada, ... which is about 10 per cent. of Canada's loss.

As to the localities chosen by Canadians for their new home, it appears that of the English Canadians 88 per cent. are divided equally between the North Atlantic and the North Central states, 10 per cent. are in the West, and 2 per cent. in the South. Of the French Canadians 77 per cent. have settled in the country along the Atlantic, upward of 20 per cent. are in the North Central regions, less than 3 per cent. are in the West, and less than 1 per cent. are in the South.

An analysis of the occupations of the Canadian immigrants shows that upwards of one-fourth of the English and one-sixth of the French Canadians live on farms.

It is a remarkable fact that such a large percentage lead a rural life when one considers that Canada is itself so largely an agricultural country. On the whole, if we contrast the two Canadian races, there are proportionately more French Canadians in the smaller towns and proportionately more English Canadians carrying on farming or living in the large cities. . . Forty per cent. follow manufacturing; 30 per cent. personal service; between 17 and 18 per cent. trade and transportation; and somewhat over 4 per cent. professions.

Dr. Wickett has prepared some tables showing the number having the same trades and occupations remaining in Canada. These "throw light on conditions in Canada; for example, the number of expatriated Canadian teachers and college professors, lawyers, and clergymen." Of the inter-marriages of Canadians and Americans, Dr. Wickett finds that 48.1 per cent. of all Canadians of the present generation have married in the United States—a large proportion compared with other nationalities.

TAOS, AN ANCIENT AMERICAN CAPITAL

"THE most un-American thing in America," says Miss Agnes C. Laut, in *Travel*, "is the ancient pueblo of Taos in New Mexico." It is undoubtedly the most typical survival of the days in ancient America before the coming of the white man. The natives of Taos are called Indians, but their legend is of a migration from the South and they claim kinship with the Aztecs and Toltecs. The whitewashed mission church stands in the center of the pueblo, but the old underground temples are still used for secret religious ceremonies, the election of rulers, and the maintenance of Indian law.

You can still see the Indians threshing their grain by the trampling of goats on the threshing floor, or the run of burros chased round and round a kraal by a boy, while a man scrapes away the grain and forks aside the chaff. There are white man's courts and white man's laws, down at the white man's town of Taos; but the Indian has little faith and less respect for these white man's courts and laws, and out at Taos has his own court, his own laws, his own absolute and undisputed governor, his own police, his own prison and his own penalties. The wealth of Midas would not tempt a Taos Indian to exchange his life in the tiered adobe villages for all that civilization could offer him. Occasionally, a Colonel Cody or Showman Jones lures him off for a year or two to the great cities of the East; but the call of the wilds

TAOS, A SETTLEMENT THAT WAS OLD IN THE DAYS OF COLUMBUS

lures him back to his own beehive houses. He has plenty to eat and plenty to wear, the love of his family, the open fields and the friendship of his gods—what more can life offer?

Among the Indian pueblos Taos is the exception in that it lies in a valley among the mountains, instead of on a hillside or a crest. It consists of two castellated five-storied adobe structures, one on each side of a mountain stream. In other pueblo villages, while the houses may adjoin one another, like the stone fronts of our city streets, they are not like apartment houses. In Taos the houses are practically two huge communal dwellings with each apartment assigned to a special clan or family.

In all, some 700 people dwell in these two huge houses. How many rooms are there? Not less than an average of three to each family. Remnants of an ancient adobe wall surround the entire pueblo. A new whitewashed mission church stands in the center of the village; but you can still see the old mission church pitted with cannon ball and bullet, when General Price shelled it in the uprising of the pueblos after American occupation. Men wear "store" trousers and "store" hats. You see some modern wagons. Except for these, you are back in the days of Coronado in 1540. All the houses are entered only by ladders, that ascend to the roofs and can be drawn up—the pueblo way of bolting the door. The houses run up three, four and five stories. They are adobe color outside—that is to say, a pinkish gray; and whitewashed spotlessly inside. Watch a woman wrapped in a white linen blanket ascending one of these ladders and you have to convince yourself that you are not in the Orient. Down by the stream, women with red and blue and white shawls over their heads are washing blankets by beating them in the flowing water. Go up the succession of ladders to the very top of a five-storied house and look out. You can see the pasture fields, where the herds graze in common. On the outskirts of the village men and boys are threshing—that is, they are chasing ponies round and round inside a kraal, with a flag up to show which way the wind blows, one man forking chaff with the wind, another scraping the grain outside the circle.

Glance inside the houses! The upstairs portion is evidently the living-room, for the fireplace is here and the pot is on. Off the living-room are corn and meal bins; and you can see the *metate* or stone, on which the corn is ground by the women as in the days of the Old Testament. Though there is a new mission church dating from the revolt in the '40's, and an old mission church dating almost from Coronado in 1540, you can see from the roof dozens of *estufas*, or *kivas*, where the men are practicing for their dances and masked theatricals.

Taos affords the closest approach to Socialism that America has yet known. The houses are built and occupied communally and land is held in common, but the product of each man's and each woman's labor is his or her own. Although the pueblo people have been in contact with whites since Coronado's expedition of 1540, intermarriage between the races is practically unknown; purity of blood is almost as sacredly guarded among pueblos as it was among the ancient Jews.

Miss Laut calls attention to one of the

striking customs of the ancient pueblos which she likens to the call to arms among the highlanders of Scotland.

In that land a blood-dipped cross and flaming torch summoned the clansmen to arms. Among the pueblos, the swiftest runner of each Great House or Clan was sent out with a knotted cord of deer thong. The number of knots in the cord signified the number of days before the uprising or rally. Each day the runner would pass the signal on to a fleet-of-foot man in the next pueblo; and for each day run off a knot would be united in the cord, so that the last pueblo visited would know the number of days as certainly as the first. It was in this way that the pueblos were called to the great uprising of 1680, when the Spaniards were expelled from Taos and Santa Fe and Acoma and from the Tusayan Desert as far south as El Paso, or modern Texas.

THE NEW FEMINIST PLAY BY BRIEUX

THERE is no more interesting figure among the "Intellectuals" of France to-day than that of the justly celebrated M. Eugene Brieux, dramatist, sociologist, and member of the French Academy.

Brieux is first of all a sociologist and a humanitarian. Inevitably, therefore, he is a realist of the school of Ibsen, Heyermans, Echegaray, Shaw, and Galsworthy. Like the surgeon-priests of the Middle Ages he is at once physician, pedagogue, and preacher.

But if he uses his scalpel unflinchingly to lay bare foul secret cankers of the body politic, he neither brandishes it menacingly nor plays with it wantonly.

With more wit and less gloom than Ibsen, he has more of humor and more of tenderness than Shaw. With less of poetry and mystic symbolism than Hauptmann, he has greater practicality and directness.

Adolphe Brisson wrote of him recently in *the Temps*, "The corruptions of the world have passed by him without corrupting him. The friction of life, the acquired experience, the intoxication of success and honors, have not hardened him, and have rendered him neither egotistic nor indifferent. He rejoices in a happy equilibrium of perfect health, both physical and moral."

M. Brieux has produced some twenty plays, the first of which, *Blanchette*, appeared a score of years ago. His works are little known in this country except by reputation, although Laurence Irving presented "The Three Daughters of M. Dupont" here about two years ago, and Shaw's version of his most painful play, *Les Avariés*, was given in New York, on March 14, under the title of "Damaged Goods," before a limited audience of physicians, clergymen, settlement workers, and other persons interested in pathological and sociological problems.

In such plays as this and his somber drama, *Maternité*, Brieux exposes social ills with a daring frankness, but he does so with a high and solemn purpose—the desire to heal.

His sympathies are strongly feministic, and he feels with poignancy the sufferings women are subject to through the brutality, the viciousness, and the selfishness of men.

In his latest work, *La Femme Seule*, given for the first time at the *Théâtre du Gymnase* in Paris on December 22, he presents very strikingly and interestingly the difficulties that beset the modern woman who enters the industrial world as a bread-winner either by choice or compulsion. The play is printed in full in *Illustration* (Paris). It opens as follows:

The heroine, *Thérèse*, is a girl of twenty-three, handsome, clever, highly educated, of comfortable fortune, and engaged to a youth, René Charton, by whom she is adored, and whom she loves with the deep feeling of a strong nature. An orphan, she lives with her god-parents, the Guérets.

From this pinnacle of good fortune she is suddenly plunged by the defalcation of her banker. René's parents at once forbid him to marry a girl without a *dot*, and poor René, amiable but weak, yields perforce, since he is not even self-supporting and, has, therefore, no answer to make when Thérèse points out to him that mutual love will pay no bills.

The girl herself is proudly confident that she is capable of self-support, and she is filled too, with generous and noble desires to be of service to others.

She refuses the refuge offered by her god-parents in the modest country village to which their own loss of fortune constrains them to retire. She will stay in Paris and earn her own living and there is an amusing scene with Mme. Guéret when she announces her decision.

"What! Work for a living?" exclaims that worthy dame in pious horror. "Well-bred girls *never* earn their own living when they can get anybody else to do it!"

"And live alone!" Fresh horror and remonstrance. That is another thing the "jeune fille comme il faut" cannot possibly do!

Full of self-confidence and high resolve Thérèse persists. Is she not gifted with uncommon talents, both literary and histrionic? She will apply for an appointment as a regular contributor to *La Femme Libre*, the new feminist review conducted by her friend Mme. Nérisse, who had complimented her last article so warmly.

Her first disillusionment comes when she is made to realize the great gulf that lies between the

From the *Theatre* (New York)

EUGENE BRIEUX

casual and complimented amateur contributor and the hungry professional denizen of Grub Street. She learns, too, what a sacred and precious thing is "*space*" in editorial eyes, and how coldly and critically those eyes scan the "*copy*" meant to fill it.

She does, however, obtain a small staff position which affords her a very modest livelihood.

M. Brieux's lively wit is at its best in the neat characterization of her colleagues. There is Mlle. Meuriot, white-haired, but still pretty and sweet-tempered, her manner to Thérèse subtly marked by that wistful yearning for motherhood denied that many an ancient spinster hides within her heart.

Then there is Caroline Legrand, the militant suffragette who despises men—by the way, how strange it is that these ladies who despise the men should be so fond of affecting both their garb and their gait! The type is exceedingly easy to exaggerate and to caricature. Only think what Bernard Shaw would have made of it! But Brieux shows his restraint and his technical skill by making the character a sympathetic one in spite of its violence and eccentricity. How neatly he limns its features in a phrase or two. Witness this:

THÉRÈSE.—"I've good news for you, Caroline Legrand. Something you'll like to hear."

CAROLINE LEGRAND.—"What! Are all the men dead?"

The new review, unfortunately, is not successful, despite its most popular department, the one on "Beauty Hints." The directors announce that they must reduce expenses and begin by cutting salaries, which gives the dramatist an opportunity to dilate on the industrial disabilities and injustices women must endure.

Thérèse declares she will leave, since she cannot live, even modestly on the half-pay proposed. At this juncture Monsieur Nérisse, the editor-in-chief, appears and informs her radiantly that he has sought a special concession in her favor and she is to be retained at full pay.

Her gratification and her gratitude, however, are quickly forgotten when she learns unmistakably the reason for this special mark of favor. The most dramatic scene in the play occurs at this point in the struggle of will between the man and the woman.

The third act finds Thérèse installed in a book-bindery as forewoman of the women's department. She is happy for awhile, not merely because she is earning her own living, but because René has proved himself to have the making of a man in him.

Moreover, she is a benefactress to her sex as she had hoped to be, for she employs widows, spinsters, and betrayed and deserted maids and wives.

But fresh disaster awaits her. The workmen's union declare war on women operatives and demand their dismissal on pain of a strike—which would mean ruin for the kind proprietor who had given her employment.

There is little dramatic action in this final act, but the dialogue is most skillfully used by Brieux the feminist to develop his thesis of man's inhumanity to woman when he fears her as a competitor.

At its close Thérèse finds herself again obliged to resign her position and announces her departure for Paris, presumably to join René, but her closing words give the key to the whole argument, and form, in fact, an epilogue by the dramatist in exposition of his own views.

"Your workmen need not rejoice in their victory," she cries.

In this new war of the sexes it is they, the men, who will be vanquished, because the woman works for a lower wage, having no need, like them, of a superfluity to carry to the wine-shop. And it will not be workingmen only, who will feel this pressure. Those citizens' sons who have not the energy to marry girls without dowry, will later find them blocking their paths, these unhappy creatures whom they themselves have constrained to labor. A new era has come. In every land, in city and village alike, among the poor and the semi-poor, from each hearth made desert by alcohol, or left empty by those who have not the courage to marry, then will arise a woman who will abandon it, and come to take her place beside them in shop, in factory, in office and in workroom.

The men will not let them be housewives, and as they will refuse to be courtesans, they will be working women. Competitors! and victorious competitors.

Obviously the real protagonists of the drama are not Thérèse and René, but the abstract ideas, Feminism and Industrialism. The conflict is between these two, and no definite solution is possible on the stage while the struggle between them in real life is still so acute.

The strength of *La Femme Seule* lies in the brilliant and witty exposition of the attitude of society towards the women engaged in the modern effort of personal readjustment towards altered conditions. In this it resembles the works of Galsworthy and Shaw, wherein the writers seek to evade criticism by giving their plays some such sub-title as "A Dramatic Discussion."

A brief sketch of Brieux is contributed to the *Theatre* (New York) for March by B. Russell Herts.

DELUSIONS ABOUT THE ARCTIC

NOT less paradoxical than the blond Eskimo with which Explorer Stefánsson startled us a year ago is his charmingly iconoclastic essay, "Misconceptions About Life in the Arctic," which, though it has just appeared in the *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society*, was written four years ago, in the dead of winter, and on the shores of the Arctic Ocean.

According to Mr. Stefánsson—and his statements, based on several years' experience in circumpolar lands, carry conviction—the Arctic regions of popular conception are about as much like the real Arctic as comic-opera Japan is like the real Nippon. He begins with the climate. No opinion is more firmly rooted in the minds of the timorous stay-at-homes of middle latitudes than that Arctic winters are uncomfortably cold. Of course all conceptions of climate are comparative. The writer begins by telling us something about the climate of Manitoba—a splendid agricultural province "with cities having populations in the second hundred thousand and with a climate allowing successful grain-farming wherever the soil is suitable"—which, nevertheless, has lower minimum temperatures in winter than Herschel Island, a whalemen's rendezvous about a thousand miles farther north, in the Arctic Ocean.

And yet the Manitoba cold seldom prevents the young people of the farms from riding in singing sledfuls to dances six or ten miles away—clad, too, in clothing inferior to that worn by the poorest Eskimo in similar temperatures and under similar conditions. If we should grant, then, that the people born in Manitoba and the people who have settled the province, are presumably as intelligent as the Englishmen, Italians, Norwegians, and others who go on polar voyages, why do we have shelves full of the horrors of Arctic cold and not a pamphlet on the horrors of Winnipeg in winter? It may be partly because Canadians do not like to scare off prospective immigrants, but it is more largely that the terrors of "fifty below" are not so impressive when we have the companion picture of little girls toddling to school and the traffic of city streets uninterrupted.

If Arctic cold is not so very terrible, neither are "Arctic Blizzards" so very severe—again, comparatively speaking. In this case the comparison is with the blizzards of the author's boyhood home in North Dakota.

The writer has no desire to class with May zephyrs the storms that sweep across our ice fields and tundras on the north coast in February and March; however, in two winters north of the

Arctic Circle he has not seen a storm that quite equaled any one of half a dozen blizzards remembered from twenty years in North Dakota and Manitoba. . . . And yet my parents and our neighbors brought up large families in comfort in a country subject to such storms and such cold—just as Eskimos bring up their families in comfort and take care of their sick and their aged among similar storms at the mouth of the Mackenzie River.

After some practical remarks on Arctic clothing, from which it appears that the Eskimo costume of soft deerskin is the best, Mr. Stefánsson turns his attention to the supposed wretchedness of the Eskimo's life. All the Eskimos with whom he came in contact had plenty of food, and his personal experience proved it to be both wholesome and palatable. The native costume

is so nearly cold-proof that the weather is seldom a source of serious discomfort to an Eskimo; and he takes as much satisfaction in a suit well made out of good skins as we do in the best tailoring. He is, therefore, from his point of view (and what else matters?) as well dressed as we can possibly be. As for the Eskimo's house, it is admittedly warm and in that sense comfortable, but it is currently supposed to be ill-ventilated, ill-smelling, and filthy. I have yet to see, however, an Eskimo dwelling without distinct provision for ventilation (with the exception of houses built within the last ten years in imitation of white men's houses at Herschel Island, Point Barrow, Cape Smythe and Wainwright Inlet, presumably also farther west wherever the "civilizer" has been at work). Whether the house be of snow or of wood and earth the door is never closed, and there is somewhere in the roof a hole 2½ to 5 inches in diameter open day and night. Where the lamps keep the dwelling (as they usually do) at a temperature of 70° to 85° (F.) it will be seen that in cold weather this ventilation is ample, for the difference between—40° outdoors and 75° indoors creates a forced draft through the ventilator that keeps the air of the house always fresh. As to the house being ill-smelling, that is a matter of taste in smells. Sometimes an Eskimo house is as free from odor as a cleanly New England farmhouse; sometimes, again, it smells of rancid oil, and meat or fish that might fairly be styled putrid. This is especially the case at mealtimes (the rancid oil is used for food, the fresh blubber for the lamps, so the lamps seldom smell). But does not the white man's house smell as strongly now and then of broiling bacon, fried onions, and the like? As to cleanliness I may say that in more than half the Eskimo houses known to me the floor is kept scrupulously clean. It is the uniform opinion of the three white men who have lived at Point Barrow over twenty years that before the people there became "civilized" they all tried to keep their floors clean. They may not go to the extremes of Irving's Dutch housewives, but many of their houses are very tidy. Many of them scrub their bodies from top to toe several times during a winter.

After all, a contented mind is the main thing—and Mr. Stefánsson pronounces the Eskimos the most cheerful and contented people with whom he has ever come in contact.

Finally, the writer demolishes, at least to his own satisfaction, certain time-honored "superstitions" about the Arctic that are entertained not only by the public at large, but even by many Arctic travelers. To wit:

That one should be "hardened" to endure cold.

That in cold sleeping quarters one should sleep with his clothes on (even when one has such satisfactory gear as deerskin sleeping bags).

That it is necessarily dangerous and reprehensible to eat snow when one is thirsty.

That snow should be rubbed on frost-bites to thaw them out.

THE JEW IN THE CLOTHING TRADES

THAT there now are two million Jews living in the United States, of whom one million are in New York City, that there are more Jews living in New York than were ever before gathered in any one place, and that next to Russia the United States has become the greatest Jewish country in the world, are significant facts in themselves, and when we take into account the wonderful opportunities offered by the United States to the Hebrews and the remarkable use being made of these new opportunities by the race, the subject grows in suggestiveness and interest. In the March number of *McClure's* Mr. Burton J. Hendrick attempts to answer some of the questions occasioned by the presentation of these facts. He reminds us that Jews have been here in large numbers only about thirty years; yet they have in that comparatively brief time shown far greater capacity for economic progress than any of the other great immigrating peoples.

Some of our great industries are already in the absolute control of the Jews and in others their influence is steadily increasing. The success that has most impressed the popular mind, as Mr. Hendrick points out, is their unquestioned domination in the clothing trades. For the last two hundred years Jews have practically controlled the garment industry in Russia, and in other European countries they formed a large element in the clothing trades generally. When Russian and Polish Jews began to reach this country in large numbers in the early '80's the clothing business, especially

in New York, was of course well established. On the manufacturing and commercial side it was largely in the hands of Germans, a few German Jews, and native Americans, the workers being for the most part Irish and Germans. In the last thirty years the Russian Jews have displaced all these nationalities and gained control of the industry in both the commercial and technical branches. The qualities named by Mr. Hendrick as having especially aided the Russian Jew in this career of conquest are his nervous, restless ambition, his remorselessness as a pace-maker, his ability to work unceasingly day and night, and his willingness to submit himself and his family to all kinds of privations. "He is the greatest shoestring capitalist in the world; he can do with one dollar what the average citizen can not do with ten; he can start on the smallest possible scale, live almost indefinitely on credit, finance himself for months in hand-to-mouth fashion, save in picturesque ways that would never occur to the average man, gradually get a grip which he slowly tightens day by day, and ultimately emerge with a large and profitable business in his control."

Mr. Hendrick shows how by the utilization of these methods of competition the Jews in a single generation set aside all other nationalities in the clothing industry. Before they appeared the German clothing manufacturers dealt directly with the people whom they employed. The industry was conducted on what was sometimes described as the "family system." The manufacturers purchased the goods, had them cut into garments at their own establishments, and delivered them in bundles directly to the workmen, chiefly Germans and Irish, working at their own homes. The head of the family, usually an experienced tailor, had the help of his wife and older children. The essence of the system was the lack of the middleman. The manufacturer dealt directly with the people whom he employed. Large numbers of the newly arrived Jewish immigrants had a natural aptitude for the tailoring trade, and they were willing to work for lower wages than the Irish and Germans received. In a few years, therefore, they had crowded out practically all the old-time workmen. But the German or American manufacturer could not deal directly with this new labor supply. He neither spoke its language nor understood its peculiar social and religious customs, and the influx of these Jewish workmen in the tailoring trades gave occupation to the Jewish contractor. The process by which this contractor, who was himself an immigrant, organized and developed his business is thus described by Mr. Hendrick.

> He had reached this country poor and wretched, and had spent his few years of apprenticeship in the tailoring trades. He was usually the exceptional workman—the typical ambitious Jew, who early saw in the malodorous sweatshop the road to fortune. At the beginning this feverish ambition was practically his only stock in trade. He had a room or two in a tenement—perhaps his own home, perhaps a rented apartment. He went out upon the public highways for his employees; he would persuade his relatives—his cousin, his uncle, his brother-in-law—to join his forces. He would stop a push-cart peddler in the street and show the possibility of improving his condition by running a sewing-machine.
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> In this way the contractor would get together a working force of ten or a dozen people. He would put in a machine or two, a pressing-board, and a small furnace for heating irons—getting them invariably on credit, with the expectation of paying off in instalments from the profits of the business. He would then make periodical visits to the manufacturer, receiving an armful of cut garments; the force would at once start into activity; on Mondays the contractor would carry back the finished product and receive a new supply. He financed himself in the most haphazard fashion. The neighborhood pawnbroker became his banker, advancing on Friday money for the weekly payroll, the contractor reimbursing him on Monday, when he himself collected from the manufacturers.

Under the restless ambition of the Jewish contractor in the clothing trades was developed the sweating system, which attained its fruition in the nineties, and although many of the worst evils connected with this system have been abolished or greatly mitigated, it is still an important factor in the industry. Meanwhile the contractor quickly jumped to the position of manufacturer and by 1895 the Jews controlled every branch of the industry. The great Jewish manufacturers of NewYork, Chicago, Philadelphia, Baltimore and a few other American cities, monopolize the clothing of more than 90,000,000 Americans. New York itself manufactures about half the wearing apparel used in this country, a product amounting annually to not far from $300,000,000.

The qualities to which Mr. Hendrick attributes the Jew's success in the garment trades has also stood him in good stead in many other lines of endeavor. It will be a surprise to most readers to read that Jews are becoming the greatest owners of land in New York City, that they are driving out all other nationalities from the civil service, that thousands of Protestant and Catholic children are now taught by Jewesses in the New York public schools, that the Hebrew

element in the police and fire departments is large and rapidly growing, that Jews are virtually in control of the whiskey business in this country. Their monopolization of the theater and amusement business is a familiar fact in New York, and several of the great department stores of the city have long been under Hebrew management, although in this field monopoly has not yet been secured.

A HUNDRED MILLION PEOPLE AND LACK OF LABORERS

A NEW problem which may prove quite difficult of solution is confronting Russia at the present moment. That problem is the scarcity of common labor. This may sound like a very strange thing to say about a country with a peasant population of more than 100 millions. But it is so, according to Mr. Menshikov, of the *Novoye Vremya* (St. Petersburg). He says:

> In the depths of Russia there are going on some very mysterious processes which ought to attract the most serious attention of society. All of a sudden a coal famine has hit us, a famine which threatens to stop the immense and constantly growing network of railroads, not to speak of the great industries which daily require coal as man does bread. Besides the railroads, the navy needs coal, not less than powder. . . .

And the cause of this sudden shortage of coal is that "there are not enough laborers in Russia. The Don coal mines alone during nine months of last year produced 1,500,000 tons of coal more than during the whole year previous. There is no scarcity of coal, but of laborers. In June, 1912, there were 142,000 laborers, at the end of June 140,500, a month later, 126,300, and still another month later, 125,000. The laborers are disappearing somewhere. . . ."

Referring to an article by a well-known agricultural Russian writer, A. P. Meshtchersky, on this new tendency of the Russian peasant, Mr. Menshikov goes on to say:

> The muzhik deserts not only the coal mines, where a large army of laborers have steady employment; the muzhik deserts not only the factories, not caring much for the present quite satisfactory prices and conditions. He deserts agriculture, as well the farms of large and small landowners, which is for the latter an actual catastrophe. Last summer a great need of laborers, accompanied with an unusual rise in prices, was felt in the South and throughout all Central Russia. . . .
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> That the muzhik is avoiding coarse labor is attested not only by Mr. Meshtchersky and the Don mine operators. According to the newspaper *Svyet*, "there was a scarcity of hands not only in Novorossia and in Caucasus . . . but even in Central Russia, in Kursk and the Smolensk governments, where the crops were not particularly large, there were not enough workingmen during the whole summer, in the cities, on construction works, in the coal mines, and in the textile mills. The landowners of the governments of Podolia and Kiev have requested the military commander of the district to detail soldiers to do the gathering of sugar-beet, because the lack of laborers and the exorbitant prices demanded by them threatened to ruin the main branch of industry of that region. On the estates of the Smolensk (government) landowners the fields have remained unsown for next year . . . and the magnificent crops of rye, flax, oats, and potatoes were not gathered and perished in the fields. . . ."

Mr. Menshikov dwells on the fact that the rise in the price of agricultural labor has occurred simultaneously in all parts of Russia, "as if by common consent or at some one's command," and attributes it to the activity of the revolutionary agitators who have "for many decades been preaching to the peasants expropriation of the land, hatred toward the higher classes, envy of the rich, atheism, and nihilism." He considers as one of the chief causes of this "passive strike of the peasants" the government's "too liberal" aid to the famine-stricken districts, and continues:

> The common people see to whom and how aid is given and they form the dangerous conviction that . . . if the muzhik has no bread the government is under obligation to feed him. Reasoning thus they soon come to adopt a purely socialistic view on government: if the government is under obligation to feed the muzhik, why is it not obliged to clothe him, to give him a horse, a cow, a house, etc.?

Speaking of the change that has come over the muzhik, the writer continues:

> The village has changed entirely for the last thirty years. The patriarchal age of plowers and cattle raisers is coming or has come to an end. There is only half the number of families engaged in agriculture; all the rest—some have turned into "gentlemen," some have become merchants, or learned a trade. In the words of a peasant, "there are five army officers from our village, there are telegraphers, railway conductors, officials." The appearance in the village even of few such "fortunates" leads to terrible temptation. Seeing only gentleman's dress, epaulets, and cockades, and not knowing about the other . . . conditions of semi-intellectual labor, the village folks lose all semblance of content with their station in life and are striving to leave the village and go anywhere. . . . In the time of serfdom, when there existed an insurmountable caste barrier between

him and the other classes, the muzhik considered his position absolutely normal, and when material conditions were satisfactory did not wish for anything better. The extreme disabilities and restrictions imposed upon them did not seem degrading: the disgrace of their position has been discovered now when access to everything is open to all. The young generations take to imitating the "gentlemen" with great eagerness; but not being able to copy the good sides, they copy the bad—foppery, idleness, ostentation. . . .

The masses are invading the cities and deserting the village: this must be taken to mean that labor decreases and idleness increases. But is there much happiness in the city? It is true, there the muzhik is no more a muzhik. Hiring himself out as a janitor, or clerk, he feels that he ceases to be a peasant, that is, departs from a state which is deeply offensive to him, according to present-day standards, and which he himself despises. He becomes something like a maggot from which, at some future time, a "gentleman" will come forth. But for the great majority of them this transitory stage lasts without an end and is accompanied with extreme want. In the cities the cost of the necessaries of life rises with extreme rapidity. Only the rich and officials living in government residences do not feel it. . . . People cannot understand what the cause of this growing calamity is which hits the poor classes particularly hard. And the cause is a very simple one. The muzhik, the main producer of grain, bread, flour, meat, milk products, and all other food-stuffs, is disappearing. Besides the bread famine, we have a fire wood famine, a coal famine, and all possible famines. . . . The population grows and the number of laborers decreases. . . .

VEGETABLE MILK AND VEGETABLE MEAT

IN most families the two heaviest items in the cost of food are the expenditures for milk and milk-products and for meat.

Moreover, milk and meat are the most difficult foods to procure, to preserve, and to transport in a pure and wholesome condition. And it is this difficulty, coupled with modern standards of hygiene and sanitation, that has helped to make their cost mount steadily higher year by year. All of us, therefore must be warmly interested in the successful efforts of certain foreign chemists to produce synthetically both milk and meat from vegetable sources, since it is claimed that the "near-milk" and the "near-meat" are not only as nutritious as their prototypes, but far freer from dirt and disease-germs, as well as very much cheaper.

We have noted accounts of these new edibles in various foreign scientific journals, but prefer to quote the less technical descriptions given in *La Revue* (Paris, Feb. 1) under the title of "The New Artificial Aliments."

The new artificial milk is made from the seed of the leguminous plant, commonly known as the soy bean or the Chinese pea, whose scientific appellation is *soya hispada*. It is a native of the warm regions of Asia.

Milk is a secretion of the mammary glands, containing water, albuminoids, fatty bodies, lactose, and mineral salts. . . . The oil of the soya bean is rich in nitrogen and in fatty matter. From the flour of the soya bean a bread is prepared for the use of diabetics.

From these beans, by a process still secret, a synthetic milk is prepared; or, more exactly, a chemical product having the same nutritive value as natural milk.

The invention has been introduced almost simultaneously in France and Germany. The parts of the plant are crushed mechanically, then triturated chemically and reduced to a lactescent substance which costs much less than cow's milk and takes its place perfectly.

There follows an estimate of the cost of production. A cow demands forty *ares* of pasture besides a certain amount of fodder. She converts 53 per cent. of her food into effective nourishment and 5 per cent. of it into milk. The soya grown on eight *ares* gives an equal quantity of artificial milk. The expense is much less, not only is there a smaller amount of land to be cultivated, but the labor involved in the manufacture of the latter is not comparable to that required in raising cattle, milking them, and caring for the milk and the meat.

Obviously, too, the initial expense of the plant is smaller and there is no loss to be feared like that from illness or death of cattle.

To the finely ground soya flour a definite proportion of water is added. The mixture is violently shaken and also subjected to a revolving motion, in such manner as to cause a new arrangement of the constituent parts.

The treatment at a high temperature removes the peculiar taste and odor of the bean, leaving only the flavor and color of the milk produced by the different combinations of the process. In the end, these combinations take place exactly like the assimilation of the food in the organism of the animal.

The soya plant has long been cultivated in China and Japan. The Japanese mix the beans with rice to form a sort of gruel, which is very nourishing, but has an oily taste, said to make it both offensive and indigestible to Europeans.

Converted into milk the soya has none of those inconveniences. It is easily digested, palatable and without after-taste. A complete food like natural milk, it is suitable for infants as well as

for invalids, and is recommended for those who are following a special regimen.

This new product deserves, and will doubtless receive, wide attention in America. From other sources we learn the interesting fact, not mentioned in *La Revue*, that an excellent cheese can be made from this milk, which widens its usefulness materially.

Quite as interesting, and perhaps of even greater significance in occidental countries is the proposition made by the Belgian chemist, M. Effront, to utilize the refuse from breweries to make a palatable and nutritious substitute for meat.

This refuse has been found by chemical analysis to be peculiarly rich in the nitrogenous matter, or proteids, from which meat derives its value as a source of energy for brain and muscle.

The inventor first washes and then compresses the refuse malt from the breweries. It is then placed in a bath of sulphuric acid to which a prescribed quanity of chalk has been added. The mixture is filtered and again compressed after the evaporation of the water. Certain subsequent processes, which remain the secret of the inventor yield a substance which is said to resemble butcher's meat in taste and to be much cheaper.

The malt contains albuminoids, constituent elements of animal flesh. . . . Many Belgian physicians who have experimented with the new product, which M. Effront calls *viandine*, declare it is in some respects superior to the beef generally used for the *pot au feu*.

A workman, usually ill-fed, who found 200 grams of butcher's meat an insufficient daily ration, put on weight, with more appetite and better health on the same amount of viandine.

Experiments made on rats proved that the new food gave results three times as good as lean beef. Six rats fed on ten grams of meat and a small handful of grain daily, died of starvation at the end of a week. Six others which received the same amount of grain and less than five grams of viandine daily remained lively and active with no sign of illness.

. . . . . .

M. Effront is not alone in making such researches. Prof. Emil Fischer of the University of Berlin, already famous for brilliant laboratory work, has extracted from coal-tar a poly peptone which much resembles animal albuminoids. He has found in the tar and other by-products of the coal-industries a large quantity of the animal acids which are the bases of animal tissues, and of all which compose meat. By combining these acids he has been able to obtain, by a series of preparations, divers substances having all the chemical characteristics of beef.

These results are of course highly interesting from the view-point of pure science, but as yet lack the practical economic value of those achieved by M. Effront.

SHOULD CAPITAL PUNISHMENT BE ABOLISHED?

A STRONG case against capital punishment, based upon psychological reasoning, history, and statistical data, is presented by Dr. H. Kantorowitz of Freiburg, author of a number of legal works, in a recent issue of the *Deutsche Revue*.

When the penal code was under consideration at the inception of the present German Empire, he reminds us, capital punishment held the center of interest.

The majority favored its abolition; Saxony had just agreed upon such a measure. But the federal government would not deprive Justice of her sword. Bismarck, in his famous speech of March 1, 1870, held up capital punishment as a decree of divine justice and aversion to it as fear of responsibility. Historic legend has it that the Reichstag, under the spell of that speech, reversed its judgment. In the same session, however, a law abolishing the death penalty was passed by a vote of 118 against 81. It was only when, on its third reading, Bismarck declared that the government, owing to that decision, would wreck the entire code, that the Reichstag, not convinced but overpowered, changed its attitude, and by a majority of only eight voted to maintain capital punishment. And thus Germany still has it on its statute-books, applied to murder and to attempts upon the life of the Emperor or any head of a State.

Once more Germany is considering a new penal code. And here we quote Dr. Kantorowitz again:

Objective grounds alone should be decisive in a question of such grave moment as capital punishment, and these, whenever we are guided not by vague sentiments but by scientific reflection, determine against it—naturally only in our present stage of culture. Absolute rules that shall hold good for all time are no longer recognized by modern jurisprudence. But, in our state of culture, the death penalty should be positively repudiated, because it is inconsistent with the highest principles of our penal laws. That form of punishment is composed of the dread of death and the agony of the execution. Both of these elements fit admirably into the older penal system, which, extending partially into the eighteenth century, was based upon torture and bodily mutilation.

Those who regard penal laws as the expression of the idea of retribution must arrive at the same conclusion. For retribution should be proportional to the guilt. Now, no one demands that the death penalty be inflicted if the attempted murder miscarries. Penal servitude is generally regarded a sufficient punishment. If it is, then it is adequate punishment for the successful murderer as well. For the magnitude of the crime does not depend upon whether the ball missed its aim or not, whether the poisoner erred in mixing his poisonous potion: he who makes the mischief accomplished the measure of the punishment confounds punishment with indemnity.

It is highly questionable whether capital punishment has a specifically deterrent effect. The perpetrator counts, as a rule, upon going unpunished; did he think discovery and punishment probable, the severe penalty which must always be held up as a threat against the murderer would suffice to deter him. History shows, on the contrary, that the more inhuman the punishment, the greater the number of murders—naturally enough, for the more frequent and terrible the punishment the greater is its brutalizing effect upon the increasingly callous citizen. Public executions surely do not help matters. According to the well-known statistics of an English prison divine, among 167 executed criminals whom he attended there were only six who had not witnessed an execution.

A due regard for human life by the state can not fail to exert an educational influence. He who insists that though no other crime requires capital punishment, murder demands a bloody expiation unconsciously subscribes to the barbarous and exploded doctrine of "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth." For from the standpoint of criminal psychology the murderer is not upon the lowest stage of brutality. In most countries to-day, by far the greater number are pardoned: in Bavaria, from 1901 to 1910, 51 out of 69; in Austria, from 1901 to 1910, 494 out of 504—Prussia does not publish its figures. The protective effect of capital punishment appears thus only on paper, and the same governments that maintain retributive justice on their statute-books abandon it in practice.

All the countries, on the other hand, that have abolished the death penalty completely, have had satisfactory results. Liepmann has compiled a vast amount of statistical matter bearing on the subject. We find there that capital punishment has been abolished in Italy, Roumania, Portugal, Holland, Norway, Belgium, Finland, in most of the Swiss cantons, in five of the States of the American Union, and in eleven of the Central and South American countries; even in Russia it is inflicted only in political cases. In not a single instance has the number of murders increased since that abolition! The same is true of the German Federal States which had abolished capital punishment before the founding of the Empire.

Statistics explode another theory. We hear again and again that he who deprives Justice of her sword presses the bludgeon into the hands of violence. But none of these prophets has found it convenient to appeal to experience. Where are the cases of lynch law in Switzerland and Holland? Shall we think less well of the law-abiding sense of the German people?

For Germany, too, the writer says in closing, the hour of freedom from the death penalty will strike; though not in the pending reform of the penal code, yet it is to be hoped in the next.

A FRENCHMAN ON THE HISTORY OF IRISH HOME RULE

THE student of English politics in search of concise information concerning Irish Home Rule could scarcely do better than to consult a contribution on that topic from the pen of M. Augustin Filon in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (Paris). Under the caption "History of a Constitution" (*Histoire d'une Constitution*) this eminent writer gives an admirable account, succinct yet comprehensive, of the Irish question so long the bane of English parliaments. It was about 1870 that the phrase "Home Rule" was added to the political vocabulary; and from this date M. Filon traces, with great impartiality, the development of the movement.

Once introduced into the political formulary it [the phrase "Home Rule"] became intelligible, dear and sacred to all. To be one's own master; to be in one's own home; to be the master of one's home—is this not the dream of peoples as of individuals? The phrase "Home Rule" acquired an instant success: it made at the same time the fortune of the man who invented it. Isaac Butt grouped about him a party whose program was extremely simple: repeal of the Union and the inauguration of an autonomous legislation at Dublin.

Butt, elevated to the bench, was succeeded in the leadership of his party by Charles Stuart Parnell, "in whose hands Home Rule, hitherto simply troublesome, now became formidable." Gladstone, said to have negotiated with Parnell during the latter's imprisonment, suddenly announced himself ready to grant Ireland the autonomous parliament she demanded. Anent this sudden change of front, M. Filon remarks:

History would like to know the causes of this extraordinary tacking. The official version one finds in the biography of the great statesman by one of his chosen lieutenants, Lord Morley. Far be it from me to doubt the sincerity of John Morley; but his personality is too deeply involved in this circumstance; he played, as has been said, too great a part in the determination of his chief, to permit one to suppose that his judgment in this matter, and consequently his testimony, is entirely

free from partiality. Did Gladstone simply obey a desire to be just to a long-oppressed nation, to repair old errors which weighed on the English conscience? Was he intimidated by the activities of the Land League, and did he yield to the very natural longing to put an end to these inextricable embarrassments?

The first Home Rule bill (1886) provided for a parliament sitting at Dublin and composed of two "Orders" corresponding to the two Houses at Westminster. The life peers and the members of Parliament would cease to appear in the Lords and Commons respectively. The Irish Parliament had nothing to do with international questions, with peace, with war, with the succession to the Throne, with the postal service, and with the customs. Its decisions were to be subject to revision by the Privy Council and on appeal by the Judicial Committee of the House of Lords. Dublin would always have its "Castle," where the Lord-Lieutenant would give audiences and dinners; but, although always representing apparently the Crown of England, he would in reality be the mandatory of the English ministers. The introduction of the bill roused the country to a high pitch of excitement. Says M. Filon, who was in England at the time:

Considered at the distance of a quarter of a century this first sketch of an Irish constitution does not appear very dangerous. Had I not assisted therein personally, I should find it difficult to picture the emotion it produced in England. It has been said that the greatness, the security, even the very existence of the country was imperilled. A revolution could not have caused more trouble, a war more alarm. . . . In Parliament the majority of the Liberals followed their chief . . . but one group of old Whigs (they were the last!) under the leadership of Lord Hartington, and another under Joseph Chamberlain passed over to the enemy and decided the rejection of the measure. The deserters have never returned to the fold. Thus disappeared the first Home Rule bill, which had brought nothing to Ireland and had left England disunited and enfeebled.

In March, 1893, Gladstone, being again premier, introduced his second Home Rule bill, which provided for an Irish legislative body of two chambers, one termed the "Council" and the other the "Assembly."

The difference between the bill of 1886 and that of 1893 was due to an idea which it is difficult to believe was entirely disinterested. Under the first constitution, Ireland ceased to be represented at Westminster. Under that of 1893 Ireland was empowered to send 80 members to Westminster. The bill passed the Commons by a vote of 301 to 267, but was thrown out in the Lords by an overwhelming majority. . . . Defeated but not discouraged, and ever confident in the future success of his idea—for from force of preaching Home Rule, he had come to believe in it—Gladstone bade adieu to politics, relegating to Lord Rosebery the precarious authority he had acquired by his dominating personality.

In 1903 Arthur Balfour secured the passage of the Irish Land Purchase Act, a measure which "will ever remain the crowning honor of his career, as well as one of the grandest lessons in generosity and political wisdom of the century."

In 1905 a Liberal ministry came in under Sir Campbell-Bannerman, who, together with several members of his cabinet, was an avowed supporter of Home Rule. In fulfilment of a promise made in an election speech at Glasgow, the Premier offered to the Irish party, led by Mr. Redmond, a bill known under the name of the "Devolution Bill," granting "the gradual establishment of self-government for Ireland." This was unsatisfactory to the Irish, and the bill was never presented to Parliament. The two dissolutions of Parliament following the notable conflict of the Commons with the Lords over the budget found Mr. Asquith, Campbell-Bannerman's successor, in power but in absolute dependence on the Irish party.

Everybody, friends and enemies, realized that the hour of triumph for Home Rule was near. What could the Government refuse Mr. Redmond, who henceforth held the very existence of the Government in his hands?

At the beginning of the session of 1912 the third Home Rule bill was introduced into Parliament. In it are certain similarities to the measures of Mr. Gladstone.

One finds in the preamble that strange faculty of auto-deception which permitted him to announce in the same phrase, with the serene gravity of a profound conviction, two thoughts absolutely contradictory. Thus the Irish Parliament is solemnly invested with power to make laws for peace, for the good order and good government of the country," but the Imperial Parliament reserves its authority "over persons and things." In other words, Ireland finds herself in the condition of being able to touch nothing. . . . The bill of 1886 excluded Irish representation at Westminster; that of 1893, on the contrary, provided for 80 Members in the Commons; the legislators of 1912 are placed midway between these two solutions, for 42 Irish Members are called to sit in the Parliament of Westminster.

Realizing that the bill's passage by the Commons was certain, M. Filon speculates upon its fate in the House of Lords:

What do the general interests of the country counsel? It is no longer a question of evoking the spectre of national peril, so terrible in 1886, but which frightened no one in 1912; it is no longer possible to maintain that the administrative separation of Ireland would mean a dismemberment of Great Britain. But the House of Lords will perhaps hesitate to render immediately executory a constitution full of contradictions, scarcely intelligible to those responsible for it, manifestly displeasing to those for whom it has been inaugurated, and which might result in a civil war.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC WORKS

IN the current output of books that may be classified in a general way as belonging to the departments of sociology and economics a few titles occur to us as having a direct bearing on the reform movements of the day and particularly on some of the legislation now under discussion in many of our States. One book of this description is Miss Josephine Goldmark's volume on "Fatigue and Efficiency,"[1] on which editorial comment was made by this magazine some months since. This work, published for the Russell Sage Foundation by the Charities Publication Committee, contains not only the first comprehensive study in the English language of the subject of fatigue in its relation to modern industry, but the substance of four briefs in defense of women's labor laws by Louis D. Brandeis and Miss Goldmark. Altogether the information contained in this volume is so complete and exact that no one interested in the effects of fatigue on working people, whether employer or employee, judge or attorney, will have need to look for additional authorities. The very live subject of employer's liability and workman's compensation, which is now before many State legislatures, is elucidated in a volume on the "History of Work Accident Indemnity in Iowa,"[2] by E. H. Downey. This work treats the subject both historically and comparatively, and may be of service as a guide to constructive legislation. Many topics that are continually pressed upon the attention of State boards of charities and corrections, and the executives of various State institutions, are discussed in a book very appropriately entitled "Social Pathology,"[3] by Dr. Samuel George Smith, of Minnesota. Dr. Smith writes from many years' experience as an official visitor to charitable institutions, and from his wide acquaintance with the current literature of these subjects he is able to summarize in a serviceable way the thought of the day on such subjects as "The Church and Charity," "The State and Charity," "The Family and Poverty," "Economics and Crime," "Care of the Insane," "The Feeble-minded," "Provision for the Blind," and many other problems of social sanitation.

Suggestions to Lawmakers

A vivacious treatment of the general subject of modern philanthropy, which deserves more detailed consideration than can be given to it at this time and place, is contained in a book by Dr. William H. Allen, the Director of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research.[4] The genesis of Dr. Allen's book is this: During two years Mrs. E. H. Harriman received letters of appeal from individuals, hospitals, charitable agencies and universities, asking her for gifts amounting in the aggregate to $213,000,000. Having scientifically examined, analyzed and classified these letters, Dr. Allen found in them a series of suggestions for constructive philanthropy. In the present volume he discusses in a most original way the best method for institutional appealing, as well as the "difficult art of giving." Mrs. Harriman herself has written a foreword to the volume.

A subject of much practical importance in certain American communities is treated by Louise Stevens Bryant in "School Feeding: Its History and Practices at Home and Abroad."[5] The book is illustrated and brought well up to date. It has an introduction by Dr. P. P. Claxton, United States Commissioner of Education. Other important books in this category are "The Science of Human Behavior,"[6] by Maurice Parmalee; "The Family: An Historical and Social Study,"[7] by Charles F. Thwing; "The Family in Its Sociological Aspects,"[8] by James Q. Dealey; "Modern Problems,"[9] by Sir Oliver Lodge; "The Old Law and the New Order,"[10] by George W. Alger; "Courts, Criminals, and the Camorra,"[11] by Arthur Train;" Criminal Responsibility and Social Constraint,"[12] by Ray M. McConnell; "Fields, Factories and Workshops,"[13] by P. A. Kropotkin; "Syndicalism,"[14] by J. Ramsay Macdonald; "Why I am Opposed to Socialism: Original Papers by Leading Men and Women,"[15] published by Edward Silvin; "Socialism, and Democracy in Europe,"[16] by Samuel P. Orth; "The Increasing Needs of a Nation,"[17] by J. A. Cantrell; "Periodic Financial Panics: The Cause and the Remedy,"[18] by Charles W. Disbrow; and "Social Religion,"[19] by Scott Nearing.

Under the head of "Industrial Organization" we have a volume by Dr. William S. Stevens, of Columbia University, on "Industrial Combinations and Trusts."[20] In this work the author has undertaken to give a strictly impartial presentation of the subject, and, at the same time, to present the problems that arise in relation to trusts "comprehensively and as they are." He distinguishes sharply between trust questions and questions that develop in connection with corporations and large-

The Trusts

[1] Fatigue and Efficiency. By Josephine Goldmark. New York: Charities Publication Company. 89 pp. $3.50.
[2] History of Work Accident Indemnity in Iowa. By E. H. Downey. State Historical Society of Iowa. 337 pp. 50 cents (paper).
[3] Social Pathology. By Samuel George Smith. Macmillan Company. 380 pp. $2.00.
[4] Modern Philanthropy. By William H. Allen. Dodd, Mead & Co. 437 pp., ill. $1.50.
[5] School Feeding: Its History and Practice at Home and Abroad. By Louise Stevens Bryant. J. B. Lippincott Co. 345 pp., ill. $1.50.
[6] The Science of Human Behavior. By Maurice Parmalee. Macmillan Company. 443 pp., ill. $2.
[7] The Family: An Historical and Social Study. By Charles Franklin Thwing and Carrie F. Butler Thwing. Boston: Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Co. 258 pp. $1.60
[8] The Family in Its Sociological Aspects. By James Quayle Dealey. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 137 pp. 75 cents.
[9] Modern Problems. By Sir Oliver Lodge. George H. Doran Co. 348 pp. $2.
[10] The Old Law and the New Order. By George W. Alger. Houghton Mifflin Company. 296 pp. $1.25.
[11] Courts, Criminals, and the Camorra. By Arthur Train. Charles Scribner's Sons. 253 pp. $1.75.
[12] Criminal Responsibility and Social Constraint. By Ray Madding McConnell. Charles Scribner's Sons. 339 pp. $1.75.
[13] Fields, Factories and Workshops. By P. Kropotkin. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 477 pp., ill. 75 cents.
[14] Syndicalism: A Critical Examination. By J. Ramsay MacDonald. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co. 74 pp. 60 cents.
[15] Why I am Opposed to Socialism: Original Papers by Leading Men and Women. Sacramento: Edward Silvin. 53 pp. 75 cents.
[16] Socialism and Democracy in Europe. By Samuel P. Orth. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 352 pp. $1.50.
[17] The Increasing Needs of a Nation. By J. A. Cantrell. New York: R. F. Fenno & Co. 235 pp. $1.
[18] Periodic Financial Panics: The Cause and the Remedy. By Charles W. Disbrow. St. Louis: Finance Publishing Company. 79 pp. $1.
[19] Social Religion. By Scott Nearing. Macmillan Company. 227 pp. $1.
[20] Industrial Combinations and Trusts. Edited by William S. Stevens. Macmillan Company. 593 pp. $2.

scale production. Mr. Edward Cadbury's "Experiments in Industrial Organization"[1] describes the interesting "welfare work" long ago instituted by his father and uncle in their great English chocolate works. The cotton-manufacturing industry of the United States[2] is carefully described in a prize essay by Dr. Melville T. Copeland, of Harvard.

The Railroads

Because of the recent extensions and powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission most of the treatises on American railroad regulation have been rendered to a certain extent obsolete. The whole subject of railroad rates and regulations is covered with great thoroughness and clarity in a volume by Prof. William Z. Ripley, of Harvard.[3] So much information about the American railroad problem has never before been brought together in a single volume, although much of it, of course, has seen the light in one form or another in the pages of government documents.

Coöperation

Readers of the two articles on coöperation in this number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS will be interested in Dr. James Ford's "Coöperation in New England, Urban and Rural,"[4] published under the auspices of the Russell Sage Foundation, with an introduction by Prof. Francis G. Peabody. This book, like the articles in this number of the REVIEW, gives a vivid impression of the ramifications of the coöperation movement even in those parts of the country usually regarded as industrially conservative. Hugh H. Lusk's "Social Welfare in New Zealand,"[5] sums up the results of twenty years of progressive social legislation in its significance for the United States and other countries. "Socialism Summed Up"[6] is the title of a compact little treatise by Morris Hillquit, the well-known representative of the Socialist party in New York City.

Industrial Efficiency

The most recent contribution to the growing literature of "efficiency" is a little volume entitled "Cost Reports for Executives,"[7] by Benjamin A. Franklin. Heretofore most of the books and articles that have been written on the subject of cost computation have had as their main purpose the instruction of the cost clerk or auditor in the keeping of records. Mr. Franklin's point of view, on the other hand, is that of an executive who is eager to interpret the cost totals as they are presented to him, and to derive from them the facts that are really significant in the conduct of the business or the industry. As Mr. Franklin himself puts it, his object is "to show the executive not how to build the cost system, but what he should have when his cost system is built; to illustrate it by actual forms filled with figures to make their use clear; and to discuss with him the values, the uses, and the essential necessities of a right and practical cost system." A reading of this book will reveal to the executive the invaluable help which cost accounts may render to the manager of any business. Mr. Franklin's practical experience qualifies him to speak with authority on this subject.

Professor Hugo Münsterberg, of Harvard, has written and published much regarding the practical application of psychology to the problems of everyday life. His most recent effort in this direction is a volume devoted to the relations of psychology to industrial efficiency.[8] Interest centers in this work, not so much on the philosophical result reached by Professor Münsterberg in his investigations, as upon the things that he found out in the course of his researches about the actual conduct of business and industry in this country. His studies of the telephone service, for example, developed the fact already well understood, of course, by the managers of the companies, but hardly known to the users of the telephone in general, that "from the moment the speaker takes off the receiver to the cutting off of the connection fourteen separate psycho-physical processes are necessary in a typical case, and even then it is presupposed that the telephone girl understands the exchange and number correctly." Furthermore, it is not generally known that the operator may have to handle more than 225 calls in an hour, and that in extreme cases the number may even rise beyond 300. Professor Münsterberg also investigated the electric railway service, the ship service, and obtained practical assistance from a great number of men of affairs in various lines of business and industry. His book is intended not only for students and teachers, but even more for managers of business enterprises.

Municipal Government

Two recent books on municipal government in the United States will prove helpful, each in its own way, to all students of the subject. Prof. William B. Munro's volume on "Government of American Cities"[9] is a systematic treatise analizing the social structure of the city, defining its relation to the State, and stating and illustrating municipal powers and responsibilities in general. Three chapters are devoted to city nominations and elections, parties, and politics. There is a chapter on city government by commission, and one on direct legislation and the recall.

In "American City Government"[10] Professor Charles A. Beard gives a survey of recent leading tendencies. Professor Beard lays particular stress on the social and economic functions of civic government, while less than one-third of the book is given to politics and administration. This author takes the somewhat radical position that, strictly speaking, there can be no such thing as "municipal science" because the underlying economic foundations are primarily matters of State and national, not local control. In Professor Beard's book one finds such topics as "tenement-house reform," "guarding the health of the people," "municipal recreation," "education and industrial training," and "raising and spending the city's money" elucidated in an interesting way, with various effective photographic illustrations.

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[1] Experiments in Industrial Organization. By Edward Cadbury. Longmans, Green & Co. 296 pp. $1.60.

[2] The Cotton Manufacturing Industry in the United States. By Melvin T. Copeland. Cambridge: Harvard University. 415 pp. $2.

[3] Railroads: Rates and Regulations. By William Z. Ripley. Longmans, Green & Co. 659 pp. $3.

[4] Coöperation in New England. By James Ford. New York: Survey Associates, Inc. 300 pp. $1.50.

[5] Social Welfare in New Zealand. By Hugh H. Lusk. Sturgis & Walton Co. 287 pp. $1.50.

[6] Socialism Summed Up. By Morris Hillquit. New York: The H. K. Ely Co. 110 pp., por. $1.

[7] Cost Reports for Executives. By Benjamin A. Franklin. New York: The Engineering Magazine Company. 149 pp. $5.00.

[8] Psychology and Industrial Efficiency. By Hugo Münsterberg. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 321 pp. $1.50.

[9] The Government of American Cities. By W. B. Munro. Macmillan Company. 401 pp. $2.25.

[10] American City Government. By Charles A. Beard. The Century Company. 420 pp., ill. $2.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY, ANCIENT AND MODERN

TWO books on the Balkan war contain some excellent descriptive writing from correspondents on both sides. Lieutenant Hermenegild Wagner, of the Austrian army, correspondent for the *Reichspost* of Vienna and the *Daily Mail* of London, entitles his personal account of the war: "With the Victorious Bulgarians."[1] Lieutenant Wagner wrote the despatches from the front that were copied in all the newspapers of the world. Graphic, detailed and of sustained interest, they were easily the best written from the front. Lieutenant Wagner is probably one of the last correspondents to actually see fighting at the front in a modern war, at least, such is the opinion of the veteran newspaper correspondent Francis McCullagh, whose opinions on this topic are quoted on another page this month. Lieutenant Wagner describes the whole situation before and during the war, and ends up with a chapter explaining how he eluded the censorship and the other restrictions which were the despair of all newspaper correspondents with the Bulgarian forces. The volume is copiously illustrated and provided with a number of excellent maps.

The War in the Balkans

Two correspondents collaborated in the other volume: "The Balkan War."[2] Philip Gibbs, with the Bulgarians, wrote for the *London Graphic* and Bernard Grant with the Turks "covered" the situation for the *London Daily Mirror*. Mr. Gibbs and Mr. Grant, as well as Lieutenant Wagner, disclaim any intention of writing a history of the war, although they saw a number of the operations which led up to hostilities. But Mr. Grant and Mr. Gibbs admit that they were treated not as correspondents, but almost as prisoners of war. They point out that in warfare battles are not the most interesting things "the drama of war consists of much more than battles." Of this drama these correspondents evidently saw a great deal, and they tell their story vividly, to the accompaniment of some excellent illustrations reproduced from photographs.

An intimate history of the forty-two years of the French Republic, written from a wealth of personal knowledge possessed by but few other living men, is Ernest Alfred Vizetelly's "Republican France: Her Presidents, Statesmen, Policy, Vicissitudes and Social Life."[3] Mr. Vizetelly was correspondent and artist in Paris, the youngest on record, during the Franco-Prussian War, for the *Daily News*, the *Pall Mall Gazette* and the *Illustrated London News*. He was in the French Capital also during part of the German siege and again during the Commune, and still later, as a member of the publishing house of Vizetelly & Company, which brought out the works of Emile Zola in English. Moreover, Mr. Vizetelly married a French woman and knew personally most of the prominent public men of the entire life of the republic. His style is clear and direct. His chief endeavor, he tells us, has been to "justify and rehabilitate certain prominent men judged by undue harshness, in my opinion, by the majority of their compatriots." In the Making of the Nations series we have "France," by Cecil Headlam. Both books are adequately illustrated.

The Republic of France

"Studies in the History of Religions,"[4] by members of the Harvard Club for the study of Religion (and others who by special invitation became contributors), was intended as a birthday gift to Professor Toy, the founder of the club, on his seventy-fifth birthday. The contributors express not only their appreciation of him as a leader in this particular field of study and research, but also their affection for him as a friend. The first essay in this collection, by Lyman Kittredge of Harvard, is an exhaustive and erudite investigation of the character of King James the First, especially in his relation to witchcraft. He sets King James before us as a man of intellectual curiosity—a man who desired to know what he could of the strange phenomena of witchcraft. That he was not so credulous as other writers have indicated, he cites that after the King had listened to confessions of certain so-called witches, he pronounced them all "extreame lyars."

Religious History

Another interesting contribution consists of a translation by Edward Stevens Sheldon of "St. Peter and the Minstrel," a poem said to be six centuries old. The marked irreverent tone of the poem shows that there were scoffers at orthodoxy even in that remote period. The story of the poem relates how a jolly minstrel with the aid of St. Peter depopulated hell, and thereafter minstrels were forever barred from the fiery pit.

With the exception of this one translation the essays are in the main profound studies in religious history, with abundant notes and references. The general style is bright and readable and the material is so arranged that the average reader will not fail to perceive the logical sequence of the deductions. As a whole it is a worthy and noble gift alone not to the mind who inspired it but to the general public as well. A list of the contributions is as follows: "Buddhist and Christian Parallels: the Mythological Background," by J. Estlin Carpenter (New College, Oxford), "Satirist and Enchanters in Early Irish Literature," by Fred Norris Robinson; "The Liver as the Seat of the Soul," by Morris Jastrow, Jr.; "The Sikh Religion," by Maurice Bloomfield; "Yahweh Before Moses," by George Aaron Barton; "Der Schluss des Buches Hosea," by Karl Budde (Marburg University); "The Sacred Rivers of India," by Edward W. Hopkins; "The Two Great Nature Shrines of Israel, Bethel and Dan," by John Pannet Peters; "Asiatic Influence in Greek Mythology," by William Hayes Ward; "The Theological School at Nisibis," by George F. Moore; "Trans-

[1] With the Victorious Bulgarians. By Hermenegild Wagner. Houghton Mifflin Company. 273 pp., ill. $3.
[2] The Balkan War. By Philip Gibbs and Bernard Grant. Small, Maynard & Co. 241 pp., ill. $1.20.
[3] Republican France 1870–1912. By Ernest Alfred Vizetelly. Small, Maynard & Co. 511 pp., ill. $4.
[4] Studies in the History of Religions. Macmillan. 373 pp. $2.50.

lations made from the Original Aramic Gospels," by Charles C. Torrey; "Oriental Cults in Spain," by Clifford H. Moore; "The Consecrated Women of the Hammurabi Code," by David Lyon; "Figurines of Syro-Hittite Art," by Richard J. H. Gottheil; "Bibliography," by Harry Wolfson.

Center of the Roman Hierarchy

A description of the structure and functions of the Roman Curia, which is also in a way historical in its interest, has been written by the Rev. Michael Martin, S. J.[1] This will be of interest to those who wish to understand the workings of the central organization of that great machine, the Roman Catholic hierarchy. The Curia, it will be remembered, was thoroughly reorganized in 1908 as one of the first official acts of the present Pontiff.

King Edward

Some years ago the *Fortnightly Review* published an article on King Edward VII., by Edward Legge, who had previously achieved enviable fame as author of a biography of the Empress Eugénie, and some other less known books on French history. This article, exhibiting as it did a great deal of intimate knowledge of the facts not generally known, attracted considerable attention. In his recent book, "King Edward in His True Colors,"[2] Mr. Legge amplifies this article and adds a great deal of personal reminiscent matter treating of King Edward from many points of view, including the anecdotal and amusing. The volume is illustrated.

Justin McCarthy's Memoirs

Another book packed full of incident about entertaining personalities dealing largely with English public life is "Our Book of Memories (1884–1912),"[3] being the letters of Justin McCarthy to Mrs. Campbell Praed. It has been said that biographers "assign motives and conjecture feelings, but contemporary letters are facts." These letters reveal the man of ideals, the broad, cultured British public servant, which Justin McCarthy has so consistently been.

Nogi: Japan's Hero

Stanley Washburn went through the big war between Russia and Japan as a "cable man." He knew the big personalities on the Japanese side thoroughly. In his little illustrated sketch, "Nogi, A Man Against the Background of A Great War,"[4] he gives us the intimate personal story of that remarkable character, a belated survival of feudal Japan.

A new "Life of Nelson,"[5] by Goeffrey Callender, of the Royal Naval College at Osborne, begins with a judicious narrative biography of Nelsoniana. It is even more than the usual glorification of the great British fighting seaman.

LITERATURE AND LITERARY CRAFTSMANSHIP

English Writers

THE ninth volume of the Cambridge History of English Literature,[6] the successive volumes of which we have noted in these pages as they have appeared, covers the period from Steele and Addison to Pope and Swift. The wealth of scholarship that is evident in all the preceding volumes of this set is maintained in the present one. It is announced that the tenth and following volume will deal with the age of Dr. Johnson.

J. M. Kennedy, author of "The Quintessence of Nietzsche," has attempted to write the history of what he calls the dynamic movement in English literature between 1880 and 1905.[7] The work begins with a sketch of romanticism and classicism and continues with chapters on Walter Pater and Oscar Wilde.

Frederic Harrison's literary reminiscences, which are in themselves the finest of criticism, have appeared under the title "Among My Books: Centenaries, Reviews, Memoirs."[8] Mr. Harrison begins with comments on ancient poetry and ends with a chapter on "The Positivist Library."

A companion volume to this, although smaller and less voluminous, is a new edition of the late Andrew Lang's "Books and Bookmen,"[9] which is illustrated with some quaint book plates and other odd pictures.

In "The Spirit of American Literature,"[10] John Albert Macy, of the English Department of Harvard, and formerly associate editor of the *Youth's Companion*, attempts to convey a true impression of our national literary growth "by a discussion of those authors whose work has moulded our literary forms." This, of course, necessitates a revaluation of American writers. The book admits to its pantheon Irving, Cooper, Emerson, Hawthorne, Longfellow, Whittier, Poe, Holmes, Thorau, Lowell, Whitman, Mark Twain, Howells, William James, Lanier and Henry James.

Philo M. Buck, Professor of Rhetoric at the University of Nebraska, has compressed into a small space some very stimulating comments on "Social Forces in Modern Literature."[11] His text

[1] The Roman Curia. By Michael Martin, S. J. New York: Benziger Brothers. 423 pp. $1.50.
[2] King Edward in His True Colors. By Edward Legge. Small, Maynard & Co. 416 pp., ill. $4.
[3] Our Book of Memories 1884-1912: Letters of Justin McCarthy to Mrs. Campbell Praed. Small, Maynard & Co. 463 pp., ill. $1.
[4] Nogi: A Man Against the Background of a Great War. By Stanley Washburn. Henry Holt & Co. 136 pp., ill. $1.
[5] The Life of Nelson. By Goeffrey Callender. Longmans, Green & Co. 154 pp., ill. 50 cents.
[6] The Cambridge History of English Literature. Vol. IX. Edited by A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 666 pp. $2.50.
[7] English Literature 1880–1905. By J. M. Kennedy. Small, Maynard & Co. 340 pp. $2.50.
[8] Among My Books. By Frederic Harrison. Macmillan Company. 438 pp. $1.75.
[9] Books and Bookmen. By Andrew Lang. Longmans, Green & Co. 177 pp. 75 cents.
[10] The Spirit of American Literature. By John Albert Macy. Doubleday, Page & Co. 347 pp. $1.50.
[11] Social Forces in Modern Literature. By Philo M. Buck, Jr. Ginn & Co. 254 pp. $1.

is a characterization of modern literature which is "so nearly cosmopolitan and so frankly social."

The study of "The Ethical and Religious Value of the Novel,"[1] by Ramsden Balmforth, takes up *seriatim* some of the great purposeful works of the world's fiction and analyzes them for moral lessons. The author, who is a preacher in Cape Town, South Africa, considers in this volume George Eliot's "Adam Bede," Hawthorne's "Scarlet Letter," Hugo's "Les Miserables," Mrs. Lynn Linton's "True Story of Joshua Davidson," Dickens's "Hard Times," Oliver Wendell Holmes's "Elsie Venner," Mrs. Humphrey Ward's "Robert Elsmere," and James Lane Allen's "The Increasing Purpose."

We may lament the absence of genius among our short-story writers of the present generation, but so far as the technique of the craft is concerned there will soon be scant excuse for any serious deficiency on the part of modern writers. Books devoted to the art of story writing are multiplying year by year, and any young man or woman who essays to enter on a literary career may now be supplied with a complete working library of manuals and aids of every conceivable kind. If he or she should wish to begin with a study of classics, perhaps nothing better could be selected than J. Berg Esenwein's recent volume, "Studying the Short Story."[2] Mr. Esenwein analyzes sixteen famous short stories, giving introductions and notes and offering a new laboratory study method for individual reading and for colleges and schools. Mr. Esenwein is the editor of *Lippincott's Magazine* and is the author of the well-known manual, "Writing the Short Story, which has been in use for some time."

The Art of Story-Telling

Mr. Walter B. Pitkin, Associate Professor of Philosophy in the new School of Journalism at Columbia University, is the author of "Short-Story Writing."[3] This book develops the author's system of technique, and the studies included in it have been employed, we are told, during the past three years in teaching about 200 students, of whom nearly fifty have been journalists and other unattached short-story writers. It is a compliment to Mr. Pitkin's tutelage that stories prepared merely as class exercises by his students have been sold to all types of periodicals, from the *Atlantic Monthly* to *Everybody's* and the *American*.

Some definite suggestions regarding the plot of the short story are offered in a little handbook by Henry Albert Phillips,[4] a man of experience in magazine editing and himself a fiction writer.

Five new volumes of the Loeb Classical Library have appeared. These include two volumes, the third and fourth of the works of Euripides,[5] the English translation being by Dr. Arthur S. Way; the first of a set of eight volumes of Lucian,[6] translation of A. M. Harmon; the second volume of Appian's Roman History,[7] translation of Dr. Horace White; and the Catullus, Tibullus and Pervigilium Veneris,[8] translated by F. W. Cornish, Vice Provost of Eton.

The Classics

The study of the poetry of Virgil,[9] which is also a biography of the man himself, comes to us as a second edition of a monograph by T. R. Glover, of Queens' University, Canada. The work has been revised and enlarged.

BOOKS ABOUT ANIMALS

"There are men both good and wise who hold
that in a future state
Dumb creatures we have cherished here below,
Will give us joyous greeting as we pass the
golden gate.
Is it folly if I hope it will be so?"

IF you like books about animals read "Murphy,"[10] by Major Gambier-Parry. It is a message to dog-lovers, the simple life story of a beautiful and intelligent Irish terrier with a great capacity for comradeship with human beings. "Murphy" hunted game but he never killed his quarry. He caught hares and rats and birds—once even a sea-gull swooping low over the sands, but he did not love blood; his sport was the chase. You will not forget "Murphy" after you read about him, he is as real a personage as that other dog of beloved memory—"the Dog of Flanders." The book is illustrated with two excellent drawings of "Murphy" executed by his master.

Dog Lore

"Terriers, Their Points and Management,"[11] by Frank Townend Barton, M. R. C. V. S., is a sound and practical book on terriers that is invaluable to lovers and judges of their breeds. There are forty illustrations which show splendid types of highly bred terriers, including the well-known varieties and those not commonly bred in this country—the Manchester, the English Toy, the Clydesdale, the West Highland White, the Dandie Dimont, the Bedlington, Brussells Griffon, and Maltese terriers. Advice is given as to the general management of these dogs for show purposes as well as for pleasure, also as to their treatment in health, accident, and disease.

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[1] The Ethical and Religious Value of the Novel. By Ramsden Balmforth. London: George Allen & Co., Ltd. 217 pp. $1.25.

[2] Studying the Short Story. By J. Berg Esenwein. New York: Hinds, Noble & Eldredge. 438 pp. $1.25.

[3] The Art and Business of Story Writing. By Walter B. Pitkin. Macmillan Company. 255 pp. $1.25.

[4] The Plot of the Short Story. By Henry Albert Phillips. Larchmont, N. Y.: The Stanhope-Dodge Publishing Co. 146 pp. $1.

[5] Euripides. Vol. III. Translated by Arthur S. Way. Macmillan Company. 599 pp. $1.50.
Euripides. Vol. IV. Translated by Arthur S. Way. Macmillan Company. 507 pp. $1.50.

[6] Lucian. Vol. I. Translated by A. M. Harmon. Macmillan Company. 471 pp. $1.50.

[7] Appian's Roman History. Vol. II. Translated by Dr. Horace White. Macmillan Company. 477 pp. $1.50.

[8] Catullus, Tibullus and Pervigilium Veneris. Translated by F. W. Cornish, J. P. Postgate and J. W. Mackail. Macmillan Company. 371 pp. $1.50.

[9] Virgil. By T. R. Glover. Macmillan Company. 343 pp. $2.

[10] Murphy. By Major Gambier-Parry. Mitchell Kennerley Co. 216 pp., ill. $1.25.

[11] Terriers: Their Points and Management. By Frank Townend Barton. Mitchell Kennerley Co. 208 pp., ill. $1.50.

Mr. S. Eardley Wilmot tells the story of "The Life of the Elephant"[1] in a way that carries the reader on to a wider comprehension of all animal life. He etches the life-history of "Maula Bux" from the time he first sees the light as a little grey elephant-calf in the jungle, through his many experiences as a working elephant, a hunting elephant and last as the proud leader of the stud of an Indian Prince. The book is exquisitely illustrated with photographs and drawings and cannot be too highly recommended as a nature book for youthful readers.

Elephant Tales

"The Fall of Ulysses"[2] is an elephant story by Charles Dwight Willard, with illustrations by Frank Verbeck. "Ulysses" is a remarkable elephant who learns to read and write with ease and browses eagerly on books of history, criticism, and profound philosophy. Finally he knows more than his master and suggests that they change places as master and servant, since the elephant knows more than the man. How the master circumvents the ambitious "Ulysses" is related with piquancy and ingenuous humor. The illustrations are little gems of animal humor in themselves.

"An Elephant Corral and Other Tales of West African Experiences"[3] relates the experiences of Robert Hamil Nassau, M.D., S.T.D., forty-five years a resident of Africa. It includes tales of elephants, gorillas, hippopotami, native chiefs, and several interesting bits of African folk lore. A previous book by this author is "Fetishism in West Africa." This book is more suitable for adult readers than for children.

"MURPHY" (SEE OPPOSITE PAGE)

OTHER TIMELY VOLUMES

TWO new books of African travel particularly noteworthy are Miss E. S. Stevens' "My Sudan Year"[4] and P. Amaury Talbot's "In the Shadow of the Bush."[4] Miss Stevens spent a full year wandering up and down the Nile region. She tells her experiences in easy style to the accompaniment of unusually good photographs. Mr. Talbot, of the Nigerian Political Service, knows his Africa very intimately. He also apparently knows how to secure and make use of abundant illustrative material which really illustrates.

Travel and Description

A translation of André Maurel's "Little Cities of Italy"[5] has been made by Helen Gerard. It is copiously illustrated.

Two new volumes on the West of our own country have a certain distinctive flavor. Arthur E. Bostwick, formerly connected with the New York Public Library, but now Librarian of the St. Louis Public Library, gives us some pungent observations in what he calls "The Different West, as Seen by A Transplanted Easterner."[6] J. Smeaton Chase tells the story of two journeys on horseback in the course of which he covered practically the entire coast of California. He entitles his book "California Coast Trails."[7]

New issues, numbers 47–56, of the Home University Library,[8] the scope and treatment of which we have already had occasion to speak favorably more than once in these pages, include: "The Colonial Period," by Prof. Charles McLean Andrews; "Great American Writers," by Prof. W. P. Trent; "Political Economy," by S. J. Chapman; "The Making of the New Testament," by Benjamin W. Bacon; "Master Mariners," by John R. Spears; "Ethics," by G. E. Moore; "Electricity" by Gisbert Kapp; "The Making of the Earth," by J. W. Gregory; "Missions," by Louise Creighton; and "Man," by Arthur Keith. Each volume, it will be remembered, in this set is written by a recognized authority, and the whole library is published under the general editorship of Prof. Gilbert Murray, of Oxford; Prof. J. A. Thomson, of Aberdeen, and Prof. William T. Brewster, of Columbia University.

Home Reading

[1] The Life of the Elephant. By S. Eardley-Wilmot. Longmans, Green & Co. $2.10.
[2] The Fall of Ulysses. By Charles Dwight Willard. George H. Doran Co. 77 pp., ill. $1.
[3] In an Elephant Corral. By Robert Hamlin Nassau. Neale Publishing Company. 180 pp. $1.
[4] My Sudan Year. By E. S. Stevens. George H. Doran Co. 305 pp., ill. $3.50.
[4] In the Shadow of the Bush. By P. Amaury Talbot. George H. Doran Co., 500 pp., ill. $5.
[5] Little Cities of Italy. By André Maurel. Translated by Helen Gerard. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 475 pp., ill. $2.50.
[6] The Different West as Seen by a Transplanted Easterner. By Arthur E. Bostwick. A. C. McClurg. 184 pp. $1.
[7] California Coast Trails. By J. Smeaton Chase. Houghton Mifflin. 326 pp., ill. $2.
[8] Home University Library of Modern Knowledge. Holt. 50 cents per volume.

FINANCIAL NEWS FOR THE INVESTOR

THE individual investor views with equanimity bills introduced into legislatures for the purpose of protecting him. Nevertheless, the recent introduction of bills into more than thirty State legislatures (in some cases there have been four or five separate bills in one legislature) raises serious problems for investment bankers to meet. The average legislator is a rather imitative person. For years he never thought of turning his activities to the guardianship of investors' savings. Then chiefly because one State, Kansas, had achieved a great amount of publicity by enacting a law against worthless stocks, lawmakers in more than thirty other States suddenly become imbued with the idea of doing likewise. Obviously, here is a case where making haste slowly is desirable, for the rushing through of scores of bills devised by inexperienced Solons and vitally affecting the whole investment industry may not make for the best results.

Investment bankers have objected to that feature of the now famous Kansas "Blue Sky" law which requires detailed information regarding every bond offered for sale, even if it is an underlying bond of the Pennsylvania Railroad offered by J. P. Morgan & Co.; and Commissioner J. N. Dolley, of Kansas, author of the original law, has sent a communication rather widely to the press, stating his intention of recommending an amendment to the act so that an investment banker of proven integrity may go ahead and do a general business in securities. Yet nearly every legislator who has presented a bill this year disregards this correction. Dealers in securities were disturbed but little by the Kansas law, for the quantities of securities sold in that State were relatively small, but now that similar bills are being pressed upon the attention of legislatures in Illinois, New Jersey, New York, and the New England States they are more concerned. If detailed statements regarding every bond sold must be made to authorities of every State in the Union and license fees paid by every bond-dealer and all his agents in every State, the business of legitimate bond-selling will be hampered to no good purpose.

In devising practicable and workable bills the Investment Bankers' Association of America has been active, but with what results cannot be told until all the sessions of State legislatures have completed their tasks. It is difficult to see how the investor himself or herself is anything but the gainer, unless in a mistaken zeal to paralyze swindlers the honest dealer also is "put out of business." Surely the net result will be highly educative for the lawmakers, and out of the cauldron will come obvious benefits in the standards to be set up for judging securities, even if nothing more tangible eventuates.

Where efforts are not being made to accomplish everything at once the most good is accomplished. In California $25,000 has been appropriated by the State to establish a mining agency to investigate "wild cats" and kill them off if possible in the kitten stage. It is said that over $300,000,000 is invested in mineral properties in California and the unfortunate results of having such a large industry even indirectly damaged by the losses through fraudulent mines has at last impressed itself upon the California Miners' Association, and through its efforts, upon the legislature. Our advices do not state whether oil wells are included in the work to be carried on by the mining agency, but the great oil industry of California needs to be freed of the worthless holes in the ground so sedulously exploited by promoters.

A very important class of corporations in California, from the investment standpoint, is composed of building companies. These concerns, up to a late date in January, were not under the jurisdiction of any State department, although they have drawn funds from innumerable investors. But efforts were to be made this year to place them under State authority. In New York State, the most crying need is for a certain class of real-estate concerns to be placed under State authority. Each State has its separate needs. Investors are not besought by the same class of promoters in every State. The most progress is achieved where local needs are looked after. If a uniform "Blue Sky" law is desirable, how much better it would be for the Federal government to take action! In New York the State Banking Department long ago proved its efficacy and an extension of its powers over certain classes of securities might

prove salutary. Power to require a statement from dealers offering securities when deemed desirable by the Superintendent of Banks might not prove too great a departure, for the discretion and good judgment of this particular State department have been often established. To give the Banking Superintendent a right to call for information, instead of requiring him to call for it, is what the investment bankers prefer.

At the time of this writing (late in February) there has been a tremendous decline in the common and in many cases the preferred stocks of several of the newer industrial combinations whose shares were recently listed on the Stock Exchange. The combined market losses on three stocks alone from the highest prices since they were listed, less than two years ago, to the lowest amounted to more than $50,000,000. One concern engaged in making automobile tires and having a common capital stock of $60,000,000 showed at one time a decline of 41 points, or $24,000,000. By the time this magazine reaches its readers these stocks may have recovered their losses. We do not predict what they will do. But the savage slashing they underwent in February was enough to make the investor in the newer industrial shares pause and think.

Newspaper moralists have intimated that many of these newer concerns overdid the matter of capitalizing good will and earning capacity. The subject of watered stocks always arouses much feeling and difference of opinion. It is hard to draw any distinct lesson in that direction. But what we can be sure of is that untried shares will suffer more in parlous financial markets than those which are tried. It may be objected that the investor would do better to purchase shares which were not listed, but there is a sort of ostrich-like attitude in that contention. The new unlisted share is just as untried as the one which is listed, the only difference being that the investor cannot directly watch the forces of supply and demand beating upon the unlisted stock as he can upon those that must take their chances in the public marts.

Tried and seasoned railroad shares have suffered in the long stock-market decline, but he who reads the financial page of his daily paper knows that their movement has not resembled the drop of the newer industrial issues,—a drop resembling the feeling which some persons have in their abdominal regions when an elevator suddenly rises or falls.

It often has been said that when shares of our great, standard railroad systems sell at prices to yield 6 per cent. income, the time is at hand to buy. At the time of this writing the market is at that point. By the time the reader scans these pages railroad stocks may have risen or fallen. But the fact remains that for a number of years stocks of the larger railroads, those having excellent dividend records behind them, have proved attractive purchases when yielding 6 per cent.

Fashions seem to change quickly in the investment world, but the larger currents run deep. With all the talk of railroad poverty due to higher wages and growing severity of public regulation one might suppose that steam railroad securities would be spurned by the most discerning investors. But note the investments made in 1912 by what is probably the largest investor in America, The Equitable Life Assurance Society:

Domestic railroad bonds to yield 4.61 per cent	$9,971,000
Real Estate Mortgage Loans (all First liens) made in 33 States, Canada, and France, to yield 5.28 per cent.	8,244,366
Foreign railroad, Government and Municipal bonds to yield 4.29 per cent	3,721,079
Domestic State, County, and Municipal bonds to yield 4.61 per cent.	3,176,649
Miscellaneous to yield 5.05 per cent...	1,235,949

TYPICAL INQUIRIES AND ANSWERS

No. 433. SUGGESTIONS FOR AN INVESTOR GOING WEST

I invested about two years ago in Cook County (Illinois) bonds, some municipals, and Chicago Telephone bonds. Could I sell these bonds in Los Angeles, California, and do the banks cash the coupons? Are there good opportunities in the West for investing in bonds and first mortgages? How do rates compare with those in Chicago?

You would probably experience no difficulty whatever in finding a purchaser for your Chicago Telephone bonds in Los Angeles, or any other place where there was even a moderately informed banker. It is possible that you might find a less ready market out there for the Cook County bonds, and perhaps the least ready market for the other municipals, especially if they are bonds of smaller and less widely known towns or counties of the Middle West.

However, there should be no obstacles in the way of your collecting the interest coupons from these issues through almost any bank. All that it would be necessary for you to do, would be to establish connection as a client with some bank, and deposit the coupons as they approach maturity. It is part of the regular service of most banks to attend to such collections. In most instances, especially where the integrity of the securities from which the coupons are detached is known, the banks will immediately credit the face amount of the coupons to the depositor's account.

There are excellent opportunities in the West for

investing in bonds and first mortgages on improved real estate. In California, the popular securities nowadays seem to be those based upon public utility enterprises within the State. In most instances such securities are tax-exempt there. They can be had to yield all the way from 5, or 5¼ to 6 per cent., these rates comparing with, say, 4¾ to 5½ per cent. returned by representative utility issues in Illinois. Pretty good mortgages can be had in all the Pacific Coast States to yield 7 per cent., or one per cent more than can be obtained on the same general class of securities in the Middle West.

No. 434. SOUTHERN PACIFIC STOCK

In case the Union Pacific-Southern Pacific dissolution plan is approved by the United States District Court, would you think it wise for holders of Union Pacific and Southern Pacific stocks to exercise their rights to subscribe to Southern Pacific stock?

Yes; particularly if the rights eventually granted are like those contemplated by the dissolution plan as originally proposed. On this point there is some doubt just now on account of the development of unexpected opposition to the plan from one competing railroad and from the Public Service Commission of California. If, when the details of the transaction are finally adjusted to suit everybody, stockholders of the two roads directly concerned are given the opportunity to get the Southern Pacific stock, now held in Union Pacific's treasury, at or near par, we believe they will do well to take advantage of it. Southern Pacific's position as an independent road may be in a good many respects impossible to define now, but analysis seems to leave little room for doubt that the road will be able to maintain its stock on the 6 per cent. dividend basis. Some concern was felt at first over that part of the original plan which contemplated the surrender by Southern Pacific to Union Pacific of control of Central Pacific through transfer of the latter's stock. This stock has been a large revenue producer for Southern Pacific, dividends on it amounting to an average of more than $7,000,000 a year, and the question as to what substitution Southern Pacific would make for it among its assets was held to be an important one. In many ways, it is, of course. Still, on the basis of past experience, even without the revenue from that stock, or its equivalent, Southern Pacific would seem to be able to pay the current rate of dividends with a reasonably satisfactory margin.

No. 435. CONSERVATIVE INVESTMENT BONDS

Do you consider Cumberland Telephone & Telegraph first and general mortgage 5's and New York Telephone first and general mortgage 4½'s good bonds for investment? Which is the better? Do you consider that New York City 4¼'s are as good as any of the city's bonds? Is there any reason why New York City bonds are not good investments?

Cumberland Telephone & Telegraph 5's and New York Telephone 4½'s are both high grade public utility bonds. We consider the New York Telephone issue somewhat the stronger of the two. For investors having their legal residence in New York State, these bonds are additionally attractive by reason of their being exempt from taxation. We do not know of any reason why New York City 4¼'s should not prove as good as any of the other issues of the municipality; nor of any reason why they should not be regarded as strictly conservative investments. A good deal is heard nowadays about municipal extravagance, and New York City is frequently held up as one of the worst examples. Its authorities have been criticised, and justly so, perhaps, for causing a good many long term bonds to be issued to pay for things that are very much in the nature of current expenses, thus saddling upon future generations the burden of debts from which they can possibly get no benefits. But, however wholesome this sort of criticism may be in a good many respects, we do not believe it should be carried to the extent of frightening investors away from New York City's bonds. It would be a strange imagination capable of being stretched to the point of seeing this great, resourceful city confronted with the necessity of repudiating its debts..

No. 436. SHORT-TERM INVESTMENTS

I have some money that I want to use to make a one- to three-year investment. I have been advised to buy United States Steel stock outright. Do you think that stock will prove profitable? If so, kindly explain how it is bought, sold and operated, for I know nothing whatever about financial investments. I do not desire to put my money into anything speculative, but into conservative investment, with no chance of losing.

Under the circumstances, we think you have been carelessly advised. You do not indicate whether your advisor recommended the preferred or common stock of the Steel Corporation for temporary investment, but after all it doesn't make so much difference. Both are more or less speculative securities which fluctuate widely in market value from time to time, and which are just now surrounded by more uncertainty than usual by reason of the dissolution suit which the Federal Government is prosecuting against the Corporation, and by reason of the possibility that during the forthcoming session of Congress the tariff on steel will be changed in such a way as to affect the Corporation's earnings adversely, at least for a time. If you were to put your money into either one of these stocks now, there would be no way in which you could be assured that when you wanted it to use for another purpose, you could sell your stock in the market at anywhere near the price you paid for it. For such an investment as you contemplate making, short-term bonds or notes are the most satisfactory securities. The majority of these are unsecured obligations, but you should have no difficulty in finding issues backed up by strong credit and practically certain of repayment at maturity. Securities of this class, having only two or three years to run, enjoy a free market at all times, and seldom fluctuate widely in value. First-rate issues may be had now to yield from 5 to 6 per cent.

No. 437. TWO TELEPHONE SECURITIES

Which are best to buy, American Telephone & Telegraph collateral trust 4's, or the new convertible 4½'s of the same company? Are these bonds non-taxable in Massachusetts?

As a straight investment proposition, you would probably find the collateral trust 4's the more satisfactory in the long run. These bonds at their present market price yield in the neighborhood of 4.60 per cent. on the investment. If you were to buy the convertible 4½'s in the open market, you would have to pay a price which would mean a lower basis of yield, figuring the bonds to run through to their maturity date, and if you didn't understand fully how to take advantage of the conversion privilege as a means of compensating for the lower yield, you would obviously not be in as satisfactory investment position as you would be if you held the collateral 4's. The latter bonds are legal investments for the savings banks of Massachusetts, but we do not believe they are exempt from taxation in that State.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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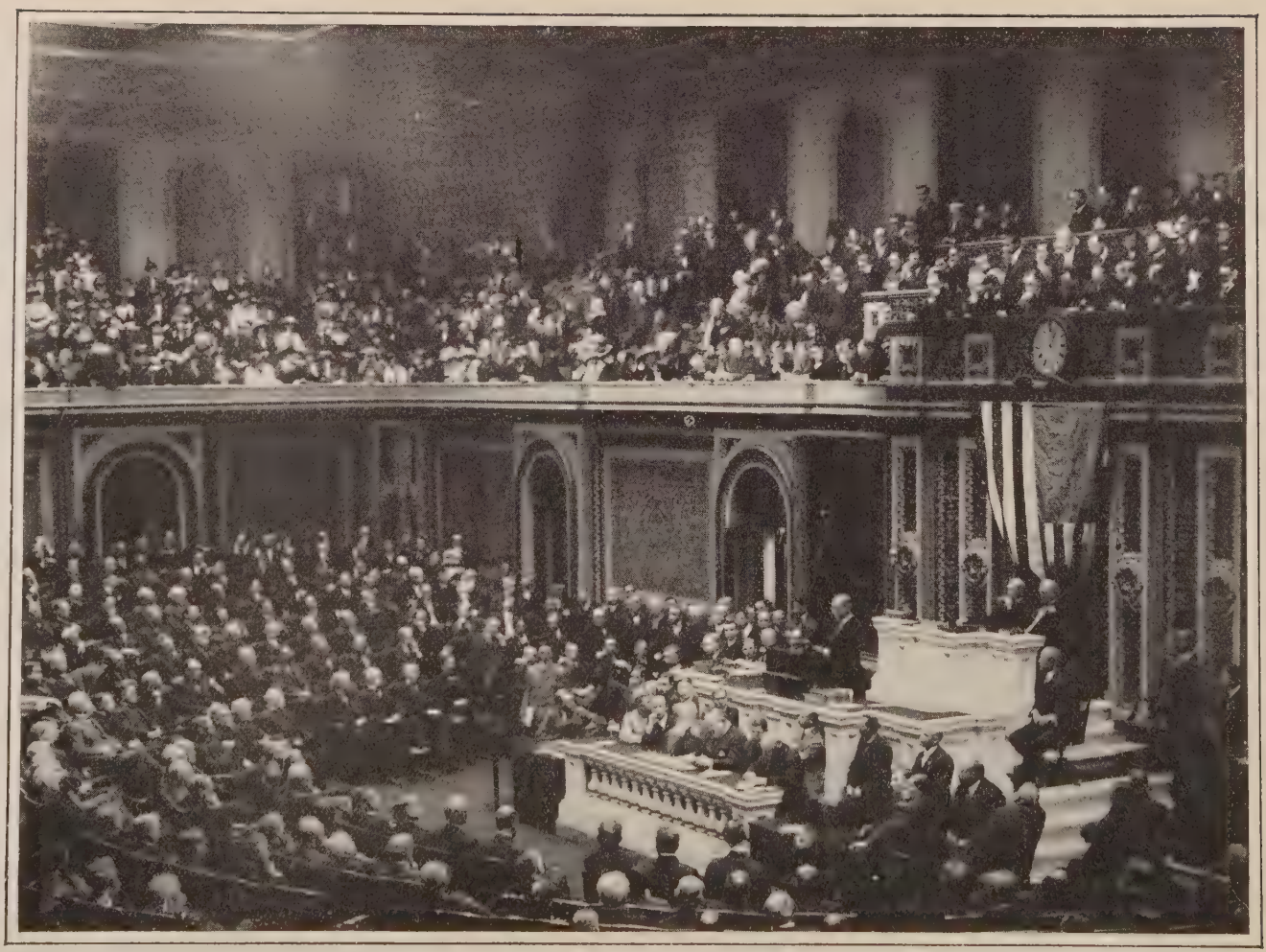

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PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON READING HIS MESSAGE TO CONGRESS FROM THE SPEAKER'S DESK ON APRIL 8.

(The scene is in the House of Representatives, and the new arrangement of benches in place of individual desks is shown. Vice-President Marshall and Speaker Champ Clark are sitting together behind President Wilson. The Senators are gathered upon the front benches. The scene is one of historic importance, and our photograph is so good as to be a triumph of the art)

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THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

President and Congress

President Wilson's appearance in person, to read his message from the Speaker's desk at the opening of the tariff session to the members of both houses of Congress, should not be regarded as an isolated detail or a mark of eccentricity. Our new President was not trying to advertise himself, and certainly he was not imitating British royalty. The appearance of the King, with his brief and simple address at the opening of Parliament, is a survival that has become meaningless because the King takes no part either in the process of making laws or in that of administering them. But in this country the President is in complete authority over the business of executive government, and he also bears such relationship to the party in power that under normal circumstances he is more influential than anyone else in guiding and directing legislative policies. Mr. Wilson has, therefore, always argued that we could accomplish better results, in our practical affairs of government, if the President and his cabinet could be in closer relationship with the two houses of Congress. In the selection of his cabinet our new President had in mind this very thing. He appointed men whom he believed to be capable of working well with Congress, and who could when called upon present the affairs of their respective departments either to Congressional committees or to either chamber as a whole, with clear thought and incisive speech. We must not be surprised, therefore, if Congress by joint resolution should in the near future provide for some participation by cabinet members in the discussion of appropriation bills, and other pending measures affecting their departments.

The Tariff in Whole and in Detail

Apart from President Wilson's general motive and desire for close coöperation between the executive and legislative departments, there were specific reasons for his appearing in person on April 8. He felt that in the matter of tariff revision he was elected to represent the whole country, while members of Congress represented each his own district or State. The tariff involves several thousand items. Most of these items have a predominantly local bearing. The particular Congressman or Senator may be so heavily charged with the duty of representing the interests of his own constituents as regards certain schedules or items of the tariff, that he cannot possibly take the large national view. The consequence is that the tariff is prone to be arranged by means of dickers and compromises, each member trying to secure every possible favor for the industries of his own locality, and in consideration of his own success allowing other members to gain or retain the things wanted in their particular districts. This is the process that is called "log-rolling." It was perfectly exemplified in the making of the Payne-Aldrich tariff four years ago,—a strictly non-partisan method.

What Happened Only Four Years Ago.

The mass of voters who elected the Taft-Sherman ticket in 1908, on a platform that promised an immediate revision of the tariff, fully understood that there was meant by "revision" a very substantial reduction of average protective rates, and a rearrangement of the whole tariff system in order to make it harmonize with profound changes in the country's business conditions. Mr. Taft, in his formal speech accepting the nomination, in

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July, 1908, had said: "The tariff in a number of the schedules exceeds the difference between the cost of production of such articles abroad and at home, including a reasonable profit to the American producer. The excess over that difference serves no useful purpose but offers a temptation to those who would monopolize the production and sale of such articles in this country to profit by the excessive rate." In his speeches later in the campaign Mr. Taft fully developed and strongly emphasized the need of a very decided reduction in tariff rates. But from the moment of his inauguration he was greatly preoccupied with details about postmasterships and appointments to office; and when Congress convened in the special tariff session Mr. Taft failed to seize his opportunity to impress either Congress or the country with his views upon the great business in hand. Commenting upon the situation, this REVIEW remarked at the time (see our issue for April, 1909):

> Mr. Taft at the present moment is strongly committed to a tariff revision that shall be more than nominal. As the Senate is organized, it can be counted upon to pass the tariff bill in any form that Mr. Taft may favor, provided only that this has the full support of Mr. Aldrich. Mr. Taft is the last man to suppose that either house of Congress is under obligation to take orders from the Executive. But if there is any such thing as harmony in the Republican party, it is obvious enough that it would be fortunate for the party and the country if the President who best represents Republican sentiment and policy, should find himself cordially supported by Congress leaders whose cooperation could give prompt effect to all that the party has pledged itself to perform for the country.

Unfortunately, Mr. Taft had not taken a bold and specific stand at the opening of the special tariff session. During the continuance of that session he was almost wholly occupied with other matters. A situation developed that was finally beyond his power to affect in any important way, except by the use of the veto power. His tariff views had originally been regarded as quite as radical as those of Senators Dolliver, Cummins, Beveridge, LaFollette, Bristow, and the other progressives. But in the end he accepted the Payne-Aldrich tariff, became its chief apologist, and undoubtedly persuaded himself that it was a fairly good piece of legislative work.

Wilson Has Noted Recent History

President Wilson has not failed to observe our recent political and governmental history. He is trying to profit by the lesson of what happened four years ago. He is determined that his party shall keep its promises to the country and carry out a very sweeping plan of tariff revision. Thus his going to the Capitol in person, and reading his tariff message, was intended not only to express to Congress his intense and vigilant concern for tariff reform, but also to impress the whole matter upon the country in such a way as to bring the maximum strength of public opinion to bear in favor of prompt and efficient work, as against the traditional power of special interests lobbying for the perpetuation of their own tariff advantages. The message was a very brief one, and occupied only ten minutes in the reading. Mr. Wilson appeared in a manner entirely suitable and dignified, but as free from formality as possible, and he returned immediately to the White House. During the eight years of President Washington and the four years of President John Adams, it was customary for the President to deliver not only his inaugural address but also his regular messages at the opening of each session, in the form of a speech. Circumstances at that time, while the government sojourned in New York and Philadelphia, brought the President into closer contact with Congress than was the case after the removal to Washington, with the White House at a very considerable distance from the Capitol. President Jefferson changed the custom and adopted the plan of sending written messages, which were read by clerks in the two houses. This Jeffersonian precedent has remained unbroken during a period of 112 years, until now.

PHILOSOPHY OF THE PRESIDENT

"If you would have a thing well done, do it yourself"
From the *Record-Herald* (Chicago)

The New Kind of Presidential Message

If President Wilson should adhere to this plan of appearing in person, we should undoubtedly have a different form of message from those which have become customary in recent years. Mr. Roosevelt's messages were long, but were prepared for popular reading throughout the country much more than for Congress. They were interesting reviews of the whole operation of the government, were prepared well in advance, and were so distributed as to be easily handled by the newspapers. Mr. Taft's messages were not only very long, but also very dilatory in preparation, and somewhat perfunctory in manner and material. They became negligible from the newspaper standpoint, and the press generally gave up the previous custom of printing messages in full. In short, Mr. Taft's messages did not attract public attention to any marked extent, and thus came short of their purpose. Apparently Mr. Wilson intends to make his messages brief, direct, bold, and fundamental, rather than merely legal arguments or statistical compends. It might be possible for the President to present a terse message in person, at the opening of each session, and at the same time to follow this by a documentary report to be transmitted to Congress in written form, and to be conveniently printed for the benefit of the members and of the general public. This printed document would be very much like one of the elaborate Roosevelt or Taft messages, covering in an interesting and narrative way the foreign relations of the United States, the country's fiscal or budgetary condition, and the principal facts in the work of each one of the ten administrative departments, together with any other matters of interest or importance suitable to be reviewed by the President in an annual statement to Congress and the country. Mr. Wilson, like Mr. Roosevelt, has the gift of politico-historical statement in rare measure, and such annual surveys from his pen would be read by a million firesides.

Quality of the Tariff Message

Mr. Wilson's tariff message made no reference to rates or particular schedules, but dealt solely with broad principles. The following quotation well indicates the character of the entire discourse:

> We have seen tariff legislation wander very far afield in our day—very far indeed—from the field in which our prosperity might have had a normal growth and stimulation. No one who looks the facts squarely in the face or knows anything that lies beneath the surface of action can fail to perceive the principles upon which recent tariff legislation has been based.
>
> We long ago passed beyond the modest notion of "protecting" the industries of the country and moved boldly forward to the idea that they were entitled to the direct patronage of the government. For a long time—a time so long that the men now active in public policy hardly remember the conditions that preceded it—we have sought in our tariff schedules to give each group of manufacturers or producers what they themselves thought that they needed in order to maintain a practically exclusive market as against the rest of the world.
>
> Consciously or unconsciously, we have built up a set of privileges and exemptions from competition behind which it was easy by any, even the crudest, forms of combination to organize monopoly; until at last nothing is normal, nothing is obliged to stand the tests of efficiency and economy, in our world of big business, but everything thrives by concerted arrangement. Only new principles of action will save us from a final hard crystallization of monopoly and a complete loss of the influences that quicken enterprise and keep independent energy alive.

THE WHOLE SHOW
From the *Inquirer* (Philadelphia)

It must be remembered that Mr. Wilson was dealing with a situation that had already assumed precise and definite shape. He had passed upon a complete tariff bill, in conference with Mr. Underwood and other Democratic leaders of both houses. Full deference had been paid to his views by these leaders, and the bill which they had all agreed upon had been given to the newspapers and spread before the eyes of the entire country on the morning of the very day when the President delivered his address to the new Congress. There was no need, therefore, of giving figures or details in the message. The bill itself was available, and his message meant to arouse Congress to support the measure vigorously and pass it promptly.

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HON. OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD, OF ALABAMA

(Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee and leader of the House of Representatives, who has presented to the new Congress a revenue bill that includes a radical revision of the tariff schedules and a graduated income tax)

The New Revenue Measure

This completed Underwood bill, while in many respects identical with or similar to the work of Mr. Underwood and his committee in the last Congress, goes somewhat farther in its total estimated reduction of custom-house revenues. When the bills of the last Congress were drafted, the income-tax amendment to the Constitution had not been ratified. The Democrats have not hesitated to utilize the new source. Thus the first half of the pending measure revises the tariff, and the second half imposes a graduated tax upon incomes in excess of $4000.

The Wool Question—"Schedule K"

This would not have been a proper Democratic tariff bill if it had retained a tax upon imported wool. "Free wool" has long been a cardinal

Democratic maxim. There is no prospect whatsoever that this country will produce enough wool to clothe its one hundred million people, and provide for the other uses to which raw wool is subject. President Wilson faced this matter squarely and encouraged the revisionists in Congress to place wool on the free list. As for the manufactured goods made wholly or principally of wool, the new tariff bill makes a sweeping reduction of rates, while leaving duties that will afford considerable revenue and incidentally give some protection. Thus the kinds of woolen goods from which clothing is made, which pay, under the present duty, what averages about 100 per cent. tariff tax, are reduced in the new bill to 35 per cent. Blankets and flannels are somewhat similarly reduced, and the same thing is true of carpets. To sum up Schedule K, which deals with wools and woolen manufactures, the new bill makes raw wool free of any duty, and cuts down the present duties on woolen manufactured goods, ranging from 60 to 100 per cent., to a range of from 20 to 35 per cent.

The Farmer and His Flocks

The first question that arises is, How will farmers be affected by free wool? The large flocks, like those of Senator Warren of Wyoming, may be placed at some disadvantage by the removal of protection. But intelligent farmers have long since learned that the kinds of sheep to be raised in this country are the English mutton varieties, rather than those which are maintained for wool alone. There ought to be some sheep on almost every farm, as a part of a scheme of mixed or varied agricultural effort. We will venture to predict that instead of destroying the American sheep industry, the new tariff bill, if Schedule K is passed as introduced, will be followed by a definite and progressive increase in sheep husbandry throughout the country. We predict that there will be no decline in the demand for mutton, and that the price of wool will be high enough to justify farmers in keeping as many sheep as they can conveniently manage in connection with a scheme of farming suited to their land. As for the business of making woolen cloths and carpets in this country, it will have the opportunity to buy raw material everywhere in the world, and will be protected by a tariff which, though not exceedingly high, is substantial.

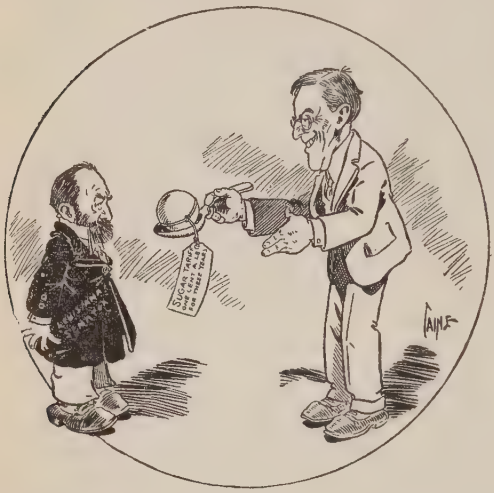
LED TO THE SLAUGHTER AT LAST
From the *Sun* (Baltimore)

Should Sugar Be Taxed?

While it remains, of course, a question of judgment to be solved in the light of full experience, there is much reason to believe that the farmer, as well as the ordinary citizen of towns, will be better off with free wool and a thorough revision of Schedule K. When it comes to the question of free sugar, however, the factors in the case are quite different. The tariff on sugar, while incidentally protecting the cane-growers of Louisiana and the beet industry of the West, is to be regarded chiefly as a matter of public revenue. In our opinion the sugar tax is a good thing, and might well be maintained as a convenient way of giving the Government a large and constant source of income. It ought not, of course, to be a heavy impost. The bill as introduced keeps a moderate tariff on sugar for three years, and then abolishes it. This would seem a good compromise to make at the present time, since it leaves ample opportunity for the next Congress to decide, in the light of revenue experience, whether the three-year period should be further extended or not. The beet sugar men of the West say that if only the tariff can be kept up a little longer they will be able to supply this country with all the sugar it needs, at rates lower than those for which cane sugar can now be produced in the West Indies. But they have already had a considerable period in which to demonstrate this, and it would seem as if the beet-sugar culture of America ought not to be so perilously dependent upon a protective tariff. Going back over a long period of years, the sugar interests have not made a very favorable impression upon the country by the arguments and methods they have used at Washington. Undoubtedly our Western farmers need the sugar beet to add to the variety of their crops; and it is to be hoped that the beet-sugar industry can be maintained and further developed in this country.

Cotton Goods, Flax and Linen

In the arrangement of schedules, the vegetable fibers such as cotton, flax, and hemp, and the fabrics made from them, precede Schedule K, which deals with wool. Cotton threads and



PRESIDENT WILSON HANDING LOUISIANA A SUGAR-COATED PILL
From *Pioneer-Press* (St. Paul)

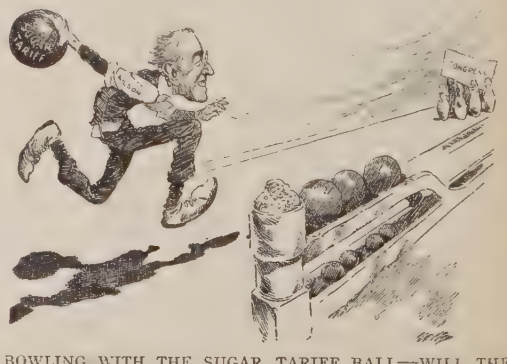
cloths are not now dutiable at as high a rate as those made of wool, but their range is from about 30 per cent. to 60, and the Underwood bill makes a cut of something like one-half, although the reductions differ greatly with different items. Thus the cut on ready-made cotton clothing is from 50 per cent. to 30, on stockings from 75 per cent. to 50, on underwear from 60 to 25, and on plain cotton cloths from about 43 to about 27. Raw flax and hemp are reduced from $22.50 per ton to $11.20. This is one of the few concessions to the demand for the continued protection of a crude agricultural product. Linen goods are correspondingly reduced. The objections to the cotton-goods reductions are urgently made by the milling interests, particularly those of the Southern States. In former times, New England bore the brunt of the fight to maintain high rates on the manufactures of cotton. Now that the Southern Democrats are in control of Congress, New England relies upon the Southern manufacturers to urge their common cause at Washington.

Free Farm Products and Supplies

There are bold and uncompromising cuts in Schedule G (agricultural products). Animals, cereals, vegetables, butter and cheese, and fruits may all be imported under the new tariff at greatly reduced rates. Potatoes, which have heretofore paid 25 cents a bushel, are now made free. Even at the present rate, large quantities of potatoes come to New York from Germany and Ireland Wheat and the staple cereals, except Indian corn, are not made free but are greatly reduced. Beef, mutton, and other meats, whether fresh or cured, are all put on the free list; and the same is true of wheat flour. If, however, the products of the farm are not longer protected to any great extent, the farmer in turn is permitted to buy many of his most important supplies under full freedom of competition from other countries. Thus his wagons and agricultural implements are now on the free list, and so also are the nitrates and phosphates and other chemicals that are used for fertilizers. All leather goods, such as harnesses and boots and shoes, are on the free list; and so are the kinds of wire used for fencing, baling hay, and other purposes. The farmer will find that all ordinary kinds of lumber are now made free of duty, and that furniture is reduced from a rate of 35 per cent. to 15 per cent.

Changes More Nominal Than Vital

It is quite true, however, that most of these reductions in duty, or additions to the free list, whether seemingly against the farmer or in his favor, will have rather nominal than important results in current market prices. It is simply a good thing to clear away tariff rates that are no longer useful, and to give everybody a freedom that is in itself desirable and ought to exist unless some strong argument can be made against it. At present, with free hides, the boot and shoe industry has a 10 per cent. protection, and the harness industry 20 per cent. It is not likely that the removal of these tariff rates will make ordinary leather goods any cheaper to the American consumer than they already are. Nor is



BOWLING WITH THE SUGAR TARIFF BALL—WILL THE PRESIDENT MAKE A "STRIKE" OR A "SPLIT"
From the *Leader* (Cleveland)

it likely that the New England shoe factories will suffer appreciably from foreign competition. Yet there are,—as respects these articles and various others,—some real advantages in granting unrestricted free trade unless it can be shown that a protective tariff has an important part to play in the establishment of a desirable industry. We have reached a point when the tariff ought to be greatly simplified, so that its further operations may be plainly seen and well understood by everybody concerned.

Necessities Low—Luxuries High

The Underwood bill must, of course, undergo various modifications before it becomes a law, and we shall not now attempt even in the most summary way to recapitulate all its important items. A few things, however, may be mentioned. Thus in the metal schedule, iron ore becomes free, and all duty is removed from steel rails. Most articles of iron and steel manufacture are considerably reduced, but articles of gold and silver are dutiable at 50 per cent., on the theory that they are luxuries. In general, the new tariff undertakes to keep the duty as high as is practicable upon articles that are unquestionably luxurious. Thus chinaware is dutiable at 55 per cent., glassware at 45, automobiles at 45, silks, laces, and articles of jewelry at from 50 to 60 per cent., and so on. Paintings and sculpture remain at the existing rate of 15 per cent. Books are reduced from 25 per cent. to 15 per cent. Wood pulp of all kinds, for making paper, becomes free. Different kinds of paper, also, are dutiable at low rates.

I CAN VOTE FOR FREE SUGAR, ALL RIGHT, BUT DONT ASK ME TO VOTE FOR FREE WOOL.
FREE WOOL'S ALL RIGHT, BUT DONT ASK ME TO VOTE FOR FREE SUGAR!
SENATOR SUGAR BEET
CONGRESSMAN RAM
DEMOCRATIC TARIFF LEADER OSCAR UNDERWOOD
DEMOCRATIC PARTY
TARIFF

THE DEMOCRATS AND THE TARIFF
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis)

Remarkable Acquiescence

It is important to note the changed tone of discussion since the new tariff bill was made public with the opening of the session on April 7. Thus the New York *Tribune*, which has always represented the high protectionist doctrine with ability and consistency, praises the bill as expressing fairly and justly the tariff attitude that the Democratic party had assumed during the campaign. Furthermore, the *Tribune* does not predict calamity, but seems to admit that the business of the country can adjust itself without fatal shock to a tariff measure that from beginning to end represents a tremendous pruning down of the Payne-Aldrich rates. It was of course known that the sugar interests, the wool interests, those of cotton, and the spokesmen for the citrus fruit production of Florida and California would enter protests. But the country has not seemed much impressed by any of these pleas for special consideration. The so-called "interests" have written the tariffs for fifty years. The people have made up their minds to try a tariff constructed in a different way. The Republicans and the protected interests had their easy opportunity four years ago. Mr. Payne, Mr. Aldrich and Mr. Taft yielded much too easily to the plausible arguments of scores of industries that were not willing to yield even to the suggestion of moderate changes. A straight

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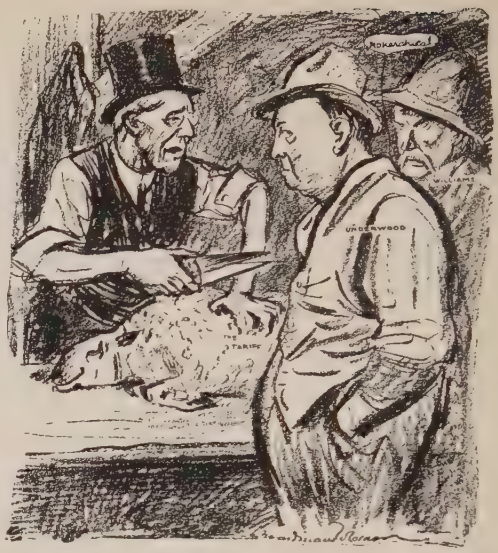
A NEAR-FUTURIST PAINTING BY PRESIDENT WILSON, ON THE SUBJECT OF THE TARIFF
From the *Sun* (New York)

forward observance of the pledges of the Republican party four years ago would have settled the tariff question for at least eight years. The Republicans had their chance, and threw it away with reckless fatuity and folly. It was inevitable that the country would call the Democrats to power, with a mandate to revise the tariff sharply and unsparingly. It was not merely Democratic sentiment that was aroused to rebuke the tariff work of 1909, and the later vetoes. Republican sentiment was just as strongly aroused as that of the opposition. Thus the Underwood tariff, though offered responsibly by the Democratic party, is not a partisan affair. It represents the country's demand for a new deal altogether. Its chief fault is in its failure to impose sufficient duties of the revenue-yielding sort.

Attitude of Progressive Senators

It was stated, soon after the Underwood bill became public, that the principal opposition to it would develop in the Senate. The Democratic majority in the House is overwhelming, and is in sympathy with President Wilson's desires. The progress of the tariff bill through several days of cross-examination in the House caucus showed that Mr. Underwood's Democratic colleagues would support the work of the Ways and Means Committee. In the Senate, however, the Democratic majority is small, and several Democratic Senators have greatly wished to safe-guard sugar or some other interest. The most active Senator in formulating a definite opposition to the bill was Mr. LaFollette of Wisconsin. The changed situation that has brought us to the threshold of tariff reform, has been greatly due to the group of Republican progressive Senators. Their fight for tariff reduction in the Senate four years ago was the turning point for everything that has happened since. If Mr. Taft had stood firmly

AN OUTGROWN STYLE
From the *Evening Sun* (Baltimore)



PRESIDENT WILSON DOING THE TARIFF JOBS HIMSELF
From the *Tribune* (New York)

with those Senators, he could have secured a real tariff revision, and could have been renominated by a united Republican party. Several of these progressive Senators are expert students of the tariff schedules. Their former proposals do not go quite so far as the Underwood bill. It is possible that they may be able to induce the Senate to modify the measure at some points. Nevertheless, they should remember that the situation has changed in four years; and that the country is now prepared to accept a more radical movement toward free trade than it desired in 1909.

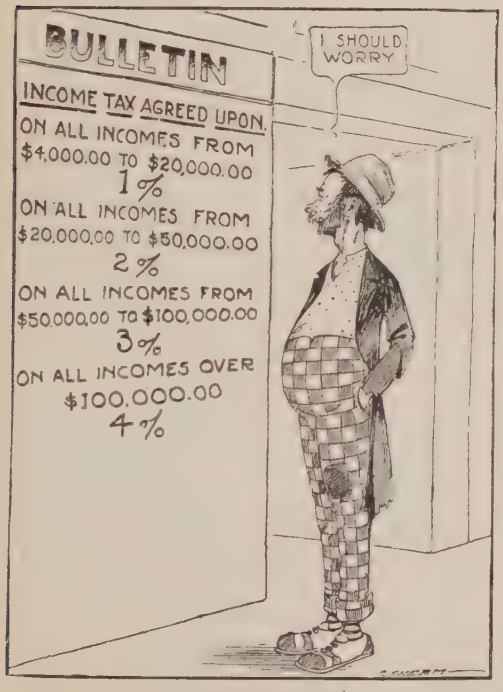
The New Attitude of "Business"

Even a good many business men having their money invested in protected industries have caught the new spirit, and would like to see what they can do on the higher plane of world competition. For several years, the protected industries have seen the handwriting on the wall, have been putting their houses in order, and have been preparing for what they had been accustomed to call "the worst" but which may prove to be the best. That sensitive index, the Stock Exchange, showed no ominous disturbance when the Underwood bill was made public. Shares of stock in the industries that have enjoyed the protection of high duties are still worth something in the market; and nobody has taken seriously the statements that the Underwood bill, if passed as introduced, would shut up the cotton mills of the South, the shoe factories of New England, the carpet mills of Philadelphia and Yonkers, and the great establishments in

which woolen cloths are woven. In so far as the progressive Senators are concerned, we shall at least have some intelligent and valuable debating upon the Underwood bill. Messrs. LaFollette, Cummins, Bristow, and others, have heretofore done such good tariff work that their views will be entitled to receive unusual consideration.

The Income Tax Now Assured

It was the position of Senator Cummins, four years ago, when he presented an income-tax bill as an amendment to the pending Payne-Aldrich bill, that brought about the most striking single feature of the measure now pending. Mr. Cummins' income tax was accepted, with certain modifications, by Democratic Senators under the lead of Mr. Bailey. The situation that resulted led to the adoption of the income-tax amendment to the Constitution, which has now gone into effect, and also to the 1 per cent. tax on the profits of corporations, which, of course, was as truly an income tax as any that was ever levied in this or any other country. Public opinion was prepared at that time to expect that a general income tax would grow out of the two steps which were precipitated by Senator Cummins' bold action at a strategic moment in the special session of 1909.


BULLETIN
INCOME TAX AGREED UPON.
ON ALL INCOMES FROM $4,000.00 TO $20,000.00 1%
ON ALL INCOMES FROM $20,000.00 TO $50,000.00 2%
ON ALL INCOMES FROM $50,000.00 TO $100,000.00 3%
ON ALL INCOMES OVER $100,000.00 4%
I SHOULD WORRY

THE POINT OF VIEW
From the *Traveler and Evening Herald* (Boston)

Copyright by Harris & Ewing, Washington, D. C.
HON. CORDELL HULL, OF TENNESSEE

The "Graduation" of Income Rates

The author of the pending income-tax measure, so far as its elaborate detail and phraseology are concerned, is Mr. Cordell Hull, of Tennessee, who is now entering upon his fourth term in Congress and is a member of the Ways and Means Committee. The bill levies a direct tax upon all incomes in excess of $4000. The rate is 1 per cent. up to $20,000, 2 per cent. on amounts from $20,000 to $50,000, 3 per cent. on sums from $50,000 to $100,000, and 4 per cent. on all sums above $100,000. This means that a man with an income of $200,000 will pay 4 per cent., or $4000, upon the sum of $100,000; 3 per cent. upon $50,000; 2 per cent. upon $30,000, and 1 per cent. upon $16,000,—in all a tax of $6,200. There is, of course, no precise logic in rates like these. They are arbitrary, though not unreasonable. It has always been the prevalent view in the United States that taxation should be at one uniform rate. Thus the farmer whose property is fairly assessed at $40,000, expects to pay just twice as much tax as his neighbor whose property is assessed at $20,000; although he might be able to pay four or eight times as much. When one declares that the man who earns a larger income shall pay not only correspondingly higher taxes than another, but

shall pay them at a higher rate arbitrarily fixed, one enters a field where there is neither rule nor logic to determine how the rate shall be arranged.

European and American Contrasts

In Europe, where graduated income taxes have become more or less familiar, the pressing need of maintaining military establishments has been regarded as justifying progressive rates in direct taxation. Most European countries have comparatively fixed classes of people; and the wealthy and aristocratic elements enjoy privileges and favors that belong to their status. A graduated income tax, therefore, suits European conditions much better than it does those of the United States. This has been a country of free opportunity, of equal citizenship, and of universal diffusion of the benefits and services of government. It is quite as proper that every citizen who is not a beggar should pay something for the maintenance of his government, as that he should pay for his own food, clothing, and shelter. If we are to have an income tax, the $4000 exemption line is too high to be democratic. And it is very doubtful whether there ought now to be any attempt whatsoever at a graduation of the tax rate.

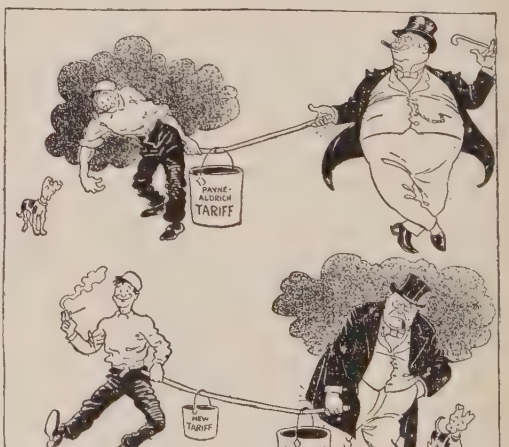
Reasons for a "Straight" Tax

A simple, straight 1 per cent. income tax, with an exemption line fixed at $1000, would be far more in accordance with the American spirit and with American common sense than this proposed discrimination against larger incomes. At least the additional tax on the large incomes should be reserved for times of emergency, when it would be levied with the clear motive of obtaining necessary revenue. It is not that the arrangement now proposed is likely to be burdensome to any individual, but that it is arbitrary and undemocratic. Nor has any reason been shown why the principle of graduation should cease to work above the line of $100,000. If a hundred intelligent men were thinking independently, it is not likely that any two of them would hit upon exactly the same rates for a graduated income tax. A better opportunity to apply the principle of graduation is when estates are in process of transmission from one generation to the next. A majority of economists and most careful thinkers on taxation are of opinion that graduated inheritance taxes, under which rather large percentages of great fortunes should revert to the state, are both sound as public policy and reasonably convenient from private standpoints. Senator Jones of Washington has introduced a graduated inheritance-tax bill in the present session which shows how far some men are ready to go. He begins with a 1 per cent. tax on estates below $50,000, and increases the rate progressively until the state would absorb 50 per cent., or one-half, of estates in excess of $15,000,000.

The English Income Tax

The British income tax, until the last three or four years, has not been graduated,—except to a slight extent by means of differences in the amounts of exemption or abatement. Beginning about five years ago, a distinction was made between "earned" and "unearned" incomes, below a certain moderate line. In the English finance bill of 1909, this distinction between earned and unearned incomes was made a little more emphatic, and the principle of graduation was introduced at the line of £5000 ($25,000),—all incomes above that line paying a surtax of sixpence in the pound, this being nearly one-half more than the tax on incomes below that amount. Thus if we were to adopt a graduated income tax on the English plan, we might charge a rate of 2 per cent. on incomes below $25,000, making some distinction between the earned and the unearned, and then charge a straight 3 per cent. rate on all incomes, no matter how large, above $25,000. France has no income tax, but manages to raise a large national revenue in a very equitable fashion.

The income tax has often been proposed in France, but is not favored.



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SHIFTING THE BURDEN
From the *Tribune* (Chicago)

The Systems of Germany and Austria

Prussia, on the other hand, has a very elaborate income tax that is as carefully and minutely progressive as a long flight of stairs. The tax is levied on incomes as small as $250, and it is progressively arranged up to $25,000, beyond which there is a regular rate of 5 per cent. In Austria the exemption line is $250. The rate reaches 1 per cent. at the twelfth stage ($500); 2 per cent. at the twenty-seventh stage ($1500); 3 per cent. at the forty-third stage ($5000); 4 per cent. at the point of $20,000, and so on up to approximately $50,000, where the rate is advanced to almost 5 per cent. Beyond that, the rate does not progress, but remains uniform at 5 per cent. In Bavaria the rate begins very low on workingmen's incomes, and is progressive up to 3 per cent. on all incomes above $7500. This applies to earned incomes. On unearned income the rate is 4 per cent. on incomes above $25,000, and 3¾ per cent. below that figure. Thus the Bavarian system very sharply distinguishes between incomes that are the result of one's own efforts, and those that are derived from inheritances or fixed investments.

In Other Foreign Countries

The Italian system is a very different one. It classifies incomes, not according to their size but according to the sources from which they are derived. Those resulting from industry and labor are taxed at a much lower rate than those from certain kinds of secure and permanent investments. In Denmark, there is an income tax that begins at the rate of 1.3 per cent., progressing by tenths until it becomes 2 per cent. on incomes of about $5000. There is moderate increase of rate to the line of about $25,000, above which the rate is uniform. Small incomes in Norway pay 2 per cent. Those above $1000 pay 3 per cent., the next class pays 4 per cent., and all those above the line of about $2500 pay a uniform tax of 5 per cent. Abatements are carefully made in accordance with the number of people the taxpayer has to support. In New Zealand and Australia the income taxes of the different states are progressive as respects the smaller amounts, but assume a uniform rate above a line which may be said to average about $5000.

Former American Rates

By way of comparison and reminder, it may be stated that the war-time income tax of 1862 fixed a rate of 3 per cent. on incomes below $10,000, and of 5 per cent. on those greater than that sum. The last United States income-tax law, passed as a part of the Wilson bill in the summer of 1894, fixed a uniform 2 per cent. rate on all incomes in excess of $4000. This is the measure that was declared unconstitutional on May 20, 1895, by a vote of 5 to 4 in the Supreme Court. The tax on the income of corporations, made a part of the Payne-Aldrich bill four years ago, is at a uniform rate of 1 per cent. It is provided in the new income-tax bill that corporations shall prepay the tax for the stockholders. As respects matters of this kind, the details of the bill are intricate. These, however, have to do only with methods of declaration and collection. There are no exceptions or modifications of the general principle that everybody whose income is more than $4000 must pay a direct tax to the internal revenue commissioner upon the excess, at rates of 1, 2, 3, and 4 per cent., according to the sums to be taxed.

COL. W. H. OSBORNE, OF GREENSBORO, N. C.

(Colonel Osborne is the newly appointed Collector of Internal Revenue, whose office gains additional importance from the fact that it will have charge of the collection of the new income tax.)

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TWO TORNADO SCENES IN OMAHA, NEBRASKA, IN EACH OF WHICH NUMEROUS LIVES WERE LOST

The Great Storms of March

The month of March, 1913, will be memorable in our annals for the most widespread and destructive storms that have been known since the settlement of America. A very mild winter had come to its end with weather conditions tending towards the cyclonic movement of unprecedented masses of moisture-laden air from the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico across the Southwestern States and the Mississippi Valley. This movement was marked by exceedingly destructive tornadoes in the Southwest, on about March 21 and 22. On the 23rd of March one of these irresistible local eddies of the larger storm movement involved a considerable part of the great city of Omaha, producing terrible havoc. This Omaha tornado was the most destructive of a considerable number which were developed in the course of two or three days. As the vast area of atmospheric disturbance moved farther eastward it manifested itself in excessive rainfall. Never have the States of the eastern Mississippi Valley been visited with so continuous and so terrible a downpour. The States of Ohio and Indiana were central in this precipitation, although the flood conditions extended also across Pennsylvania and New York.

Unprecedented Rainfall

During the four days comprising Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, from March 23 to March 26, the precipitation in Ohio and Indiana, according to Weather Bureau reports, varied from three inches to twelve inches, and averaged over six inches. Thus there fell in four consecutive days as much rain as would have been spread normally through the entire months of March and April. The ground was quickly saturated, and the enormous masses of water filled the river valleys far above and beyond the high-water marks of former years. We have been at pains to secure from a competent authority as good a scientific and descriptive summary of what these great floods meant as it was possible to prepare within so short a time after their occurrence. This article, entitled "The Story of the Great Floods," will be found in this number of the REVIEW, beginning on page 565. The writer of that article also shows the relationship of the Omaha disaster and the other tornadoes to the great storm that flooded Indiana and Ohio and northern New York.

Damaged Cities of the Valley

As the reports appeared in the Eastern newspapers, the greatest danger center was at Dayton, Ohio, and for a day or two it was feared that the loss of life at Dayton, Hamilton, and Middletown, in the Miami Valley, might have reached thousands. Fortunately these early reports were not verified, although there was lamentable loss of life, reaching into the hundreds, with the unavoidable sequel of a much greater number destined to lose their lives later on, from illness due to exposure and the maladies that follow in the train of these disasters. Columbus, Zanesville, Indianapolis and many other cities were seriously damaged. Although fewer lives were lost than was feared, it will probably turn out in the end that the loss of property will be even greater than had been at first estimated. The railroads will have a very heavy bill in the replacing of hundreds of bridges, some of them very costly ones, and in the reconstruction of literally hundreds of miles of washed-out tracks. Many thousands of mills, factories, stores, and private dwellings in the flooded towns were either totally destroyed or greatly damaged.

Devastated Bottom-Lands

The damage to farms in the flooded lands of the rich river bottoms of Ohio and Indiana will also amount to a very large item in the aggregate. The ordinary overflow of bottom-lands in times of spring freshets leaves a fertilizing sediment and does no harm, but this year's flood was of a totally different nature. It deposited in some places layers of gravel and boulders several feet deep upon fertile fields, cut new channels with vast gullies across rich farm lands, and wrought havoc for some of which there seems to be no remedy whatsoever. So widespread and so terrible were the disastrous results of this series of storms in the last ten days of March and the opening days of April that it would take many pages even to present them in outline. As was to be expected, the floods that were so alarming in the valleys of the Muskingum, Scioto, Miami, White River, and other tributaries of the Ohio, caused very high water in the lower stretches of that river; and there was danger at many points, culminating at Cairo, where the Ohio joins the Mississippi. It will be remembered that it was just a year ago that the lower Mississippi experienced floods of so disastrous a character, due not so much to the Ohio Valley, however, as to the Missouri and other great affluents of the Father of Waters.

The Problem as a Whole

It was proposed at that time that the governmental forces now operating at Panama, but soon to be relieved by completion of the canal, should be transferred under the continued direction of Colonel Goethals and his associates of the army engineers' corps, to work upon a comprehensive scheme for improving Mississippi navigation and protecting the lower valley from floods. But the events of this year show the need of viewing the problem in its larger unity. The map presented on page 529 shows in the shaded portion, extending from the mouth of the Mississippi up to southern Illinois, the rich alluvial land of the delta formation that is liable to overflow at any time when the river is at flood in the springtime and the levees break. This shaded area includes 20,000,000 acres of rich land, the protection of which is now the especial object of the Mississippi River Levee Association, of which Mr. A. S. Caldwell of Memphis is chairman, and Mr. John A. Fox is secretary and active manager. These gentlemen represent a movement of great character, energy, and intelligence. They wish to arouse Congress and the whole nation to the need of protecting their rich bottom-lands from devastation by floods. Undoubtedly they will be rejoiced at the prospect that the subject of flood protection may now be dealt with as one that vitally concerns not merely the people of the lower valley, but those of the entire Mississippi drainage basin, including thirty-one States, in whole or in part, and more than half of the productive farm area of the United States. They will be prepared to act in harmony with the people of the entire Mississippi Valley.

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GOVERNOR COX, OF OHIO (IN THE CENTER) WITH MEMBERS OF THE RELIEF COMMITTEE

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AN OHIO FLOOD SCENE, SHOWING RAILROAD DISASTERS

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A SCENE NEAR FT. WAYNE, INDIANA, SHOWING THE FLATNESS OF THE RIVER VALLEYS

Holding Back Floods at Head-Waters

The beginnings that have been made in Minnesota show that head-water dams can help in no small degree. This system of dams and storage basins has been constructed to the extent of about 10 or 15 per cent. of the project as originally laid out. Yet even the existing dams impound enough water to lessen perceptibly the spring floods in the upper river and to add valuably to the supply for water power and navigation in the summer time. The Minnesota dam system should be pressed to completion. There would result—in greatly heightened measure—these two benefits: the lessening of floods in spring, and the increase of volume in summer. The problem of impounding water in the upper Missouri Valley will be more difficult on account of altitudes and topography. But doubtless a good deal can be done at the headwaters of the Missouri and its larger tributaries. The problem of the Ohio Valley has had a great deal of study, and large sums are in process of expenditure to improve navigation. But probably a good deal more can be done to retard the discharge of water from the Allegheny, Monongahela, and some other of the streams which form and feed the Ohio. Unfortunately it does not seem possible to do very much for the level valleys of streams like the Miami, Scioto, White River, and others in Ohio and Indiana. Topographical conditions would militate against large storage reservoirs. There might, however, be certain rectifications of main channels that would greatly lessen the danger of floods at such points as Columbus, Zanesville, Dayton, Hamilton, and Indianapolis.

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TOWING A LAUNCH IN RESCUE WORK AT DAYTON

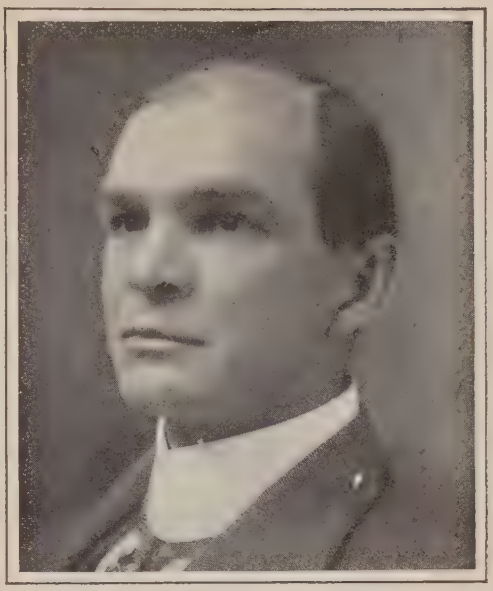
Comprehensive Plans Needed

It is manifest that most of the measures which could serve to protect the people of the more northern tributary valleys would in equal measure serve to protect the people of the lower Mississippi. There are no means by which we can change climatic conditions, or alter the general fact that there is always a tremendous melting of accumulated snow and a heavy average rainfall in the upper Mississippi Valley during the months of February, March, and April. Vast areas of dense forests would, of course, help to keep spring floods from moving in such swift, torrential masses. Great artificial basins and reservoirs might hold back a portion of the water for safe discharge in the dry months. Nothing can be done that will obviate the necessity, however, for a thorough treatment of the Mississippi River itself, particularly from New Orleans to St. Louis. Senator Newlands, of Nevada, who has earned the right to be considered as one of our most broad-minded statesmen, tried in the last session of Congress to secure legislation authorizing a national commission to investigate the whole subject of water control, drainage, protection against floods, and the like. It is impossible to believe that some decisive steps will not be taken by Congress in the present extra session.

HIGH WATER IN THE HEART OF THE BUSINESS DISTRICT OF CINCINNATI

Future of the Great Valley

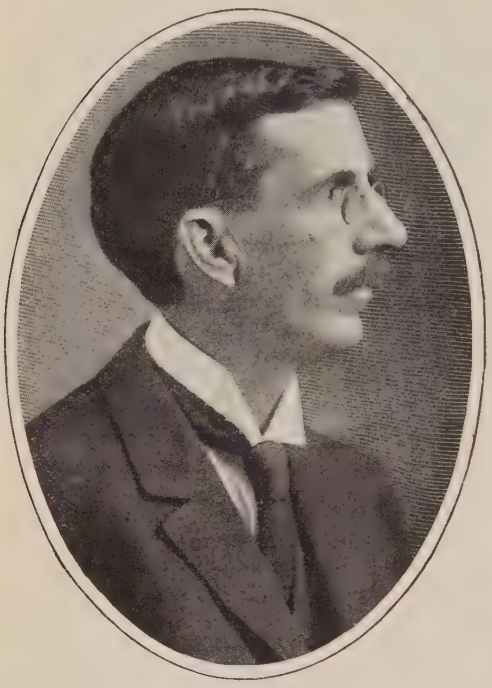
If we have any faith in our national destiny, we must believe that our one century of life in the Mississippi Valley is but the beginning of a long period that lies before us. The Mississippi Valley, during the past half-century, has been the most productive and prosperous portion of the entire globe. Its resources must be protected and conserved by every kind of intelligent method that science and statesmanship can devise. When one considers the huge engineering projects of recent years for the protection and improvement of agriculture in the narrow and relatively unimportant valley of the Nile, there is incentive to study the problems of conservation for the incomparably greater and richer valley of the Mississippi. In the face of such needs, all our citizenship should be ashamed of the low public morality that makes possible the monetary waste of a "pork barrel" omnibus-buildings bill, or an ordinary log-rolled river-and-harbor bill. One could be more patient with the new imposts that are to be levied in the form of surtaxes upon large incomes if the money thus provided could all be used for some valuable national work like Mississippi improvement and flood protection. A moderate tax on beer, like the one we abolished soon after the war with Spain, plus a very small tax on tea and coffee, would suffice to provide a fund that would, in the course of a comparatively few years, solve the Mississippi problem and be worth in the long run thousands of millions of dollars to the country. Wars are an abomination; and the apostles of peace are justified in all their arguments against militarism. But another argument, of no small weight, is afforded by the crying



MR. JOHN A. FOX, OF MEMPHIS, TENN., MANAGER OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER LEVEE ASSOCIATION

MAP TO SHOW DELTA LAND OF LOWER MISSISSIPPI AND GREAT EXTENT OF THE COUNTRY DRAINED BY THE MISSISSIPPI AND ITS TRIBUTARIES

need of using a part of the money that now goes to the maintenance of armies and navies for great public works that bear immediately upon the safety and prosperity of so many millions of our people.



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DR. BEVERLY T. GALLOWAY

(Who has been promoted from the position of Chief of the Bureau of Plant Industry to that of Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, and thus becomes Secretary Houston's expert associate in a Department that employs a great number of scientific specialists)

Statesmanship and the Farmer

For a long time the so-called national policy of the United States has been expressed in the term "diversified industries." Our original and principal industry was farming. The protectionists held that we must be a manufacturing nation, and in order to bring this condition into effect we were willing to erect a barrier of almost prohibitive duties against foreign goods. Statesmanship now turns again from the manufacturer to the farmer, but it uses new methods. It does not propose to help the farmer by protective tariffs, but by promoting the success of his business in two ways. The first way is that used through the Department of Agriculture, the experiment stations, and the agricultural colleges. This form of statesmanship aims to propagate scientific agriculture. It inculcates right uses of the soil, and endeavors to improve in every way the quantity and quality of farm production. The second kind of statesmanship applied to agriculture is that which is concerned with markets, and endeavors to help solve the problem of the cost of living by bringing producer and consumer into closer relationships, to the advantage of both. The Department of Agriculture at Washington, under the new Secretary, Dr. Houston, proposes henceforth to give greatly increased attention to the subject of the organization of farmers for the more effective sale of their products. Coöperative credit, provided in one way or another, will enable groups of farmers in any given neighborhood to use capital like business men,—that is to say, like merchants and manufacturers,—both to help in efficient production and also in handling and marketing. The local coöperation of farmers, whether for purchase of supplies, such as machinery and fertilizers, or for marketing their products, is to have increased assistance and encouragement, we are informed, from the Government at Washington.

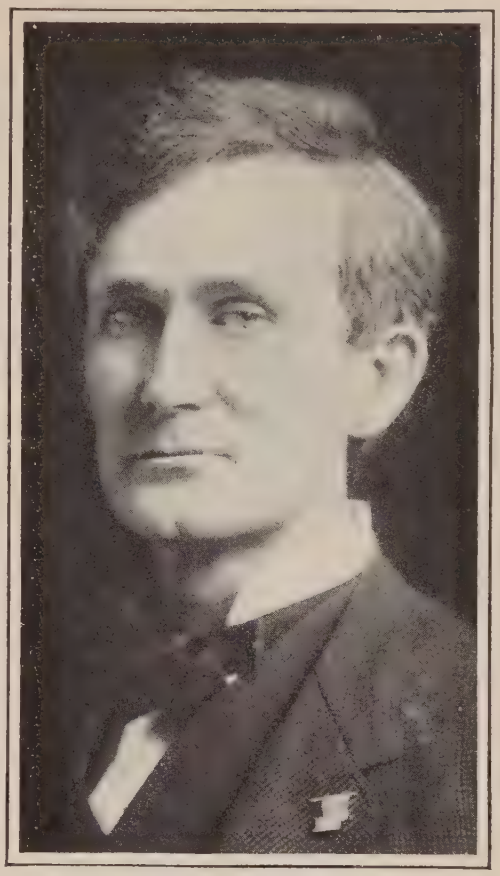
Wisconsin and her Agriculture

Meanwhile, however, the most far-reaching steps in this kind of statesmanship are those which the enterprising State of Wisconsin is now taking. There are already some hundreds of farmers' coöperative societies in Wisconsin, owning creameries and cheese factories or acting together for the purchase of supplies or the sale of products. The Board of Public Affairs was directed by the legislature last year to make a study of farmers' coöperation at home and abroad, and this work has been carried out with remarkable thoroughness. Our article on farmers' coöperation in Wisconsin in the REVIEW for last month showed how much has already been done by the farmers with sympathetic encouragement from officials, but without express State action. It is now proposed to create a new board, called the Market Commission, which shall deal with the relations of producer and consumer and promote coöperation.

The Proposed "Market Commission"

Hon. Francis E. McGovern, the efficient and statesmanlike Governor of Wisconsin, has transmitted to the legislature a very remarkable bill, accompanied by a lucid message of explanation and advocacy. The bill gives comprehensive functions to the proposed Market Commission. It is to encourage coöperative union and effort among farmers throughout the entire State, and is to give them all necessary advice in organizing under wise plans.

HON. JAMES HAMILTON LEWIS, DEMOCRAT



HON. LAWRENCE Y. SHERMAN, REPUBLICAN

THE TWO NEW UNITED STATES SENATORS FROM ILLINOIS

The commission is also to supervise and encourage markets in all the towns and cities of the State, with a view to making it easy for consumers and producers to come together. The bill provides for a wholly new kind of enforcement of anti-trust laws. In the first place, it defines a number of specific things, under fourteen heads, which will be deemed illegal practices. In the second place, it furnishes an agency through which anyone injured by trusts or unfair business practices may seek an immediate remedy. The object of this bill as a whole is to use the government of Wisconsin in a simple, direct way as a means for the promotion of the best economic interests of the people as a whole. Since the measure has been worked out with great care by competent students and authorities, it would seem likely that the legislature would adopt it and thereby see what can be done for the State through the most definite attempt ever made in this country to direct and promote the well-being of rural neighborhoods. If this experiment should succeed in Wisconsin, something like it would probably follow in Minnesota, Iowa, and Michigan.

New Illinois Senators,—the Last Deadlock

In our March number we made some review of the progressive ferment that seemed likely to produce important results through the action of legislatures then in session in about forty States. Great catastrophes like floods and tornadoes must naturally divert attention from legislative work. It will be feasible, however, after another month or two, to look over the field and see what has been accomplished. At Albany, Governor Sulzer and the legislature have been at odds, attention has been diverted by scandals and bribery charges, and prospects of really valuable and progressive results have not been encouraging. In spite of floods which almost enveloped the State capitals at Columbus and Indianapolis, the States of Ohio and Indiana

will be able to give a fairly good account of the legislative season. The Illinois legislature was for a long time preoccupied with the endeavor to break a deadlock in the choice of two United States Senators. This was at last accomplished on March 26 by the election of a Democrat, James Hamilton Lewis, to the long term (succeeding the venerable Senator Cullom) and the Lieutenant-Governor, Lawrence Y. Sherman, to the short term, this vacancy having been caused by the expulsion of Senator Lorimer. In the Democratic primary elections, Lewis had led the voting, while Sherman had been similarly successful in the Republican primaries. The deadlock was due to the fact that the Progressives held the balance of power. It seemed for a time as if the Progressives might have secured a seat for their own candidate, Funk, by acting in accord with either of the other parties. The Sherman men apparently grew nervous in the end, and thought it better to take the short term than to run the risk of having their candidate excluded altogether. This long contest is the more entitled to notice because it is the last of its kind that will occur. On April 8, the legislature of Connecticut ratified the amendment to the Constitution of the United States that provides for the direct election of Senators. It had already been ratified by thirty-five States, beginning with Massachusetts; and Connecticut completed the necessary three-fourths. For many reasons this seventeenth amendment will promote the cause of good government in both nation and State.

A View of Illinois Problems

Sometimes one gets a clearer notion of the real state of public affairs in a given commonwealth from the candid pages of a private letter than from more public sources of information. A letter from a close observer in Illinois, written early in April to the editor of this magazine, contains the following paragraphs that seem to throw a clear and trustworthy light upon the situation at Springfield:

> The real basis of the political struggle in Illinois, and the causes of the numerous factions, are to be found in the differences of view on the regulation of public utilities and the liquor question. Those two things underlie everything else. A certain section of the Republican party and a certain section of the Democratic party, particularly the Roger Sullivan Democrats, desire to stave off all legislation looking to the regulation of public utilities. Another section of the Republicans, the Progressives, and the Dunne wing of the Democrats, want to see some public utilities legislation but are not agreed as to the kind. The Governor seems to be vacillating between commission regulation and home rule. The city of Chicago will try to defeat any legislation which does not give it full control of its own public utilities, yet everybody knows that to put the control of the public utilities of Chicago in the hands of the Mayor and council is virtually to leave conditions as they are. There is reason to think that the opponents of public utilities regulation have deliberately prolonged the Senatorial deadlock to make it the basis of understandings concerning public utilities matters. Moreover, they are anxious to stave off all legislation on the matter for another biennium until they have gotten control of certain utilities and public resources in different parts of the State. In my judgment there will be no public utilities legislation of importance in Illinois at this session of the legislature, for the reasons indicated.
>
> There are several bills on public utilities now in. One is virtually a copy of the New York law, another expresses the views of the Chicago contingent. The report of the Dailey commission will probably be submitted in a few days, and undoubtedly the administration itself will father one if not two bills on the subject. These bills involve different principles, and the probable plan is to make it appear to the public that agreements cannot be reached on the principles involved.
>
> The Democratic administration is facing the probable necessity of an increase in the State tax rate because of the probable increase of expenditures. This is a difficult situation for a Governor who made his campaign on the basis of the extravagance of his predecessor, and is causing no little anxiety in State administration circles.
>
> In a few quarters there is a strong desire to break into the Civil Service regime and place a large number of places at the disposal of the administration party. There is every reason to believe that Governor Dunne will stand against this, and uphold the principles of Civil Service.

Michigan and Woman Suffrage

An election in the State of Michigan on April 7 had many features of interest both in the matters under consideration and in the results. Amendments to the constitution were adopted which give to the voters the practical devices known as the initiative and referendum and the recall. The city of Detroit obtained the power to construct and own street railways, and the people of that city are determined to have a municipal system at the earliest possible moment. A woman suffrage amendment to the constitution was defeated. Throughout the entire State a bitter contest was going on under the county option law, between forces led on one side by the Anti-Saloon League and on the other by the liquor interests. The "drys" won in some counties, and the "wets" in others. But the "wets' everywhere fought the woman-suffrage amendment, and the most reliable sources of information convince us that woman suffrage would have won in Michigan but for the exceedingly aggressive fight against it waged by the brewing and distilling interests, with every local saloon as an active agency in the attack.

To some extent, doubtless, the criminal recklessness of the suffragettes in England has hurt the cause of woman suffrage in the United States, and was a factor in the Michigan election. But it would not have been decisive or even important. Generally speaking, the Progressives as a party showed no such strength in Michigan as last fall; but Republicanism there, as elsewhere, has seen a new light, and knows that it has no future except through the adoption of progressive ideas and an invoking of the progressive spirit.

Progressives as Party and as Influence

The future of parties in the United States has been a subject of much anxious discussion among politicians in recent weeks. The Progressive party may not score heavily at the polls in current municipal or State contests, but it is the most definitely influential political organization that we have as respects programs and ideals. The time-servers will probably not care to stay with the new party, and this will be to its great advantage. The promise of a large future for it lies in its keeping itself wholly public-spirited and free from any undue desire to hold offices. Colonel Roosevelt has been making a few strong and important speeches, and wherever Progressive groups are found in the legislatures they are at the very heart and center of the best work. At Washington there are eighteen or twenty members of the new party in the lower house. They have held an open caucus and made Mr. Victor Murdock their leader. Mr. Underwood and the Democrats are recognizing the new party and giving them their share of the committee assignments. Mr. Murdock is one of the strong and useful men in public life, and the Progressive group will not fail to render good public service at Washington.

The State Department

In the reorganization of the State Department the most important place under Secretary Bryan is to be taken by Prof. John Bassett Moore as the Department's counselor, in accordance with plans mentioned in these pages last month. The First Assistant Secretaryship has been assigned to Hon. John E. Osborne, formerly Governor of Wyoming. Hon. Alvey A. Adee remains with the Department in the capacity of second assistant secretary, while the third assistant secretaryship has been given to Mr. Dudley Field Malone. The State Department has been desirous of bringing about a prompt recognition of the Chinese republic, and has so notified all of the powers. Our Government has also informed the American banking syndicate which had been formed to take part in a proposed foreign loan to the Chinese Government that such a participation would not be required by any demands of American public policy. The bankers had never cared to underwrite Chinese bonds in this country, but had been acting upon the urgent request of the Taft administration. They are quite content to accept the view of President Wilson and Mr. Bryan, and allow China to borrow money when and where she pleases. It is not permitted under the Japanese law for aliens to own land in Japan. The people of California desire to enact a law against the alien ownership of land in their State. This would seem quite simple and reasonable upon its face. But much depends upon the precise character of the California bill, and its bearings in several directions. Our treaty with Japan confers upon Japanese sojourners in this country certain rights to lease property for commercial and domestic purposes. A good deal of property is controlled in Cali-

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HON. VICTOR MURDOCK, OF KANSAS
(Leader of the Progressives in the House of Representatives)

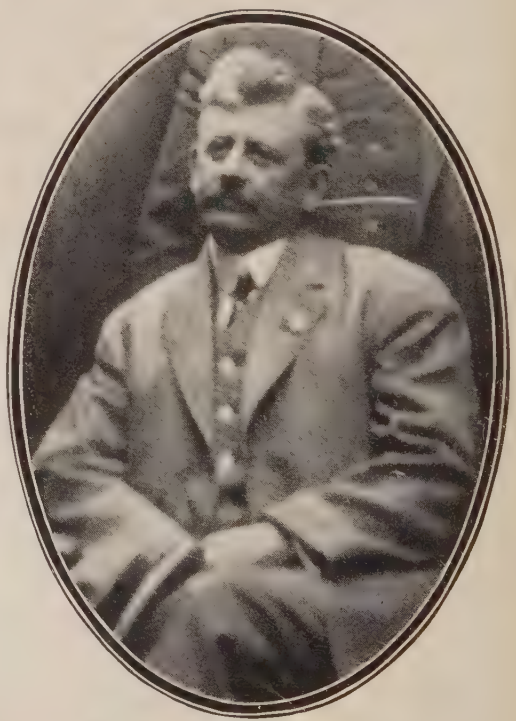
HON. ALVEY AUGUSTUS ADEE, SECOND ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

(Mr. Adee has been in the diplomatic service and State Department for nearly forty-three years, and has been one of the Assistant Secretaries of State for thirty-one years)

fornia indirectly through European ownership of mining stocks and other securities. California must join our government at Washington in living up to treaty obligations. As to the general view that California lands ought to be owned by actual citizens of the State in so far as possible, it is entirely reasonable and well grounded.

Selection of Ambassadors

President Wilson has not been in extreme haste to send abroad a new set of ambassadors and ministers. The English post was already vacant by reason of the death of Mr. Reid. President Wilson offered it, in turn, to the Hon. Richard Olney of Boston and Dr. Eliot, former president of Harvard, both of whom declined it. He then selected Mr. Walter H. Page, who accepted, and will soon have entered upon his duties at London. Mr. Page, after leaving college, became a newspaper writer, first in the South and then in New York. Several years later he became editor of the *Forum*, and afterwards of the *Atlantic Monthly*, where he remained for perhaps five years. During the past twelve years he has been editor of the *World's Work*. Mr. Page has given constant attention to all our current problems of educational and social progress; and his experience in editing magazines of the highest character during a quarter of a century has afforded him acquaintance with the leaders in current literature and in public affairs throughout the world. He is a good speaker, has always held his convictions with courage, and his strong and sincere personality will be sure to win confidence and appreciation from our English friends who never fail to recognize a really worth-while American type. A vast deal has been said in the newspapers about what it costs to be a foreign ambassador, and the meagerness of the salaries. This magazine for many years has insisted that without further delay we ought to provide a suitable home for our diplomatic representative in every important capital of the world. With residence and offices duly furnished, and provided with heat, light, and certain fixed services, the American ambassador at London could get along quite well on a salary not much in excess of the $17,500 now paid. But it is wholly wrong to compel new ambassadors and ministers to spend weeks or



HON. JOHN E. OSBORNE, OF WYOMING

(Newly appointed First Assistant Secretary of State)

months in house-hunting. Our national dignity requires that American embassies and legations should have a fixed location in foreign capitals.

Other Reported Selections

The ambassadorship to France had been offered by President Wilson to Mr. McCombs, chairman of the Democratic campaign committee, who decided that he could not afford to give up his law practice and reside abroad. It was reported last month, upon what seemed to be good authority, that a former mayor of Pittsburgh, Hon. George W. Guthrie, would enter the diplomatic service and perhaps go to China. It was further alleged that the Hon. Joseph E. Willard, of Virginia, would be our ambassador at Rome. The name of Mr. Frederic C. Penfield is associated with the Japanese embassy. These are all gentlemen of admirable qualifications and ample private means. Mr. Willard has been Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia, and has traveled extensively; Mr. Penfield has distinguished himself as consul-general in Egypt and as the author of important books upon that country. In July, 1911, Mr. Penfield contributed an illuminating article to this REVIEW, on Germany's power and expansion.

Some Academic Questions

Our representatives abroad will not be involved at present in any serious or difficult negotiations. The question of Panama Canal tolls raised by England will be dealt with at Washington rather than in London. It is more academic than practical. There is a growing disposition to settle it summarily by repealing that part of our Panama Act which gives free tolls to our coastwise vessels. The matter has more bearings, however, than most people who discuss it are aware of. Even its historical aspects have not been presented with entire accuracy. There are several different theories in this country as to the future of the canal. Speaking generally, those who believe the English contention to be correct would prefer to turn the canal over to international control and have the United States withdraw from its present position of authority. There are others who believe that the republic of Panama, together with the canal, ought to be delivered over to the republic of Colombia. Since we have in point of fact conferred an inestimable boon upon Colombia by constructing a canal that she can forever use to connect her two coasts, we ought now to be fortunate enough to find some way to assure ourselves of her congratulations and good will.

MR. WALTER H. PAGE, THE NEW AMBASSADOR TO GREAT BRITAIN

ONLY A LITTLE LIKE CHRISTMAS
From the *Inter-Ocean* (Chicago)

Will Huerta Be Recognized?

No official recognition of the Huerta administration in Mexico had been extended from the United States up to the middle of last month, although Great Britain and Spain have recognized a "provisional administration." The Chamber of Deputies had not, as late as April 14, approved the proposed foreign loan, necessary for the continuance of operations in suppressing disorder, such failure, it is believed, being due to lack of recognition by the United States. Nevertheless, it was generally admitted in Mexico and Europe that the "soldier provisional president" and his cabinet had taken hold of Mexican affairs with a strong, and in the main just hand, and had succeeded to a great extent in putting down the more or less desultory opposition to their authority which had broken out in several of the states. The apparent readiness with which the masses of the Mexican population have submitted to the new order indicates that the republic is as yet influenced more by the old spirit of force than by peaceful motives working within the scope of the law.

Huerta Tries to Steer a Middle Course

The Mexicans enthusiastically accepted the Madero platform in preference to the system of Porfirio Diaz. At the time, this platform may not have been well adapted to the masses of people. It may be that public opinion in general did not support Madero. The men now in control, whatever may be said about their methods, are believed to be intelligent and capable, probably more able than their immediate predecessors, and many of them more competent than the government officials of the last years of Diaz. Huerta maintains that he will steer a middle course, with "not so much repression as in the old days and much less democracy than was attempted recently." Last month it was reported that he would resign, and that Pedro Lascurain would be appointed by the congress provisional president pending a popular election. Recognition of the new regime south of the Rio Grande by the United States Government will undoubtedly be withheld until such time as there is a constitutionally elected president of the Mexican republic.

Troubles of the Asquith Government

The embarrassments of the Liberal government in England are apparently on the increase. The land reform program of the government has encountered persistent and powerful opposition. The social program has been the subject of violent animosity and has been bitterly criticised. The political program has been beset with even thornier problems. Although Irish Home Rule has been approved by the Commons and the government still has enough votes to pass it over the veto of the Lords, the lack of popular interest in the measure and the unremitting covert warfare of the Unionists and the Ulstermen against it has apparently postponed its realization indefinitely. A good deal of acrimonious comment has been appearing in the press recently on the facts brought out by the Marconi investigation committee in London. Several months ago Sir Godfrey Isaacs, the managing director of the English Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company, informed his brother, Sir Rufus Isaacs, Attorney-General of Great Britain, that a contract was about to be made between the British government and the wireless company creating a government monopoly, and suggested investment in the American Marconi Company. Sir Rufus gave the information to Chancellor Lloyd-George, assuring him that the American Company had no connection with the British Government's contract, but that general improvement in "Marconis" was certain. While it is true that the American Marconi Company has no direct interest in the English Marconi Company, the English Company has a large holding in the shares of the American.

Ministers and Marconis

Then charges were openly made in the French journal the *Matin* that the Chancellor and the Attorney-General were using their high offices for personal gain and a parliamentary investigation was instituted. Both the Chancellor and the Attorney-General were cross-examined. Although no legal or moral culpability was proven, there was a good deal of popular resentment at what the chairman of the committee called their "failure to exercise that punctilious care which is necessary in all matters involving ministerial action." At the same time Sir Stuart Samuel, brother of the Postmaster-General, the latter also being involved in the Marconi scandal, by a decision of the Privy Council, has been publicly debarred from his seat in the House of Commons for improper "commercial relations with the Indian government." The firm of Samuel, Montagu & Co. have had large dealings in Indian loans, and it has been unkindly intimated by an enemy of the present government that the family of Samuels "have wriggled their way on to the Front

Bench in Parliament in consequence of the bargain which an old money-lender struck with the politicians whom he financed." This investigation is regarded in England, if we may gauge public opinion from the newspaper attitude, as showing not only that the honor and intelligence of the members of the present government are at stake, but of "the British Government itself." Of course, much political capital is being made out of all this by the opposition to the Asquith ministry.

The "Woman's Reign of Terror"

The chief concern of the Liberal government, however, at the present time, is beyond any doubt the woman's reign of terror, precipitated by the militant suffragettes, led by Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst. Immediately after the speaker of the House of Commons had ruled that the proposed amendment to the government suffrage bill granting the franchise to women would make the bill technically illegal (as we noted last month), the militants resumed their attacks on property with increased vigor. Railroad stations were burned, art galleries invaded and their contents destroyed, several passenger trains blown up by dynamite, and the window smashing campaign continued with unabated vigor. Queen Mary is opposed to woman suffrage and last month, it was reported, two of her maids of honor, peeresses of the realm, who are suffragettes, were requested to resign. Several of the better known militants were arrested and thrown into jail. On April 3 Mrs. Pankhurst was sentenced to three years at hard labor in Holloway jail. She was convicted of "inciting the destruction of Chancellor Lloyd-George's country house." Mrs. Pankhurst was her own lawyer at her trial, defending herself with ability. A few days after her conviction her general health had become so impaired that the government permitted her release on parole. She is still technically a prisoner and is at liberty only under Home Secretary McKenna's ticket of leave plan and liable to arrest at any time.

Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

MRS. PANKHURST THE ENGLISH FIGHTING SUFFRAGIST LEADER IN PRISON GARB

Should Suffragettes Be Deported?

Other leaders were also convicted, including Miss Zelie Emerson, an American of Jackson, Michigan. Miss Emerson was convicted, on February 18, of window smashing and immured in Holloway jail. She at once went on a "hunger strike" and was forcibly fed by the authorities. Many suffrage workers, including the mother of the young woman, appealed to the American Embassy at London to secure the release of Miss Emerson. No discrimination against her, however, having been proven, no official steps could be taken in her behalf. On April 8 she was released from jail and paroled in the custody of her mother. Home Secretary McKenna has been severely condemned in some quarters for the "ineptitude and inefficiency" of his dealings with the suffragettes. He has been urged to regard the women as "hysterical fanatics not properly subject to the ordinary procedures of law, but curable only by deportation from the country." A special bill dealing with the militants passed its second reading in the House of Commons on April 2. One of its chief provisions is to release "hunger strikers" as soon as they are in danger of total collapse and to rearrest them on their recovery, repeating the process as often as it may be found necessary to compel them to serve out their full sentences.

A "Holiday" From Warship Building

The supreme question in Britain's foreign politics is the question of armament, with particular reference, of course, to warship building. On March 26, Winston Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty, in submitting to the House of Commons the naval estimates for the fiscal year, made a novel and interesting proposal. It was no less than the suggestion by Great Britain to the rest of the world of an agreement to stop all warship building for a year. In this way, said Mr. Churchill, "the peoples of the world would obtain almost instantaneous mitigation of the thralldom in which they have been involved by the evil and insensate folly of the present acute rivalry in armaments," and "perchance learn some restraint and wisdom in the meanwhile." "We address this proposal," concluded the First Lord of the British Admiralty, "to all nations and to no nation with more profound sincerity than to our great neighbor over the North Sea."

Britain's Progress in Flying

Meanwhile, the British press is full of urgent appeals for a larger British army, and leaders of public opinion, including writers like George Bernard Shaw and H. G. Wells, are arguing for conscription. A sensation was caused in the House of Commons on March 19 by a statement made by Colonel Seeley, Secretary of War, to the effect that at present the British army possesses the best aeroplane service in the world. The British aeroplane, said Colonel Seeley, is a machine that can go quickly or slowly according to need. "The mechanical problem of repelling attacks on air craft, moreover, has been solved by experiments carried out by the royal army service." British military glory in the past was recalled by the death on March 25 of Field-Marshal Viscount Garnet Joseph Wolseley, at the age of eighty. Lord Wolseley had long been fondly regarded as one of the three greatest living British soldiers, sharing that honor with Lord Kitchener and Lord Roberts. Wolseley was the son of a soldier and a colonel at thirty years. He won honor in the Burmese War, in the Crimea, in the Indian Mutiny, in China and in Africa. He was the leading spirit in the Chinese Gordon relief expedition.

The Barthou Ministry in France

The Briand ministry in France, which began its official life with the presidency of M. Raymond Poincaré, on February 18, came to an end on March 18, when M. Briand was defeated on a vote of confidence in the Senate. The subject under discussion had been the electoral reform bill passed by the Chamber last year, under the premiership of M. Poincaré. The chief provisions of this measure, which was introduced in the Chamber of Deputies last July, is proportional representation on the *scrutin de liste*, or election-at-large method. The departments are considered as electoral areas, each department sending one deputy to the Chamber for every 70,000 inhabitants of French nationality, and one additional for any remaining fraction above 20,000. This method of proportional representation is thought to be to the disadvantage of the Socialist-Radicals led by former Premier Clemenceau, known in France as "the wrecker of cabinets," and it is believed to be due to his influence that the Briand ministry fell. On March 21, Jean Barthou, a statesman of long governmental experience, was chosen, with a cabinet from various republican groups. Premier Barthou is in favor of increase of armaments, including the new measures now pending in the Chamber of Deputies for a larger army and a supplementary budget of $100,000,000 asked for by the Minister of Marine.

How Militarism Injures France

There has been a great deal of opposition to the proposed army increase and a number of demonstrations inspired by Socialists and Radicals, one of these numbering more than 100,000 people, have marked the campaign in Paris against the growing militarism. Some of the finest minds of France have joined in this campaign. Anatole France, the veteran of French letters, has proclaimed boldly that the new law will bring "an end of French culture." M. France says:

> This addition of a year to the conscription comes on us just when France is moving forward with a new energy, both in science and industry. It will be a grave blow to all our higher life. Medicine especially will be injured, for the medicine of the army is not the medicine of the civil state. French science requires the time of its young students, and that will be gravely curtailed. The demand for another barrack year from all young Frenchmen, imposed without any exemptions, will draw off the best from every field of life. It comes at a moment of great industrial development. It will check that development. It comes at a moment of expansion in our arts, especially in sculpture, and it will be a heavy blow in that. Sculpture is not practised on the battlefield.

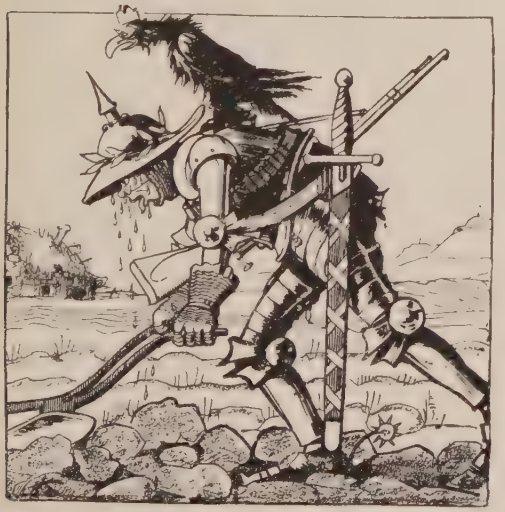
Striking for Manhood Suffrage in Belgium

The strike of a million Belgian workmen was ordered for April 14, as a protest against the refusal of the government to introduce a franchise bill embodying equal manhood suffrage. At present Belgium has proportional repre-

sentation. Each male of twenty-five years, and after one year's residence in his commune, has one vote. The Belgian law, however, goes further and gives additional votes for other qualifications. A married man with children has a second vote. The possession of a certain amount of property and a university degree, or employment in the government, entitles him to a third vote. The Socialists, who are very highly organized in Belgium, wish to abolish the whole system of plural voting, and demand that every Belgian citizen over twenty-one, male or female, be given one vote, and one only. The present government, which is dominated by the Clericals under the premiership of Baron de Broqueville, refuses to change the system, and an attempt to have the King proclaim universal suffrage has failed. The strike was planned with great skill. Both the government and the strike leaders made extraordinary efforts to preserve peace and order. The Belgian workman is comparatively well paid and contented, and the strike was not a labor demonstration, but a political weapon being used for a political purpose.

The German Chancellor on World Politics

The complete government bills for the increase in armaments and the taxation necessary to make this possible were submitted to the German Reichstag on April 7. Last month in these pages we gave a summary of the general provisions of these bills. They would add 175,000 to the German army before the end of next year, provide for the increase of the famous war chest in Spandau Tower by $60,000,000 in gold (aggregating $90,000,000 of war treasure) and make a total appropriation for immediate realization of something like $260,000,000. In his speech introducing the measure to a crowded house, the Imperial Chancellor, Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg, made impressive references to the danger spots in the international situation and asserted that the strength of the German army had not kept pace with the growth of the German nation. Political conditions in Europe, said the Chancellor, have been radically changed by the Balkan war which "has substituted for passive European Turkey other states of feverish political activity." While these were factors of progress, "should the great European conflagration between Germanism and Pan-Slavism come, this change would alter the balance in Germany's disfavor." Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg referred to England, Russia and France as "pacific factors." Although he had "very little faith" in the practicability of the suggestion made by Mr. Winston Churchill for "a year's naval holiday," Germany "is willing to consider concrete proposals from the British Government." The good intentions of the British, Russian and French governments, he concluded, are "beyond question," but Germany "must reckon with the great force of modern public opinion, which in the form of French warlike patriotism and Russian Pan-Slavism threatens the peace of the world against the wishes of the great masses of both peoples."



HOW THE GERMAN PEASANT TAKES TO MILITARISM—AN ALSATIAN VIEW
From *Dur's Elsass* (Strasburg)

Fighting the Army Increase

The opposition to the army bill as led by the Socialists and supported by the Liberal and Radical parties, is strong and makes it likely that there will be a long fight in the Reichstag over it. The leaders of all the non-government parties admit the necessity for increase in the army, but insist that the tax measures are unjustly drawn. Already, before the bill has advanced beyond the first stages of its course toward becoming a law, the financial pinch has begun to be felt in Germany and in the money markets of the world. On April 1, when the settlement for the first quarter of the year was made, six large German banks closed their doors. Speaking of the waste of human force and capital and the diversion of millions of men from being productive workers to being unproductive consumers, the London *Nation*, itself one of the strongest opponents of increased armaments, says:

This means a sudden and considerable reduction in the production of wealth for the industrial na-

GREATER "BALKANIA" AND "SHRUNKEN TURKEY"

(This map shows Bulgaria, Servia, Montenegro and Greece as the new map, based on the Balkan peace, will show them. It also indicates the extent to which Turkey in Europe has shrunk, and the new autonomous state of Albania)

tions of the world. The mighty stream of fresh capital, flowing from the saving classes in Western Europe, to develop the rich potential resources of the backward portions of the earth, and to expand and improve the fabric of domestic trade, will dry up in its channels or trickle in unsatisfying quantities. Capital, already dear, and becoming dearer, will become prohibitive in price. This will have two injurious effects. On the one hand, it will check the profitable expansion of sound businesses. On the other, it will imperil the solvency of businesses whose credit is less firm, and bring about a dangerous amount of wreckage. Nor is that all. The enhanced scarcity of fresh capital for productive uses evidently worsens the distribution of wealth and the lot of the wage-earners.

Adrianople Taken by the Bulgarians

When, on March 26, after a siege of more than five months, the victorious Bulgars and Servians entered the Turkish stronghold of Adrianople, there could be no doubt that the end of the Balkan war was at hand. So long as the Turks held this fortified post they had a basis for refusing peace. With Adrianople in the hands of the allies, even though Scutari still resisted the Montenegrins, the Turkish cause was definitely lost. Adrianople was more important to the Turks than any other city except Constantinople. They have always regarded it as the first point in their defensive strategy. The Bulgars invested the old town of Hadrian during the first days of the war, early in October last. For more than five months they "bottled up" the garrison of 50,000 men under command of the gallant Turkish leader Shukri Pasha, who vowed that he would blow up the town rather than surrender. The capture was finally effected by a three days' assault, during which the Bulgars sustained very heavy losses. Shukri Pasha set fire to the largest buildings, including the mosques, blew up the barracks and powder magazines, and then formally surrendered to General Savov. To its great credit, the first act of the Bulgarian government on hearing of the capture of Adrianople, was to appropriate the sum of $20,000 to relieve the wants and sufferings of the starving population of the city regardless of creed or nationality.

Montenegro's Yearning for Scutari

With Adrianople and Janina in the hands of the allies, and the great powers and the victors in accord over the main features of the terms of peace, there remained only Scutari. It was Montenegro which began the allied march against Turkey, and one of the first acts of her armies was the investment of the fortified town perched on the rocky heights of northern Albania. The Montenegrins have pressed

the siege of Scutari for more than six months. King Nicholas has regarded its capture as necessary for the further independence of his country, and more than once has frankly stated that failure to take it would mean the end of his dynasty. The Montenegrins have sacrificed much in the war. The little kingdom is somewhat less than the size of the State of Connecticut, and has a population about as great as that of Jersey City. From its population of a quarter of a million it has sent 40,000 fighting men to the front. From a fifth to a quarter of these, it is estimated, have been killed or disabled. The Montenegrins have insisted that they must have Scutari, and, on April 2, when the outpost fort of Tarabosch was taken after a gallant attack, it was rumored that the town had actually fallen. The Turks, however, managed to renew their defense.

Austria's Ultimatum

Austria would regard the possession of Scutari by the Montenegrins as a menace to her interests in the Balkans. She insists that the town should be in the future autonomous Albania. And Albania, European statesmen believe, as were Bosnia and Herzegovina is already earmarked for Austrian absorption. On March 24, the government at Vienna sent a note demanding the immediate cessation of the bombardment of Scutari. From official utterances in the Russian Duma and the Austrian Reichsrath, it is evident that the governments at St. Petersburg and Vienna have come to an agreement over what sections of former Turkish possessions shall be assigned to Bulgaria, Servia and Montenegro. A Russian note, made public by the Foreign Office, on April 9, set forth the Russian attitude toward the Balkan states, making it appear that the Czar's government is in accord with the other powers. Montenegro having refused to accede to the wishes of Europe (made known in a joint note sent on March 28), a combined squadron of British, German, Austrian, French and Italian warships began a blockade of the Montenegrin coast, some twenty-five miles in extent, on April 5. Meanwhile, a Servian force of considerable size had reinforced the Montenegrins in their attack on Scutari.

KICKING TURKEY OUT OF HIS OWN HOUSE

Madame Europe: "What are we coming to? Here we have the owner being kicked down his own stairs."

From *Charivari* (Paris)

Will Servia and Montenegro Unite?

Of course, in the end Montenegro will have to yield. It is reported, however, that King Nicholas has told the representatives of the powers at Cettinje that he will abdicate if Europe applies force. In such an event Servia would probably annex Montenegro. Both peoples are of the same race and speak almost the same language. Such a consolidation would give Servia her "Window on the Adriatic," which Austria has so strenuously opposed heretofore, would put an end to the rivalries and jealousies between the two States, and further rather than retard Balkan Slav expansion. Such expansion is what Austria particularly fears, but, if in consequence of Austria's opposition to Montenegro at Scutari, the two Serb nations are amalgamated, it will be Viennese diplomacy that has defeated itself. Meanwhile, the Turks have agreed to the general terms of peace as proposed by the powers. These would practically expel the Turk not only from continental Europe, but also take away from him the islands of the Egean Sea. The question of indemnity, upon which Bulgaria still insists, has not yet been settled.

How Near Europe Was to a Great War

The statement of Sir Edward Grey, British Foreign Secretary, in the House of Commons, on April 7, that if the great powers had not come to a definite agreement regarding an autonomous Albanian state, the whole continent would have been at war during the early days of March, was an official admission of the tenseness of the general European situation, which has existed since last October when the Balkan allies descended upon Turkey. Sir Edward, speaking to England for the great powers, referred to the naval demonstration on the Montenegrin coast begun on April

Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

CONSTANTINE, THE NEW KING OF GREECE, SURROUNDED BY HIS FAMILY

(In the rear, at the left, Prince Paul, Prince Alexander, Prince George—now Crown Prince—and Princess Helene. Front. Queen Sophia, King Constantine and Princess Irene)

5, by the united warships of England, Austria, France, Germany and Italy, as "necessary to uphold the agreement reached by the powers regarding the future autonomous Albania." The Foreign Secretary pointed out that the boundaries of the future state as agreed upon left a "large tract of territory for division between Montenegro and Servia." He characterized the continued siege of Scutari by the Montenegrins as "having no bearing whatsoever upon the conflict between Turkey and the Balkan allies nor upon a war of liberation," but stigmatized it as "part of a war of conquest" and concluded:

> There is no reason why the same sympathy felt for Montenegro and other countries contending for their liberty and national existence should not be extended to the Albanian population of Scutari and the district who are mainly Catholics and Moslems and who are contending for their land, their religion, and their lives.

Constantine, New King of Greece

On March 21 (Good Friday), Prince Constantine was crowned King of the Hellenes, succeeding his father, George I, who was assassinated by a half insane fanatic on March 18. The new monarch requested the entire ministry, with Premier Venezelos at its head, to remain in office. King George was shot while walking in the streets of Salonica and died half an hour later. No motive was assigned for the act. It had been said more than once that the late ruler, in one of the most difficult positions ever held by an imported monarch, showed much tact, breadth and ability. He was a son of the much beloved King Christian XII of Denmark, often called the father-in-law of Europe, and was a brother of the Dowager Queen Alexandra of England. He was sixty-eight years old and was elected King by the National Assembly at Athens in 1863. While he did his best to become a good Hellene, he always remained a Dane to his people whom he did not thoroughly understand, and who could not forget his northern origin. After living through fifty years of a troubled reign, and seeing his adopted country humiliated in the disastrous war of 1896-97, with Turkey, it seemed the irony of fate indeed that he should die by the hand of an assassin in the hour of Greece's triumph over her ancient enemy. George I was one of the moving

spirits in the formation of the Balkan League and the campaign against the Turk. The new monarch is forty-five years of age. Although a soldier by profession, and leader of his country's armies in the present war with Turkey, he is by choice a man of peace and domesticity. His wife, the new Queen Sophia, is a sister of the German Kaiser. They have five children, three sons and two daughters.

THE BALKAN STATESMAN, DR. DANEV, PRESIDENT OF THE BULGARIAN CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES

(Dr. Danev, to whose keen statesmanship is due very largely the formation of the Balkan League, now warns the allies of the danger of disagreement just when complete victory is in their grasp)

The Nervousness of Europe

The extent to which the nerves of Europe have been on edge ever since the Balkan War began was shown by several incidents and happenings of the first days of last month. Statements in the Austrian Reichsrath and the Russian Duma, perhaps inadvertently made, showed that in neither country has the promised demobilization taken place. Anti-Russian demonstrations in Vienna and anti-Austrian riots in St. Petersburg have further embittered the relations of the countries of Austrian Emperor and Russian Czar. Speaking of a street riot in St. Petersburg on April 6, the special correspondent of the London *Daily Telegraph* at the Russian capital, observes:

> Popular feeling in this capital is in deadly opposition to any friendship or conciliation toward Austria and to a policy which alone can ward off a European war. . . . Europe is now witnessing the merest skirmish which will usher in a tremendous conflict between the Slav and the Germanic races.

We have already explained the increase in the French and German military establishments and noted the radical effects these are having on the whole life of the countries involved.

The German Balloon in France

In the parliaments of the smaller countries whose neutrality Europe has guaranteed, Belgium, Holland and Denmark, there are measures providing for the increase of the military establishments in order to protect their neutrality. The British government, as has already been noted, is seriously considering the advisability of suggesting to Germany a suspension of warship building. The creation of aerial fleets goes on apace. A good deal of discussion and some bitterness in Germany was occasioned by the mishap to the German Zeppelin war dirigible *Z4* on April 3. During the week preceding reports had been received at the War Office in Paris that an air craft of the Zeppelin type had been seen passing over the lines of the French frontier fortifications from Switzerland northward. On April 3, during a fog, the French frontier guard at Luneville found the *Z4* which had, so its commander said, lost its way. The Germans were detained and their ship released only after the payment of duty for bringing a foreign aircraft into France and after a thorough examination by the French officers. The Kaiser, it is reported, will insist upon the court-martial of the officers of the *Z4*.

Revival of Pan-Slavism

One of the direct results of the Balkan war, which was not in the least expected when the war began, is the regeneration of the Pan-Slavist movement. Having allied themselves for the purpose of defeating the Turks, the Balkan peoples have gained not only territorial extension, not only material benefits which will follow in the more or less near future, but they have also gained the knowledge of their solidarity as Slavs, which may exercise greater influence upon the destinies of some European countries than their territorial expansion. This feeling of solidarity of the Slav nations is becoming more and more pronounced, and measures are being taken against its manifestation in countries which do not sympathize with the movement. In Austria, according to reports in some Russian newspapers, there have been open revolts and summary executions of reservist-Slavs

who refused to join their regiments when these were being mobilized and sent to the Servian border. In Russia, which is looked upon as the leader of the Slav nations, great demonstrations have been held in St. Petersburg, Kiev, and other cities, as a protest against Austria's attitude toward the Balkan Slavs. "Slav banquets" were arranged, and even the Czar himself sent telegraphic messages to the participants expressing his gratification at "their common efforts for the good of the fatherland." But the banquets and demonstrations became too loud in their denunciations of Austria, and the government felt compelled, in the interest of peace, to prohibit any public manifestations in St. Petersburg. Russian diplomacy is being severely criticized by the Slavophile organs of the empire for its mild and peaceful methods in dealing with Austria. Even the radical press, which cannot be accused of Pan-Slavist tendencies, is in open sympathy with the Balkan Slavs and is discussing the possibilities of an alliance between Russia and the Balkan League.

The First Chinese Parliament

The first session of the first Parliament of China, the world's youngest republic, was opened on April 8, at Peking. Five hundred representatives out of 596, and 177 senators out of 274, "all of them earnest looking men of mature years and nearly all dressed in European fashion," gathered in the Parliament Building, and as a salute of 101 guns was fired, copies of the message of Provisional President Yuan Shih-kai were distributed to the members expressing the hope that "the Republic of China will last for 10,000 years." This constitutional assembly then proceeded to elect Yuan Shih-kai to be President of the Chinese Republic for the full term of four years. The most pressing problem before the new government is the question of finance. The so-called Six Power Syndicate loan is still in abeyance. There will be no participation in this loan by American bankers, at least not with government support. President Wilson officially decided this when, on March 18, he gave out at the White House a statement declining to request the New York bankers interested to continue their participation in the Six Power loan negotiations.

AS TO RECOGNIZING CHINA

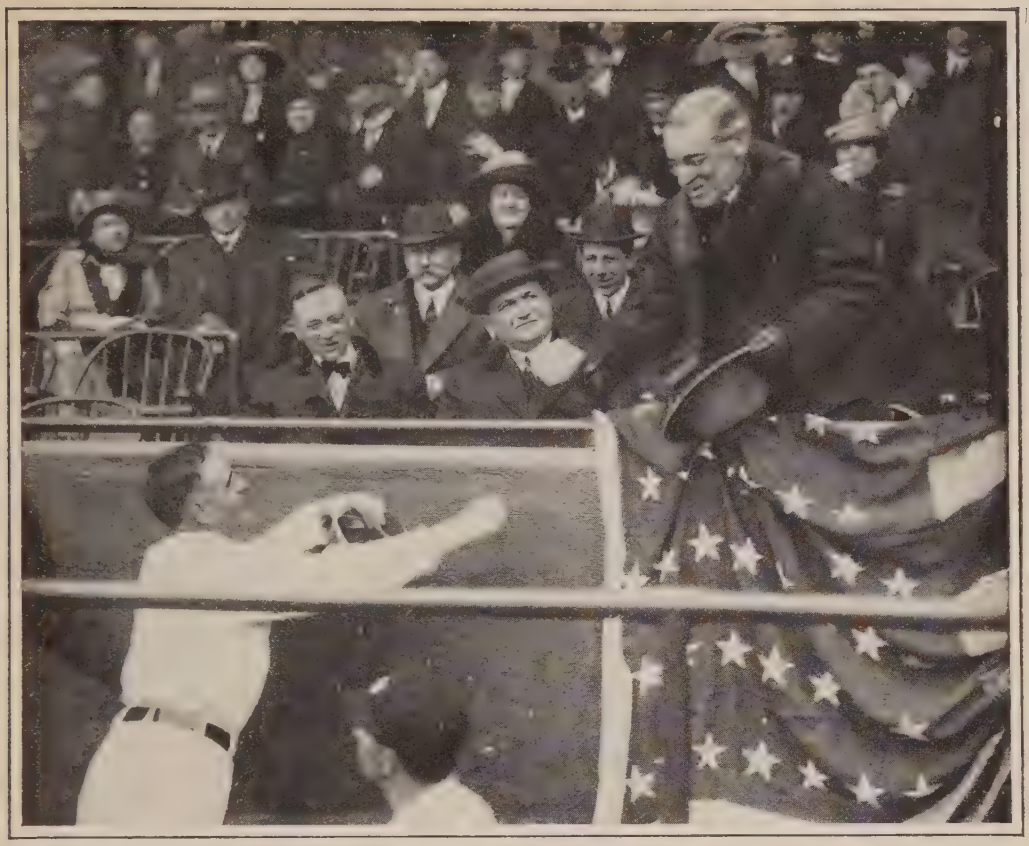
"You're too young, little boy. If you behave yourself I may give you a nice, big, recognition."
From *The Sun* (New York)

The New American Attitude Toward China

The decision to follow this course, which has been characterized in some quarters as a "repudiation of the Taft-Knox dollar diplomacy policy," was fully explained in the President's statement which covered the following points:

(1) A declaration of the Government's purpose to withdraw from coöperation with the five other great powers in seeking to have China consent to specific conditions for the disbursement and repayment of a loan of $125,000,000. (2) An expression of disapproval of the conditions on which the loan was sought and refusal to assume responsibility of participation, which might involve interference in the political affairs of China. (3) A declaration that this suggested responsibility is obnoxious to fundamental American principles. (4) An expression of willingness to help develop Chinese resources. (5) An expression of sympathy with the establishment of republican principles in China. (6) A declaration of intention to urge legislation that will enable American bankers and business men to overcome present restrictions, mainly on account of laws affecting National banks, which hamper them in competing for Chinese trade with bankers and business men of other Governments.

The next step in the policy of the new administration was to be the formal recognition of the new Republic, which would take the form of the credentials issued to the new Minister to Peking, whose name was to be announced after the formal election of a President. The offer, by President Wilson, of the Chinese post to John R. Mott, probably the best known Y. M. C. A. worker of the world, and Foreign Secretary of the International Committee of that organization, (although it was believed that Mr. Mott would not accept) has been taken to indicate that the President wishes to obtain a religious worker for Chinese Minister, with the intention of making the Chinese Republic realize that the only purposes of the United States in its Chinese relations are benevolent, and based on a truly Christian spirit.



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PRESIDENT WILSON ASSISTING AT THE OPENING OF THE BASEBALL SEASON

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From March 16 to April 14, 1913)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

April 7.—The Sixty-third Congress meets in special session to revise the tariff. . . . In the House, Champ Clark (Dem., Mo.) is reëlected Speaker; Mr. Underwood (Dem., Ala.), chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, introduces the administration tariff measure, which includes provision for a tax on incomes.

April 8.—Both branches assemble in joint session while the President in person reads his special tariff message.

April 9.—In the Senate, Mr. Bacon (Dem., Ga.) introduces a bill providing for the leasing of official residences for American ambassadors and ministers.

April 14.—In the House, the Sundry Civil appropriation bill, vetoed by President Taft when passed by the Sixty-second Congress, is reintroduced.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN

March 18.—The Delaware legislature passes a child-labor law and rejects the federal constitutional amendment for the direct election of Senators.

March 19.—The first measure passed by the Alaska legislature confers the suffrage upon women.

March 25.—The Massachusetts House fails to pass a woman-suffrage amendment.

March 26.—The deadlock in the Illinois legislature is broken, and James Hamilton Lewis (Dem.) and Lawrence Y. Sherman (Rep.) are elected to the United States Senate, the latter for the short term.

March 31.—Governor Sulzer of New York signs the Full Crew bill, increasing the number of brakemen upon long trains.

April 1.—The New Jersey Full Crew bill is approved by Governor Fielder. . . . The Tennessee Senate concurs in the House resolution ratifying the amendment for the popular election of United States Senators. . . . Henry W. Kiel (Rep.) is elected mayor of St. Louis.

April 2.—The Pennsylvania Senate unanimously concurs with the House in approving the amendment for the direct election of Senators.

April 4.—The members of the new Progressive party in the House of Representatives meet in their first conference or "open" caucus.

April 7.—The voters of Michigan defeat the proposed woman-suffrage amendment and adopt

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WOMEN FROM ALL PARTS OF THE UNION MARCHING THROUGH THE STREETS OF WASHINGTON TO THE CAPITOL, ON APRIL 7, TO PRESENT SUFFRAGE PETITIONS TO MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

provisions for the initiative, referendum, and recall and for municipal ownership.

April 8.—Both branches of the Connecticut legislature approve the amendment providing for the popular election of United States Senators, and the measure becomes a part of the Constitution. . . . The Democratic members of the House of Representatives reject the plan of an open caucus.

April 9.—President Wilson visits the capitol and discusses the tariff bill with the Democratic members of the Senate Finance Committee.

April 11.—The Republican members of the House of Representatives for the first time hold an open caucus. . . . The Ohio House adopts the Senate bill for the payment of pensions to dependent mothers with children.

April 12.—President Wilson nominates Prof. John Bassett Moore as counselor to the State Department.

April 14.—The Michigan Senate passes a measure granting pensions to mothers with dependent children.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN

March 18.—King George of Greece is assassinated, while walking in the street at Salonica, by a demented anarchist. . . . Premier Briand and his cabinet resign following a defeat in the French Chamber of Deputies.

March 21.—Constantine I, eldest son of the late King George, takes the oath as King of Greece. . . . Louis Barthou forms a new ministry in France, retaining five members of the Briand cabinet. . . . Dr. Francisco Bertrand becomes President of Honduras upon the death of Manuel Bonilla.

March 24.—Nicaragua places its currency system upon a gold basis.

March 26.—Winston Churchill, introducing the British naval estimates in the House of Commons, proposes an agreement whereby all nations would suspend naval construction during the year 1914.

March 28.—The details of the German Government's plans for increased military preparations, amounting to $321,000,000 and including $37,000,000 for an air fleet, are made public.

April 1.—The Duke of Montpensier is proclaimed King of Albania by the provisional government of that proposed nation, which was formerly a vilayet of Turkey.

April 3.—Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst, the English suffragette leader, is sentenced to three years imprisonment for inciting the placing of a bomb in the country home of Chancellor Lloyd-George.

April 7.—The Imperial Chancellor submits the German Government's defense and taxation bills to the Reichstag.

April 8.—The first parliament of the Chinese republic convenes at Pekin.

April 12.—Mrs. Pankhurst, the British suffragette leader, is released from jail after refusing to eat for nine days.

April 13.—King Alfonso narrowly escapes assassination by an Anarchist, who fires three shots at him while riding through the streets of Madrid. . . . The San Domingo Congress elects Jose Borda Valdez as Provisional President. . . . The federal troops at the Mexican town of Naco surrender to United States troops across the border after defeat by a state force in an engagement lasting five days.

April 14.—200,000 Belgian workers go on strike as a demonstration for manhood suffrage.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

March 18.—President Wilson issues a statement withdrawing the approval of the United States Government of the participation by American bankers in the proposed six-power loan to China.

March 19.—The group of American bankers withdraws from the negotiations for the proposed Chinese loan.

March 22.—The European powers present to Bulgaria their proposals for peace in the war of the Balkan nations against Turkey; they include the relinquishing by Turkey of most of its territory in Europe including Adrianople and the island of Crete.

THE LATE LORD WOLSELEY

March 26.—The Turkish fortress of Adrianople, after a five-months' siege, is captured by the Bulgarian troops under General Savov.

March 28.—The European powers demand that Montenegro raise the siege of Scutari, and that all Servian and Montenegrin troops be withdrawn from the districts proposed to be incorporated into Albania as a nation.

March 31.—Walter H. Page is named as American ambassador to England.

April 1.—The Turkish Government accepts the terms of peace proposed by the powers. . . . Montenegrin troops capture the great Tarabosch fortress near Scutari.

April 4.—The Japanese ambassador informally protests to the American Secretary of State against proposed legislation in the California legislature prohibiting the ownership of land by Japanese.

April 5.—Bulgaria, on behalf of the Balkan allies, makes counter proposals to the peace terms submitted by the powers.

April 6.—A fleet of ten Austrian, Italian, French, German, and British warships assembles in Montenegrin waters as a protest against the non-fulfillment of the demands of the powers.

April 7.—Dr. Eusebio A. Morales is appointed minister to the United States from Panama.

April 10.—Russia announces its complete accord with the other powers in the matter of Montenegro's limitations in Albania.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

March 18.—The birthplace of Grover Cleveland, at Caldwell, N. J., is transferred to an association, to be maintained as a national memorial.

March 19.—Contracts for the new subway system of New York City, amounting to $326,000,000, are signed by the Public Service Commission and rapid-transit officials.

March 21.—A severe windstorm, starting in the Gulf States and sweeping northward and eastward to the Great Lakes, causes the death of more than 100 persons and the destruction of several million dollars' worth of property and crops.

March 22.—The wireless telegraph station on the Eiffel Tower, Paris, receives a complete message from the station at Arlington, Md.

March 23.—A cyclonic storm ravages the Middle West; in Omaha and vicinity a tornado destroys thousands of homes and kills 150 persons. . . . A spherical balloon, piloted by Rumpelmeyer, sailing from Paris to Kharkov, Russia, establishes a new distance record of 1500 miles in forty-one hours.

March 25–26.—After several days' continuous and heavy rainfall, the rivers of Ohio and Indiana rise to unprecedented levels and inundate large areas of land, causing the loss of more than 600 lives, the destruction of 5000 homes, and enormous damage to property; in Dayton, Columbus, Hamilton, Zanesville, Middletown, and Chillicothe, in Ohio, and in Indianapolis and Peru, Indiana, the destruction of life and property is particularly heavy (see page 565).

March 26.—President Wilson and the Governors of many States appeal for contributions for the rescue and relief of flood sufferers in Ohio and Indiana.

March 28.—The Ohio River reaches flood stages at many points; great damage is caused by floods at Rochester, Albany, Troy, and at other places in the Hudson and Mohawk Valleys of New York State.

April 1.—Ex-President Taft takes up his duties as Kent professor of law at Yale.

April 3.—The *Vaterland*, the largest passenger vessel in the world, is launched at Hamburg.

April 6.—Street-car service in Buffalo, N. Y., is crippled by a strike of two-thirds of the men. . . . The waters of the Ohio begin to fall and relieve the dangerous situation at Cairo and Evansville.

April 8.—Two regiments of militia and a troop of cavalry are ordered out in Buffalo following a day of rioting in the street-car strike. . . . Lieut. Rex. Chandler, a United States Army aviator, is killed in the fall of a hydroplane near Fort Rosecrans, Cal. . . . Sir Thomas Lipton challenges once more for the *America's* cup.

April 11.—The Buffalo street-car strike is brought to an end by the mediation of the Mayor.

April 14.—Funeral services for the late J. Pierpont Morgan are held at New York City, and the body is buried at Hartford, Conn.

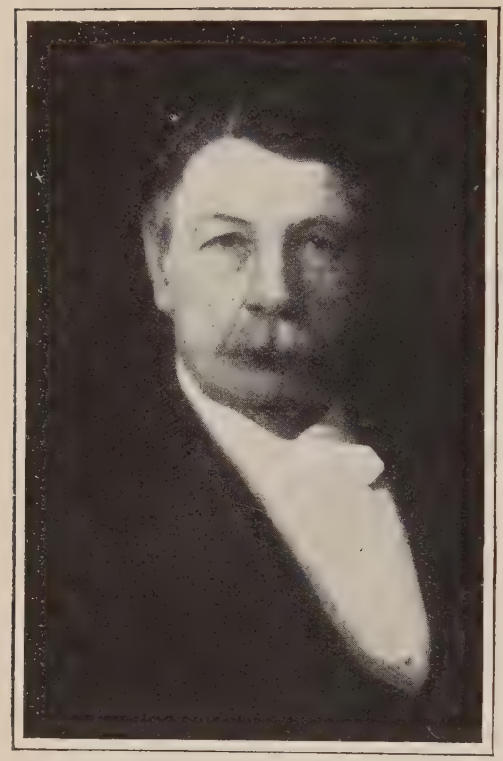
OBITUARY

March 16.—Louis Maurice Boutet de Monvel, the French painter and illustrator, 63.

March 17.—Henry Stull, painter of thoroughbred horses, 62. . . . Louis Amateis, the sculptor and designer, 57. . . . Dr. Prince A. Morrow, of New York, an authority on skin diseases, 66.

March 18.—George I, King of Greece, 67. . . . Gen. Louis Joseph Nicolas André, formerly French Minister of War, 75.

March 19.—Gen. J. H. Kidd, a veteran of the Civil War and noted Indian fighter, 73. . . . Col.



THE LATE JUDGE ADDISON BROWN, OF NEW YORK

(Judge Brown was a recognized authority on admiralty law and was equally eminent as a scientist. His observations on the corona in the solar eclipse of 1878 were published by the Smithsonian Institution and he was one of the authors of Britton and Brown's "Illustrated Flora of the United States and Canada." The New York *World* said of Judge Brown: "The study of science was something more than a fad to the many-sided jurist who mastered it as thoroughly as he did the law.")

John M. Bacon, a veteran of the Civil, Indian, and Spanish Wars, 68.

March 20.—Mgr. Denis O'Callaghan, a prominent Boston clergyman, 71.

March 21.—Manuel Bonilla, President of Honduras, 70. . . . Frederick William Devoe, of New York, the paint and varnish manufacturer, 84.

March 22.—Frank S. Black, former Governor of New York and a noted lawyer, 60.

March 23.—Samuel Judson Roberts, a prominent Kentucky editor and Republican leader, 55. . . . Brynild Anundsen, of Iowa, a noted Norwegian editor, 69. . . . Capt. A. H. Bogardus, formerly champion wing shot of the world, 79.

March 24.—Lady Dorothy Nevill, noted for her published reminiscences, 86. . . . Dr. Joseph N. Hallock, editor and publisher of the *Christian Work and Evangelist*, 79.

March 25.—Field-Marshal Viscount Wolseley, the noted British soldier, 79. . . . William J. Northen, formerly Governor of Georgia, 77. . . . Mrs. May C. Brooke, last woman survivor of the cast which played before Lincoln the night he was assassinated, 69.

March 26.—Brig.-Gen. Alexander James Perry, U.S.A., retired, 84. . . . Dr. A. T. Bristow, a prominent New York physician, 62.

March 27.—Marc A. Blumenberg, editor of the *Musical Courier*, 62.

March 28.—James McCrea, former president of the Pennsylvania Railroad, 64. . . . Henry Bischoff, justice of the New York Supreme Court, 60.

March 29.—Prince Henry XIV of Reuss, 80. . . . Dr. George McClellan, a well-known Philadelphia physician and educator, 64. . . . Carl Guido Friedrich Richter, a noted violinist, 81.

March 30.—Rear-Adm. John W. Moore, U.S.N., retired, formerly chief engineer, 81.

March 31.—John Pierpont Morgan, the financier and art collector, 75 (see page 555). . . . Brig.-Gen. Thomas M. Jones, a veteran of the Confederate army, 81. . . . Sidney Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, 60. . . . Count Cesare Gianotti, prefect of the Italian royal palace.

April 2.—William H. Fletcher, of New York, a well-known engineer and shipbuilder, 55.

April 3.—Viscount Llandaff, formerly Home Secretary in Great Britain, 87. . . . Eberhard Nestle, headmaster at the Evangelical Theological Seminary at Maulbronn, Württemberg, 62.

April 4.—Dr. Edward Dowden, professor of English literature at the University of Dublin, 70. . . . Charles F. Warwick, formerly mayor of Philadelphia, 61.

April 5.—Robert Wadsworth Prentiss, professor of mathematics and astronomy at Rutgers College, 56. . . . George Cantacuzene, president of the Rumanian Senate and former Premier.

April 6.—Prof. Adolf Slaby, a German authority on wireless telegraphy.

April 7.—Jean Ernest Constans, formerly Premier of France, 79.

April 9.—Addison Brown, of New York, formerly United States District Judge, an authority on admiralty law, and a noted botanist, 83.

April 12.—John Brooks Henderson, former United States Senator from Missouri and author of the Thirteenth Amendment, 86.

April 14.—Carl Hagenbeck, the noted animal collector of Germany, 69.

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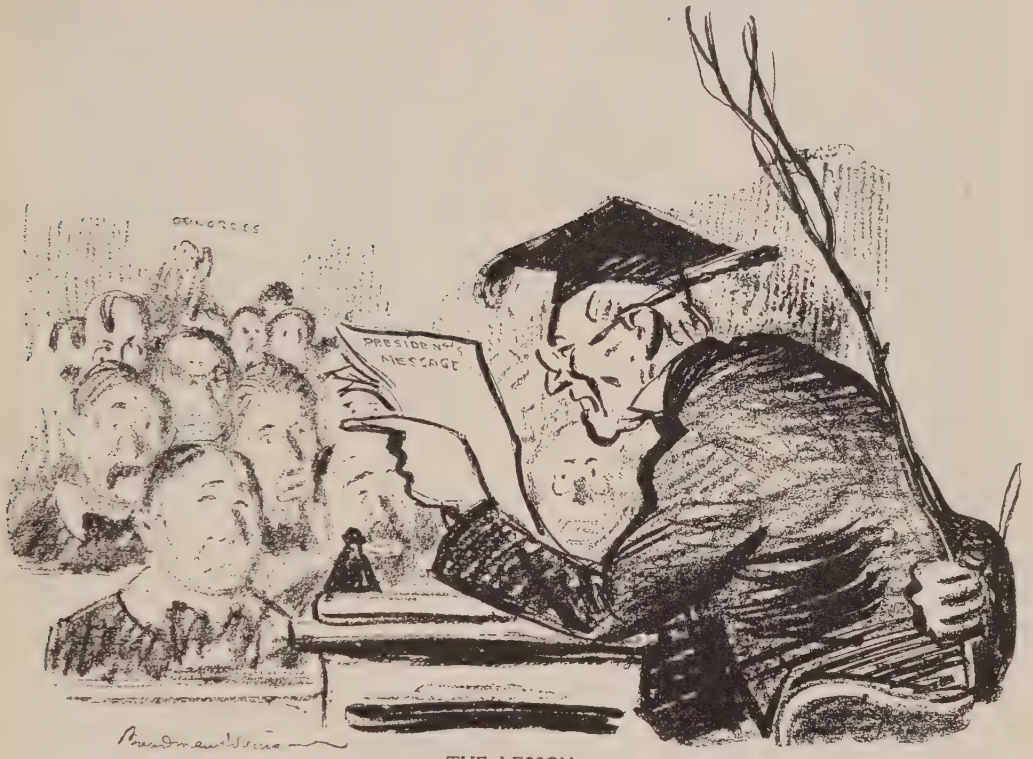
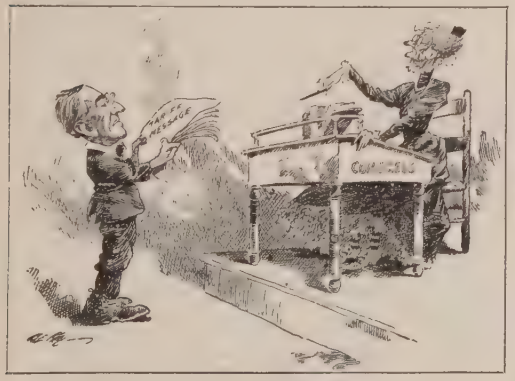
FUNERAL OF JOHN PIERPONT MORGAN,—THE CASKET LEAVING THE LIBRARY FOR THE CHURCH

SOME CARTOONS ON CURRENT TOPICS

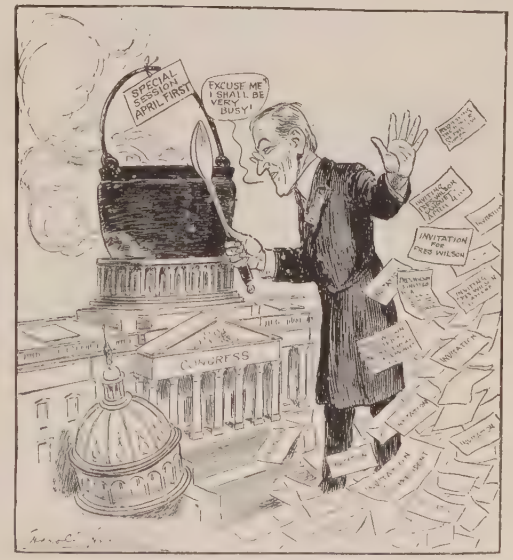


THE LESSON
From the *Tribune* (New York)

PRESIDENT WILSON, personally reading his message to Congress in the House of Representatives, was an event that the cartoonists could not, of course, resist picturing quite aptly as a lesson by the "Schoolmaster."



"'TIS MOST UNUSUAL, WOODROW, BUT YOU MAY PROCEED"
From the *Leader* (Cleveland)



NO TIME FOR FOOLING
From the *Inter Ocean* (Chicago)

NOT SO FILLING, BUT MORE EASILY DIGESTED

(The above cartoon, and those in the next column, refer to the Chinese policy of the Wilson administration, which is commented on in our editorial pages)

From the *Herald* (New York)

"SAM'S SWORN OFF!"

From the *Post-Intelligencer* (Seattle, Wash'n)

THE FLAG WON'T FOLLOW THE DOLLAR

From the *Evening Dispatch* (Columbus, Ohio)

THE STRAW GRASPERS

(The G. O. P. elephant and the Bull Moose, indulging the hope of a Wilson-Bryan disagreement)

From the *Ohio State Journal* (Columbus)

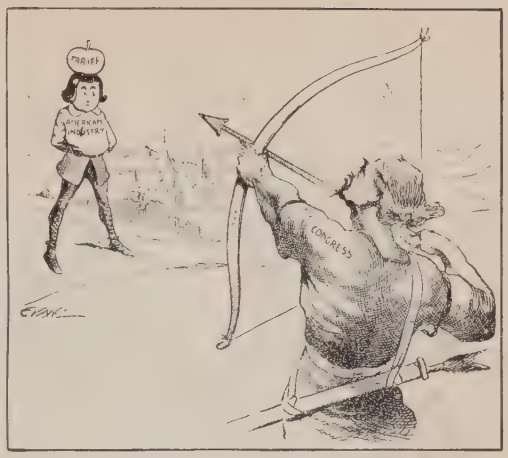
NONE OF THAT FOR US

From the *Journal* (Minneapolis, Minn.)

THE NEW COCKTAIL

PRESIDENT WILSON (examining American Eagle's tongue): "My poor bird! What *have* they been doing to you? What you want is a good stiff leave-it-to-Woodrow!"

From *Punch* (London)



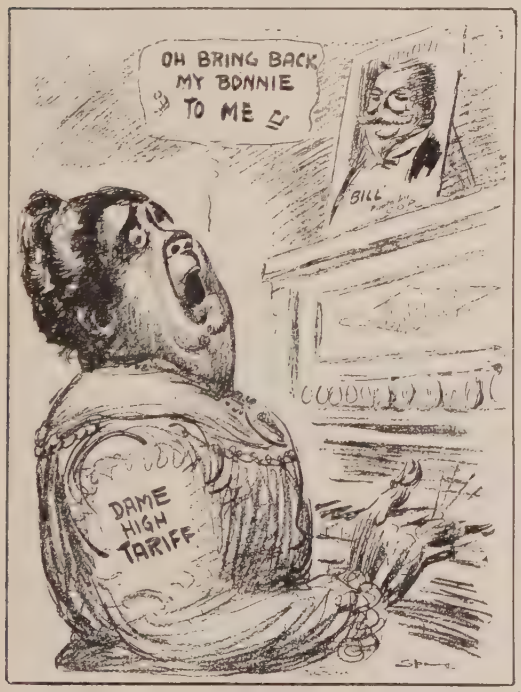
WILLIAM TELL SHOOTS AT THE APPLE

"Take steady aim and don't touch the boy."

From the *American* (Baltimore)

NOT RUNNING ANY CHANCE OF LETTING HIM VENTURE TOO FAR OUT AT FIRST

From the *News-Tribune* (Duluth, Minn.)



SENTIMENTAL SONG BY DAME HIGH TARIFF

From the *Advertiser* (Montgomery, Ala.)

Copyright by John T. McCutcheon

MAY THE NEW DEAL BE A SQUARE DEAL

From the *Tribune* (Chicago)

"TO THE RESCUE"
From the *Public Ledger* (Philadelphia)

THE great disasters in the Middle West caused by tornado and floods brought out many sympathetic expressions from the cartoonists of the country. They depicted the various phases of these calamities,—the titanic force of the elements and man's helplessness before them, the hardships of the people of the devastated regions, and the ready relief extended from all parts of the country.

Mr. Morgan's death also provoked many tributes to the genius and achievements of the man who had so long dominated American finance.

THE DIGGING HAS BEGUN
From the *Daily Eagle* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)

A TRIBUTE TO THE LATE MR. J. P. MORGAN
From the *Public Ledger* (Philadelphia)

LOOSEN UP, UNCLE
(Uncle Sam should supply houses for his ambassadors)
From the *Tribune* (Los Angeles)

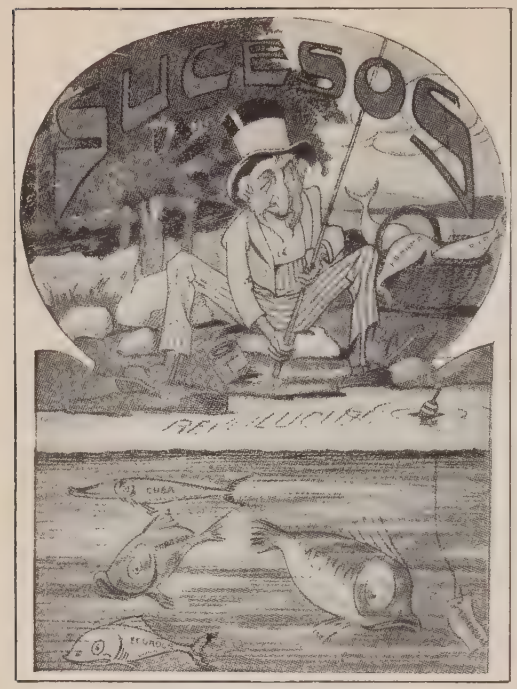
FACE TO FACE
(Japan, not pleased with a proposed land law of California, threatens to withdraw from participation in San Francisco's exposition of 1915)
From the *Daily Picayune* (New Orleans)

FORBIDDEN FRUIT
From the *Daily News* (Chicago)

DON'T STEP ON THE CAT!
From the *Press* (Philadelphia)

THE MEDIATORS
(The European powers "rushing" to the Turk's rescue)
From *Pasquino* (Turin)

MIGHTY LITTLE LEFT
(Constantinople, at least, is still left to the Turk)
From the *Daily Star* (Montreal)



THE AMERICAN FISHERMAN
"There's good fishing in troubled waters," says Uncle Sam, winking his right eye
From *Sucesos* (Valparaiso)

WHEN THE FORK GETS READY
UNCLE SAM: (examining the Mexican roast): "I think this bird will soon be done"
From *Caras y Caretas* (Buenos Aires)

Both of the above cartoons show Uncle Sam in the act of grabbing South American territory. This idea seems to be firmly fixed in Latin-American minds and is a favorite theme with the cartoonists of those countries.

THE PEACE PALM
GERMANY: "This certainly is a weak little plant; it needs strong support"
From *Jugend* (Munich)

REPARTEE BETWEEN CHANCELLORS
BISMARCK: "Friend Theobald, I did five times better than you; I raised five milliards at one time, and you get just one."
BETHMANN: "But from whom, my old friend? You got it from the French, but I from the Germans; that is a good deal harder."
From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin)

JOHN PIERPONT MORGAN

BY SERENO S. PRATT

JOHN PIERPONT MORGAN was one of the commanding personalities of his times. He exercised, in the later years of his life, a power greater than that of any other unofficial person in the world, and greater than that of most kings and ministers. But there was nothing complex or occult in his character; nothing subtle or cunning or crafty in his methods, and the record of his brilliant career is so clear that even those far distant from the mighty forces which produced him, should comprehend its meaning.

He dealt, indeed, in the most mysterious product in the world's markets; and perhaps the mystery which attaches to that which he bought and sold accounts for some of the mystery which seems to attach to his life. Daniel Webster's description of credit as "the vital air of commerce," remains now, as it was three-quarters of a century ago, the best description that can be given. For credit envelops the world of business as atmosphere does the globe. We can not exist without it, but while we may feel it, we can not see it. It is ever mysterious and sometimes even weird and uncanny in its operations. No one has ever completely explored or charted it. While it is beneficent in its customary action, yet, like the air, it can at times exhibit all the fury and destructive power of the tornado. It was credit which Mr. Morgan organized, concentrated, and applied for the benefit of American development with the same genius with which the Wizard of the Oranges has brought electricity under control of man for his well-being.

But difficult as it is to comprehend credit in all its complexity and universality and effects, Mr. Morgan's own career, as a merchant in credits, was an open book that any one may read with perfect understanding. The country banker to whom the farmer and village trader go, it may be for a loan, or more often for advice, and to whom, in every movement of local improvement, the whole town looks for financial leadership, is a type of what Mr. Morgan was in the great world of international commerce and enterprise. It is because Mr. Morgan's operations were so colossal, that his personality seems so remote and strange. But in reality he was simply the country banker expanded to the last degree of power and responsibility. A member of banking houses in New York, Philadelphia, London, and Paris, his operations covered the globe. The units of his enterprises were continental. He was truly a citizen of the world, and though he was a patriotic American, yet no one country could claim him entirely as its own. We may dispute about the economic significance of the movements in which he was the leader; we may differ about the effect of his achievements upon the future of this country, and we may have opposing ideas as to his ultimate place in history, but there seems to me to be no reason for contention as to the naturalness and simplicity and absolute fidelity of his character and career. Every man is in a sense an incarnation of the spirit of the age in which he lives, and Mr. Morgan was, conspicuously, a magnificent product of his century. He represented, as no other American did, the commercial enterprise of the times. Within his life-time progress was made, and

MR. MORGAN AS HE APPEARED AT THE TIME OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED STATES STEEL CORPORATION

(From a drawing made by V. Gribayédoff for the REVIEW OF REVIEWS in 1901)

revolutionary changes in economic forces and conditions were brought about, vaster than had been achieved in perhaps the preceding five centuries. During the seventy-six years of Mr. Morgan's life the world has lived every year as long as five years in the preceding century, great in results as that was. During at least thirty-six of these years, Mr. Morgan was a leader, and during twenty, the commanding figure among all his contemporaries engaged in commercial enterprises.

Mr. Morgan had the advantage of good blood in his veins. His father, Junius Spencer Morgan, was an able and eminent man. His maternal grandfather was a preacher, a poet and a patriot. Joseph H. Choate, whose own ancestry was distinguished, has made much of this in his eulogy of Morgan. We know, however, that the sons and grandsons of upright and intellectual fathers and grandfathers are often worthless and vicious. But in Mr. Morgan's life we can plainly perceive the ennobling effect of his noble ancestry.

But Mr. Morgan had the disadvantage of being born rich—not rich, indeed, in the sense of the wealth he has himself bequeathed, but rich in the degree which a successful man of affairs had attained in the first half of the last century. To be a rich man's son is a fearful handicap. Sympathize with the poor, always; but the present-day talk about the dreadfulness of poverty is mostly sentimental twaddle. Most men who amount to much in this world were born poor and are glad of it. The attempt to abolish poverty is an attempt to abolish progress, for poverty is the dynamo of ambition. One of the biggest merchants in New York recently told me that he refused to take into his employ any of the sons of his wealthy acquaintances, and hired only poor boys from the farms or the sons of immigrants. These were being trained for the high places in his great business. That indicates the kind of handicap which rich men's sons have to surmount. About the only thing their fathers can give them is money, which is often the worst thing they can have in starting out in life. Success, in this country, at least, has had its hardiest growth in the soil of poverty. The fact, therefore, that two of the most remarkable personalities of our age, J. Pierpont Morgan and Theodore Roosevelt, were born in homes of affluence, culture, and refinement, ought to be an inspiration to other rich men's sons.

Mr. Morgan matured slowly, that is to say he did not attain leadership, or apparently seek for leadership, until after years of preparation. Even with the powerful backing which his father was able to give him, he did not become a young Napoleon of finance. After leaving the University of Gottingen in Germany, in 1857, he became a clerk first in his father's banking house in London, and two years later with the then noted New York banking firm of Duncan, Sherman & Co. He began his business career as a clerk when he was twenty years old. Seven years later, in partnership with Charles H. Dabney, he established an independent banking business in New York. But this was still a period of preparation. There was no hot-house growth. There was no grasping for control. There was no sensationalism in his progress. He was a follower, not a commander, and so quiet, retiring, and modest was he, that it is related that a corporation that made him one of its directors dropped him after a year, because he never took any initiative at the meetings, or made a single suggestion, but confined himself to voting on the various resolutions. It was 1871 that Mr. Morgan, then thirty-four years old, entered into partnership with Anthony J. Drexel, the great Philadelphia banker, and laid the foundations of the now existing international banking house. Mr. Morgan had by this time attained prominence in the financial world, but he was still far from the position of leadership, and for a number of years he was even in his own firm overshadowed by the larger distinction of Mr. Drexel.

It was not until after he was forty years old that Morgan became numbered among the first dozen or so men in American business who must be consulted in the largest transactions; and it was only in the last twenty-five years of his life that he was commander-in-chief. Forty years of preparation! That is an object lesson that may have some value even in these days when young men are eagerly seeking leadership in business without that maturity, stability, and character which long experience gives. The secret of Mr. Morgan's ability to retain for so many years the supreme direction of affairs, his continuing intellectual and bodily vitality after he had passed the half-century mark, may be found chiefly in those forty years of maturing powers. He did not waste himself in his early manhood; therefore he was a giant in his old age.

Allusion has been made to Mr. Morgan's long silence as illustrated by the anecdote of his "dummy directorship." Like General Grant, whom he resembled in some other respects, he was always a man of few words. He had absolutely no gift of public speech,

Photograph by Pach Bros.

A CHARACTERISTIC PORTRAIT OF MR. MORGAN

although at times he displayed a remarkable power of verbal characterization in some striking phrase which in a single sentence, like "the panic of undigested securities," summed up a financial situation. He listened, but said little, but his decisions, often expressed in a simple "yes" or "no", became in the financial world like an opinion from the Supreme Court in the legal world. He was a member of many of the prominent clubs and associations of the world's great cities; he attended many meetings, he sat at many public banquets, but he never made a speech. He did not inherit, nor did he cultivate, the art of winning popularity. He was often short and brusque in his manner, although this brusqueness was not of the heart, but rather was a shield against intruders and trespassers upon his time. He was a difficult man for reporters to approach. His "interviews" were few and very brief; but a newspaper man who succeeded in getting a good sentence from Morgan had the distinction of a "beat."

Mr. Morgan was indeed a statesman in his world-wide knowledge and influence; but he was no politician. He did not know how to curry popular favor. He could solve big

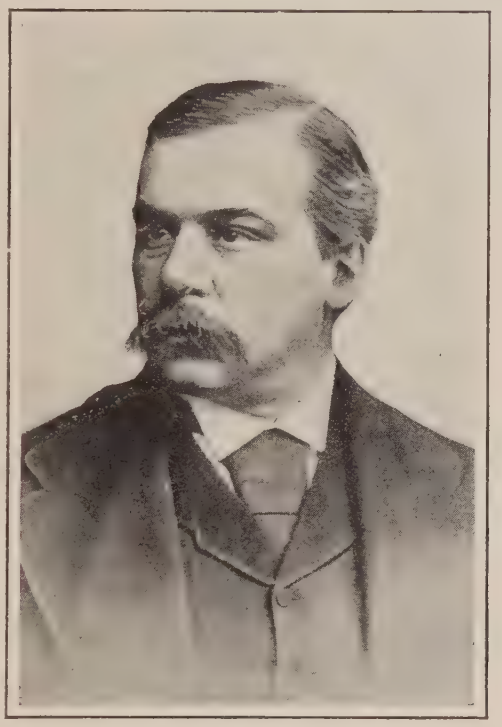
business problems in a day, while other men were struggling with them for months, but he was not an expert in influencing public opinion.

We have entered upon an era of business publicity, and of commerce carried on, not only in the open, but subject to public opinion and governmental regulation. More and more our men of business are becoming publicists as well as administrators and financiers. More and more our railroads and banks are establishing publicity departments; and what amounts to a new profession of "executive assistants" (like those recently established by the Pennsylvania and the New England lines, with talented and experienced newspaper men at their head) is being created—men whose function it is to interpret public opinion to the Board of Directors, and interpret the executive policy to the public. In this connection it is significant to note the change that is taking place in the character of the men at the head of great corporations. Samuel Rea, the new president of the Pennsylvania, is not only the trained engineer and the accomplished executive, but a man who for years has been making a close study of economic and political conditions. He is a student of public opinion. The Morgan firm has, now, a former newspaper man among its members. The head of New York's biggest bank was formerly a financial editor. The head of the country's biggest corporation is a former lawyer and judge. It has been said that the greatest business in this country—as is inevitable in a democracy—is that of politics; and now that government insists upon sharing in the responsibility of managing big business, merchants, bankers and directors must make a study of public opinion, or have men at their elbows constantly to instruct them. That probably explains why so many men who have made a success in public life are being taken into business concerns. But Mr. Morgan, who belonged in this respect to the old school of financiers, did not seem to cultivate the art of publicity.

Mr. Morgan was a great money maker, but he was equally distinguished as a money spender. To form a true estimate of his position and power, one must understand his genius in these two directions. He was no miser. He was in business to make money, but not for the mere sake of accumulation. The public has not been informed of the amount of his wealth; perhaps he did not know himself. But this is certain, that while he had the opportunity of becoming the richest man in the world, he was not the richest man. His power is not to be found in the number of his own millions, but in the billions of which he was the trustee. No man ever controlled the money of other people in such tremendous sums as he did; and he charged high for his trusteeship. Undoubtedly he delighted in driving a good bargain both in selling bonds and in buying art objects; but however much he made, the other people to the bargains did not seem to lose. Criticism has been made of the enormous toll he sometimes levied upon the operations which he conducted for others. But he was like the great surgeon who charges a big fee for an operation taking only a few minutes: what he was charging for was not time, but experience and skill. Mr. Morgan's judgment was a jewel of great price. His favorable opinion, in the later days of his supremacy, was sufficient to insure success.

It was, however, as a spender, rather than as an accumulator, that Mr. Morgan occupied the most unique place among all the men of his time. Let it be said to his everlasting credit that his spending of money had always a constructive, not a destructive, influence. He lived richly, but was not guilty of vulgar and demoralizing display. He distributed immense sums of money, but in doing so, did not weaken or corrupt the social structure. His philanthropies were simply enormous, and most of them were unknown. Many of them were even unsolicited. Mr. Choate has said publicly that the amount of money Mr. Morgan gave probably aggregated as much as the fortune he bequeathed to his heirs. He gave a very large sum to the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, but both Mr. Rockefeller and Mr. Carnegie have made bigger single benefactions than he, though it is not improbable that the aggregate of his philanthropy totalled as much as theirs. He did not apply scientific investigation to philanthropy, as Mr. Rockefeller has done with such astonishing efficiency, but Mr. Morgan's intuition in giving was almost as unerring as his judgment in finance; and it came to pass that Mr. Morgan finally became a sort of court, not of last, but first, resort in matters of philanthropy as in business. If he said "yes," then the object for which it was proposed to raise money thrived; if he said "no," it was abandoned or postponed. Seth Low, in his Chamber of Commerce tribute to Morgan, laid particular stress upon the supremacy of the great banker in this respect.

When he gave, he gave promptly and liberally. About three years ago, it became my duty to write Mr. Morgan asking him whether he would agree to a refunding, on another basis, of a $50,000 bond which he held on a public institution. In the course of three or four weeks, I received from Mr. Morgan a letter written by him from Rome. He said he did not think the refunding was desirable, but that he would like to give the $50,000 bond to the institution. That was the direct way in which he acted in these matters.



MR. MORGAN AT FORTY-FIVE

But Mr. Morgan not only gave freely to public objects and private charity, but he also spent enormous sums in the satisfaction of his own taste. Here again—wonderful to relate—his judgment rarely erred, and his spending was beneficent in its social effects. I allude, of course, to Mr. Morgan's art purchases. Mr. DeForest, vice-president of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Mr. Morgan was himself the president) has declared that Morgan was the greatest art collector and art amateur in the world. He spent millions upon millions in collecting, but the value of his art possessions is probably two or three times what he paid for them. How vastly he has aided art by his purchases no one can calculate. Certainly the people of the United States have no cause to complain of Mr. Morgan in this phase of his career. His art possessions are now in this country. Many of them are in public museums, and all of them, whether public or private, will continue to be held for the inspiration of art and the cultivation of the beautiful in life, for many years to come.

That nation is strongest and best in which the rich wisely spend and the poor wisely save. This country is so rich in its natural resources that it is now in peril of the awful waste of extravagant spending. In spite of the evidence of the big deposits in the savings banks and the multitude of life insurance policies, to the contrary, a vast multitude of families in the United States are undoubtedly living up to, or beyond, their means. Saving is not a national trait as among the French and in other foreign countries. A certain corporation, for instance, has a large business in England and the United States, with several hundred employees in each country. It deposits each year, out of the profits of the business, a certain sum of money to the order of each employee, giving him also the privilege of depositing his own savings and receiving 6 per cent. interest thereon. In England all the employees, except three or four, have saved all that has been given them, together with accumulations out of their own wages; and one old employee on retiring recently drew out upward of $200,000. The employees of the same concern in this country (with a few exceptions) have not only not saved any of their own wages, but have drawn out and spent all that was given them. Now Mr. Morgan as a very rich man gave a fine example of beneficent spending of his own money, while, by his financial operations, he did much to make savings and investments safer and more numerous.

Of the personal, intimate, side of his life, not much has been said or perhaps can be said, for while he was a public man, he did not live much in public. It is known that he had behind his veneer of brusqueness, a gift for friendship, and that he could, and did, inspire affection. One of his partners could not trust himself to attend the Morgan memorial meeting in the Chamber of Commerce for fear that he would be overcome by his feelings. Senator Root's voice broke when he spoke in that meeting of his departed friend. There were tears seen in the eyes of a great captain of industry at that meeting, though he is a man whom the yellow press delights to pic-

ture as a monster of rapacity. The Bishop of New York spoke to me, with almost a sob in his voice, of his thirty years' intimate association with Mr. Morgan. There was something higher and finer and better than rank commercialism or cold calculation in Mr. Morgan to inspire the affection of such men as these. Mr. Morgan was a stanch churchman. A fellow vestryman of his in St. George's Church testifies that he never missed a meeting of the vestry when he was in this country. This is not a "fashionable" church. Its principal work is among the poor. He often "passed the plate" there on Sundays. He was a delegate to and attended all the conventions of the Episcopal Church in this country. His last public appearance was at an Easter service in Rome a few days before his death.

The qualities which made Morgan a leader among men were his intuition, his courage, his fidelity to his word, his imagination, and his ability to select men in whom he could put his trust.

Senator Root made much of his intuition in his recent eulogy. He said that in higher mathematics there is a realm in which only a few gifted minds can enter and in which they seemed to reach absolute conclusions by swift processes which they themselves could not explain. Morgan had that sort of mind. It is the gift of genius.

But Morgan had not only vision, but the courage to act. He had learned to rely upon the accuracy of his own intuitive judgments, and he acted upon them. His decisions were prompt and final. Having made them, he had the courage to carry them into effect. His whole business life was the underwriting of enormous risks, and it is through the taking of risks—whether you call them speculations or not—that the world made such marvellous progress in the past century.

When he said he would do a thing he did it. Confidence in his good faith, even more than reliance upon his intuition and courage, made him a leader among men.

Faith in his word was as strong in small things as in great. A friend of mine wished to publish a very expensive book and he asked Morgan to advance some of the necessary capital. Morgan refused, saying that he did not wish to enter into an operation of that kind, but that he would subscribe for the first copy of it to be issued. My friend went away disappointed, but an associate of Morgan told him he had made a great point, as Morgan's subscription, when known, would be worth a thousand other subscriptions. "But he will forget me." "Mr. Morgan never forgets a promise," was the reply.

Every supremely successful captain of industry must have the gift of imagination. In this commercial country and age such men as Morgan are in a sense our poets and prophets and seers. Morgan was the grandson of a poet and there is a tradition that he, himself, used to write poetry at the university. Certainly the poetic gift in him found expression in his ability to see far into the future and seize at once upon fundamental principles of human action.

It was this combination of intuition, courage, fidelity, and imagination in one personality, that constituted Morgan's character,—that character which was the secret of his success, and which as he himself declared to the Pujo Committee is the basis of credit.

In the last twenty years of his life, Morgan wielded a power that, as I have already said, no other private citizen and few statesmen in the world exercised. His power was fiercely assailed on the ground that no private individual ought to possess such authority over the lives and fortunes of millions of other persons.

But analyze that power, and it will be discovered that it was a delegated power. Morgan was as truly chosen by the people as President Wilson is. He did not obtain his power by conquest. He did not arrogate it to himself by any assertion of brute strength. It came to him by what may truly be called the suffrages of the people. President Wilson is the trustee of the political rights and liberties of the people. Morgan was the trustee of their deposits, their investments, and their property. He could not compel their confidence. He had no monopoly in international commerce. He had no letters patent on credit. He possessed no divine right of sovereignty. The secret of his power is no secret at all. It simply was confidence in his leadership. That's all.

Senator Root has well said that Morgan at times exercised powers of government, because of the incapacity of law-makers. He governed because there was need of government and he was fit to govern. His was truly a representative authority.

It is not possible here to go into the details of his many financial operations. His early New York Central deals by which he marketed $25,000,000 of its stock, mostly abroad, and by which later he acquired for that road control of the West Shore; his restoration of the Baltimore & Ohio from depleted vitality; his purchase of the Louisville & Nashville to

save it from what he considered the control of adventurers; his vast railroad reorganizations after the disaster of the 1893 panic; his long-continued efforts for railroad peace; his work in behalf of the Government credit during Cleveland's second administration, when the country was trembling on the edge of the suspension of specie payments; his colossal industrial combinations, notably the organization of the billion-dollar steel corporation; his part in the rehabilitation of the Reading and other coal roads, and later in the settlement of the coal strike; his organization of the banking resources of the country for the protection of commercial and banking credits in the panic of 1907;—each one of these events, as well as many others, needs a separate article for adequate narration. In their dramatic interest and economic significance they are worthy of the pen of a Walter Bagehot, a Horace White, or a Charles Francis Adams, and of the analysis of a Thomas Woodlock or a Sir George Paish. The problems they present of railroad financing, of company promotion and capitalization, of corporation accounting, of market strategy, and of banking coöperation, are studies to which some of the best economists of our day have applied their minds. But my task is different. It is by a few broad generalizations, to sum up his career, as it may appear to, and be judged by, the future.

THE MORGAN RESIDENCE AT MADISON AVENUE AND THIRTY-SIXTH ST., NEW YORK
(The library is the white marble building in the right foreground)

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THE HOUSE AT HARTFORD IN WHICH MR. MORGAN WAS BORN

It will be seen that he was an empire-builder. He did not, indeed, like Washington, found a government, or like Hamilton, Madison, and Franklin, draft a constitution, or like Lincoln save a nation. But he organized and led the material development of this country from a financial dependency and commercial province of Europe, into an independent great world power. He was the Cecil Rhodes of America, or rather it would be more proper to say that Cecil Rhodes was the Morgan of South Africa. The problems he solved were those that would have taxed the resources of the world's ablest statesmen.

Take the three supreme achievements of Morgan's career and test them by these two questions: What was the source of his power, and how did he use his power?

I. When Morgan entered business for himself the country was rent asunder by rebellion. On the conclusion of that gigantic struggle, the first problems were those of political and material reconstruction. This work was carried on through a period of political corruption and speculative inflation and riot, such as had never been witnessed before. The railroads, still crude and incomplete,—the continent had not yet been spanned,—were the playthings of the stock market. It was the day of the Erie scandals, and of Black Friday. It was a time of devastating wars of rates. The adventurers and gamblers in finance ruled the markets. Thieves and scoundrels sat in boards of di-

rectors. Their hirelings doctored the corporation books, and issued fraudulent stock.

Then Morgan appeared. He took property after property (for there was scarcely a large railroad in the country whose affairs did not at one time or another pass through his banking house); reorganized, revitalized it, reformed its management, gave it credit abroad and respect at home. By degrees, in the course of the succeeding years, it was seen that under the Morgan leadership, railroads were extended, their terminals expanded, their road-beds and rolling stock bettered, their finances placed in order, their earning capacity increased, their accounts straightened and simplified, a large degree of publicity established, a higher sense of public responsibility developed. From speculations they became investments. The thieves and cut-throats and adventurers were driven out. Devastating competition was regulated. Conference after conference was held in Morgan's office or house to prevent rate wars. Measure after measure was tried to give stability and permanence to the railroad business upon which the trade and commerce of the country depended. One after another, by purchase, combination or consolidation, the railroads were brought into a few mighty systems, east and west of the Mississippi; and out of chaos, order and national progress appeared. Other able men, like Hill and Cassatt, aided mightily in this railroad construction and reconstruction, but, after all, it was Morgan who led.

It was he who applied government to the railroads. Before him there had been anarchy, riot, revolution. But he established government. He was the governor, the dictator, if you will, but still the government; able, stable, sound, constructive, statesmanlike government.

Then the Government stepped in, the political power, the elect of the people, and said to Mr. Morgan: "You have gone thus far, but go no further. The empire you have builded threatens to become more powerful than the authority from which it obtained its charters and grants." By suit the Northern Securities Company was dissolved. By act of Congress, the Interstate Commerce Commission was given real powers of rate regulation. Government "by commission" succeeded government "by Morgan."

It is still too early to compare results.

II. During Mr. Morgan's active business leadership, the United States has been changing from an agricultural country into an industrial state. This has involved stupendous changes, not only in business conditions, but in social and political conditions. In the same time industry, as well as commerce and finance, has been internationalized. Since 1837, when Mr. Morgan was born, the railroads have been developed, steam has driven the sailing vessel from the ocean, iron has replaced wood, the telegraph, the cable, and the telephone have annihilated distance, the corporation has taken the place of the individual, and credit has become subject to natural laws that are international in scope. It almost seems to be true, as Alfred Mosely said to me a few weeks ago, as if the world were indeed becoming too small for the needs and the ability and the ambition of man.

Now Mr. Morgan perceived, as other men perceived, that if this country was to be able to develop its industries on a scale of world competition, it was necessary that national organization should take the place of town organization. That is to say, our industries were small, at first competent only to supply local needs, then perhaps developed so as to supply counties and even States, but still largely provincial, and by methods of competition which were self destroying, preventing the building of a great industrial empire competent to take its place as a world power. Others saw this, but Mr. Morgan had the courage to act. Under his leadership, combination took the place of provincial competition. Big, efficient business succeeded to small, inefficient, wasteful business. The steel and other industries were organized on a national basis: and the United States increased in wealth and power by leaps and bounds.

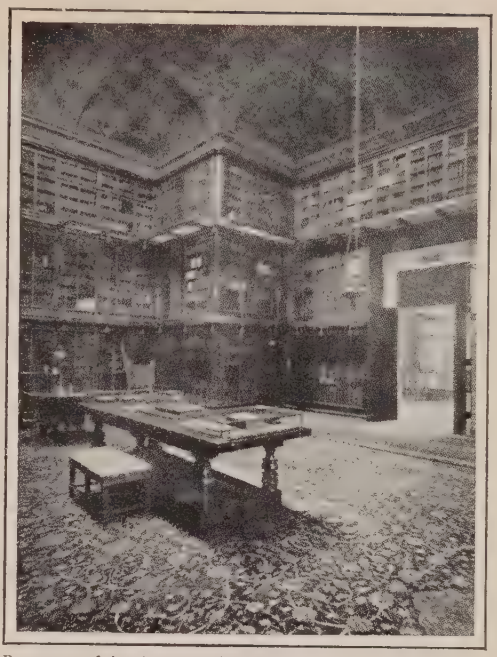
Now this again was government taking the place of anarchy. It was Napoleon succeeding the Reign of Terror. It was masterful government. It was constructive statesmanship; but it was "Morgan government."

Then the Government at Washington spoke. The people were alarmed by the very combinations which were making the country rich and powerful. Some of these new corporations were bigger than big States, more powerful even than many States put together. The creature of law seemed to grow greater than the law; the child of the State than the nation itself. The trust question became the issue of the hour; the enforcement of the Sherman Anti-trust Law became the government policy; and the intricate, the difficult and the still unsolved problem of how to preserve the benefits of coöperation and combination and protect ourselves from the perils of its great powers;

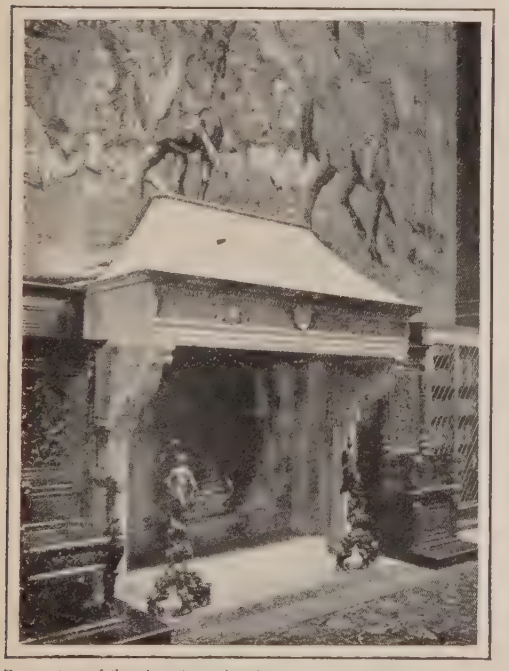
and the unsolved problem of how to have the benefit of competition and not to be ruined by it;—these are now before the country.

III. When Jefferson declaimed against "the extent of the dominion which the banking institutions have obtained over the minds of our citizens," and said, that this dominion "must be broken or it will break us," and when Jackson confessed that he was opposed to banks, and used the power of his administration to destroy the second United States Bank, they bequeathed to this country a policy of fear and ignorance from which it has not yet recovered. The ignorance was Jackson's. The fear was Jefferson's. The ignorance was the ignorance of the function of banks. The fear was the fear of the banking power. This fear and this ignorance, while they have not prevented national progress, have retarded it.

In the absence of a statesmanlike policy in Washington toward banking, there developed during Mr. Morgan's period of leadership a banking government independent of the official authority. The new industrial greatness required bigger banks, larger accumulations of credit. These resources were supplied, not only by the international banking houses such as those presided over by Mr. Morgan, Mr. Schiff, Mr. Seligman, and Mr. Speyer, but also by the creation in New York, Chicago, and other cities of big national and State banks and trust companies, largely through the consolidation of a number of smaller banks; and these big institutions, while independent of each other, and often sharply competing, were nevertheless easily allied for great purposes. Then the clearing houses, which for sixty years have been convenient machines for exchanging checks, developed new functions of regulation and government. In all this development, Mr. Morgan naturally took a leading, if not a commanding, part. Mr. Morgan, however, was first a financier and only secondarily a banker. That is to say, he organized and accumulated credit for mighty constructive enterprises. It was in times of stress and storm and panic that we see him exercising the governing power in banking to save the business of the country from devastation.



By courtesy of the *American Architect*
THE FAMOUS MORGAN LIBRARY IN NEW YORK
(In this room the midnight conferences of bankers were held during the panic of 1907)



By courtesy of the *American Architect*
FIREPLACE IN THE LIBRARY

If there had been a great central institution of banking created under governmental authority, with governmental participation in its management, there would have been no necessity for asking Mr. Morgan, from time to time, in critical emergencies, to assume the dictatorship of banking in this country. He did not seek it. He was in effect selected for the responsibility. He was chosen because, in character and genius and experience, he was best fitted for the task. The absence of an adequate banking system in the United States

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THE BANKING HOUSE OF J. P. MORGAN & CO., CORNER OF BROAD AND WALL STREETS, NEW YORK

was responsible for the extent and violence of the periodical money panics which have swept over this country. Mr. Morgan was born in the midst of one of them, in 1837—which was precipitated by Jackson's war on the second United States bank. He started in business in another—that of 1857. He gave enormous aid in restoring the business of the country after the panics of 1873, 1884 and 1893. President Cleveland appealed to him—and not in vain—for financial aid in 1894. He stood for sound money in the depression and crisis of 1896. In the panic of 1907 he became, by reason of absence of government elsewhere, what might be termed "Governor of the Bank of the United States of America." No one can measure the extent of the services he performed at that time for the safeguarding of corporate and commercial credits; and yet those who hated him, charged him with having actually precipitated the panic. It was his hand that stayed it.

In this work, conducted when he was an old man—seventy years—Mr. Morgan not only consulted the leading bankers and merchants of the country, but he called to his active aid a number of very able and upright younger men. Three of these, Mr. Davison, Mr. Porter, and Mr. Lamont, he later took into his own firm as partners, for his judgment of men, as of measures, was remarkable. His son, who resembles him so much in appearance, character, and ability, has long been his active assistant in the firm and now succeeds him.

After the storm was over, the official government stepped in, representing popular fear of "financial concentration"; and the "Money Trust" issue, so called, though there was no trust, only coöperation, appeared. The object of the hue and cry seemed to be to destroy the banking regulation which existed by a process of natural, economic, selection, without putting anything constructive and effective in its place. The champion of destruction became Untermeyer. The Pujo Committee room became a battleground. The aged commander-in-chief was hastened to the firing line. His appearance there, and his simple elevating declaration that character was the true basis of credit, threw his enemies into confusion.

Soon after his examination he sailed for Europe. He viewed once more the mysteries of Egypt. Once more he feasted his art-loving eyes upon the majestic dome of St. Peter's. And then the great brain, the rugged body, and the inconquerable spirit of Morgan succumbed to death. The end came at the Grand Hotel in Rome on March 31, 1913. If he had lived seventeen days longer he would have been seventy-six years old.

Mr. Morgan generally spoke of himself as engaged in the banking business, but when he gave an art museum to Hartford, Connecticut, he dedicated it to his father, "Junius Spencer Morgan, Merchant." Yet his father, like himself, was a banker. The use of that term "merchant" was suggestive and significant. Merchant in credits, Morgan used the power of deposits, given to him as trustee by the confidence of the world, as a statesman employs parliaments and diplomacy, and a general marshals an army, for national upbuilding. Like the merchants of old, of Venice and Spain, Holland and England, whose ships explored unknown seas and shores, he was bold and strong, and adventurous, and his enterprises encircled the globe.

Morgan's death ends an era in American finance. Who and what next?

THE STORY OF THE GREAT FLOODS

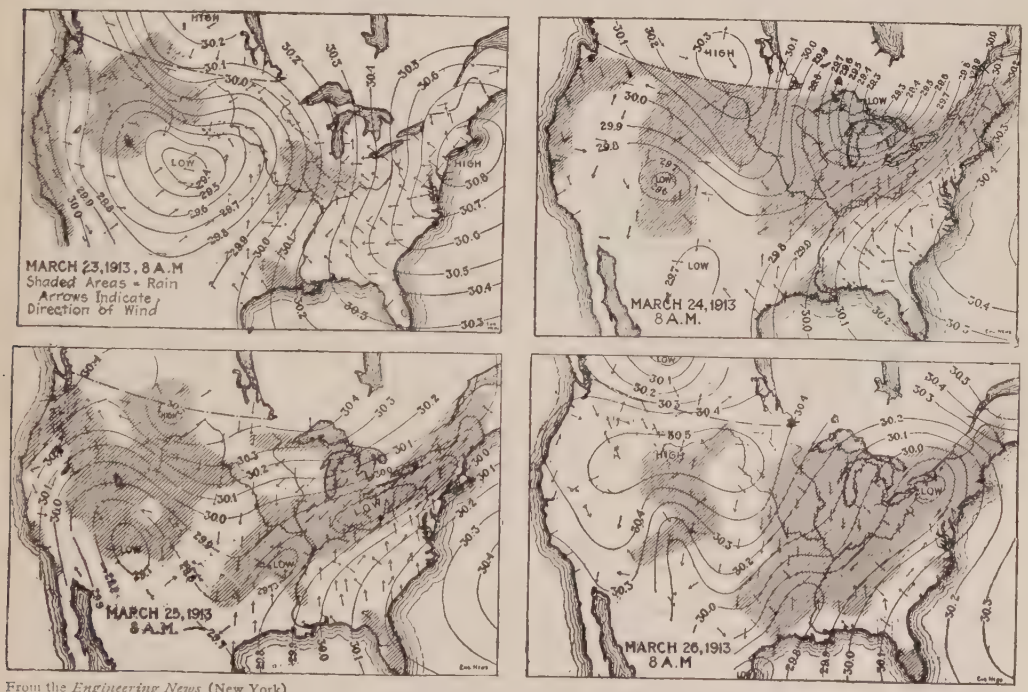
NOT even yet is it easy to take a dispassionate survey of the overwhelming catastrophes that overtook the Middle West during the latter part of March and the forepart of April, and to rough out such a story of the events as posterity will demand. Something may, however, be done toward bringing order out of the chaos of news and rumor, and disentangling the underlying facts from a plethora of unessential detail.

No coherent impression of these events is possible unless it is strung upon the meteorological record, and the latter is best presented by means of a series of daily weather maps, such as are published by the Weather Bureau all over the country in the newspapers and in the form of broadsides issued by the various stations of that service.

It should be explained at the outset that nearly every variety of bad weather depends upon the passage across the country from west to east of great eddies in the atmosphere known as "cyclones," "barometric depressions," or "lows." These are areas of relatively low atmospheric pressure, thousands of square miles in extent, around which the winds blow in incurving spirals in a direction contrary to that of the hands of a clock. They are interspersed with "anticyclones" or "highs," which are rather inert masses of air, of much less meteorological importance. Cyclones are continually traversing the country—one or more will be found on every day's weather map—and they are by no means always active enough to be regarded as "storms." On meteorological charts they are defined and located by means of isobars, *i. e.*, lines passing through places having the same barometric pressure at a given moment. The observations on which such charts are based are taken simultaneously at 8 a. m. and 8 p. m., Eastern time, at about 200 places scattered over the country, the results being telegraphed immediately to the forecasting centers of the Weather Bureau.

THE RAINS OF MARCH

March, the transition month between winter and spring, is distinguished by a great


MARCH 23, 1913, 8 A.M.
Shaded Areas = Rain
Arrows Indicate Direction of Wind
MARCH 24, 1913 8 A.M.
MARCH 25, 1913 8 A.M.
MARCH 26, 1913 8 A.M.

From the *Engineering News* (New York)

U. S. WEATHER MAPS, MARCH 23-26, 1913 (8 A. M., EASTERN TIME)

(The curved lines show the reading of the barometer at points through which they pass, in inches and tenths. Arrows fly with the wind. Shaded areas show where rain had fallen during the 24 hours ending 8 a. m. "Lows" or cyclones are regions of low barometric pressure, around which the winds blow contrary to the direction of the hands of a clock, while the whole system drifts east or northeast across the country)

diversity in the paths of its cyclones. So far as the eastern half of the country is concerned, the depressions that pass east along the northern tier of States do not cause heavy rainfall or bring floods; an isolated "low" moving up toward the Ohio valley and the Lake region from the southwest may or may not bring floods, according to the state of the ground, the presence or absence of snow, and other conditions; but a series of "southwest lows" in rapid succession at this season is nearly sure to cause floods over the Ohio valley, and more or less generally over the region within the path of these disturbances.

Last March was marked by a "southwest low" of enormous size and intensity, covering the whole country east of the Rockies, on the 14th, bringing heavy rains in its eastern semi-circle, which included the Ohio valley. Then, after a brief respite, a procession of "lows" began on the 19th; each of them moving from the southwest to and across the Great Lakes, except the fourth and last of the series, which developed into a long trough of low pressure lying with its principal axis along the whole extent of the Ohio valley. The last-named region received copious and almost incessant rains from these disturbances, and unprecedented floods resulted.

DESTRUCTIVE TORNADOES

Before discussing these floods, however, let us go back and take note of some earlier effects of the cyclones just mentioned. A storm which was central over lower Michigan on the morning of the 21st was accompanied by violent and destructive winds belonging to the main circulation around its center, and by a number of tornadoes on its southerly edge, in Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Tennessee, and Missouri, which cost upwards of fifty lives. A tornado is a very small but inconceivably violent eddy in a cyclone, usually on its southeast border. It is not uncommon for several tornadoes to develop about the same time a few hundred miles from the center of the main storm.

Another "low," which passed rapidly east from Colorado to the Lake region on Easter Sunday, March 23d, was accompanied by a group of tornadoes in Nebraska, Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin. These were among the most disastrous in the history of the country, killing about 240 people and injuring about 700, besides doing immense damage to property. The greatest losses occurred at Omaha, where a tornado passed diagonally across the western and northern parts of the city about 6:50 p. m. In and near this place 136 people were killed and about 400 injured, while the property loss was estimated at $5,000,000. In destructiveness this tornado ranks second only to the St. Louis tornado of May 27, 1896. The impression it produced upon the public mind throughout the country was, however, largely effaced two days later by the greater calamities in the Ohio valley. From a scientific point of view the Omaha tornado was remarkably interesting for the reason that it occurred almost at the very center of a cyclone, a location that is perhaps without precedent.

SATURATION OF OHIO AND INDIANA WATER SHEDS

By the evening of Monday, the 24th, floods were already imminent over the northern slope of the Ohio basin in the States of Ohio and Indiana. The cyclones of the preceding five days had, as usual, drawn huge volumes of warm, moist air from the great reservoirs of the Atlantic and the Gulf, to be cooled in their passage northward, condense their vapor into clouds, and yield torrential rains—the familiar process by which the sea feeds the rivers, but in this case carried on with exaggerated activity. The ground was soon saturated, and the whole of the further rainfall drained away into the streams. However, the situation on the 24th was not in the highest degree alarming, for in the first place there was little melting snow to be reckoned with, and in the second the outlook for fair weather was encouraging. The unexampled floods that visited the northern tributaries of the Ohio, beginning on the 25th, can be explained by the single fact that the rains, already excessive, did not cease with the retreat of the cyclone that had caused the recent tornadoes, but were continued, with increased intensity, by the rapid intrusion of a trough-like barometric depression northeastward from the Mississippi valley. The reader must consult the weather maps of the 24th and 25th to see just what happened—and what may, so far as one can tell, happen again from time to time in the future.

THE HEAVIEST RAINFALL KNOWN IN THOSE STATES

The continuous downpour of March 23–26 in Ohio and Indiana was by far the heaviest general rainstorm ever experienced in those States. From the figures now available, the general precipitation in the two States for the

HOUSES JAMMED TOGETHER BY TORRENTS SWEEPING THROUGH THE STREETS (DAYTON)

WHERE THE LEVEE BROKE AT DAYTON, LOOSING THE FLOOD

RESCUING FAMILIES IN BOATS FROM THEIR HOMES AT DAYTON

RESCUE PARTY COMING TO THE RELIEF OF AN AGED COUPLE AT COLUMBUS

IN THE STREETS OF COLUMBUS AFTER THE BREAKING OF THE LEVEE

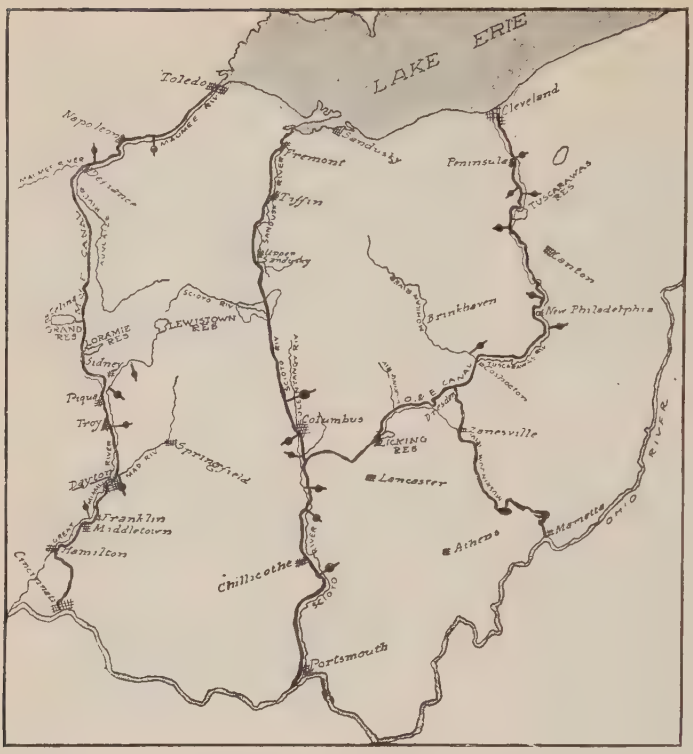
A SCENE IN MAIN STREET, ZANESVILLE, AFTER THE WATER HAD SUBSIDED

FLOOD SCENES IN DAYTON, COLUMBUS, AND ZANESVILLE

(From photographs copyrighted by the American Press Association, New York)

four days may be set down at about 6 inches, ranging locally from 3 to 12 inches. The normal precipitation for the whole month of March in the same region is from 2 to 4 inches. Thus Columbus had a four-day rainfall of 6.9 inches, as against a normal rainfall for the whole of March of 3.3 inches. The wettest March previously of record at Columbus had only 4.8 inches. The fall at Cincinnati was 7.5 inches; at Cleveland, 7.2 inches. The greatest intensity of rainfall, amounting to from 10 to 12 inches, appears to have occurred across north-central Ohio, about on the water-parting between the two main drainage slopes, on both of which the floods occurred.

However, it is hardly necessary to quote the



From the New York *Sun*

CANAL SYSTEMS OF OHIO, SHOWING STORAGE RESERVOIRS
(Dams broken or weakened indicated by small disks crossed by lines)

records of rain-gauges; since the floods speak for themselves—occurring, as they did, in a comparatively level country, where the streams are not especially sensitive to the effects of rainfall. Nearly all great floods in the Ohio Valley are fed mainly by the eastern and southern tributaries, which flow down, through a rugged country, from the lofty crests of the Alleghanies. The portion of the Ohio River basin lying in the States of Ohio and Indiana is, in general, a country of rolling hills, sloping back gently to a moderate plateau; beyond which lies the much narrower slope draining into the Great Lakes. Its principal streams are the Wabash, Great and Little Miami, Scioto, Hocking, and Muskingum. The short rivers flowing into Lake Erie include the Maumee, Sandusky, Black, and Cuyahoga. Some of these northern streams have a great rate of fall, but their catchments basins are so small that the transient floods to which they give rise are usually unimportant.

OHIO CITIES OVERWHELMED

During the night of March 24th practically all the streams of Ohio and Indiana passed their flood stages, and within 24 hours many of them reached heights far exceeding previous records. At Dayton, on the Miami, the highest stage, on the 25th, is reported to have been 8 feet above any previous flood. Here the levees broke, and two-thirds of the city, including the business section, was inundated—in some places to a depth of 20 feet. It is estimated that 70,000 people, out of a total population of 125,000, were marooned in the upper stories of buildings. Many fires broke out from overturned lamps and stoves, and great suffering was caused by lack of food, shelter and dry clothing, but the total loss of life, at first estimated at thousands, appears to have been only about 150. At Columbus the Scioto swept over the west side of the city, wrecking the homes of some 2,500 people, and drowning about 85. Hardly less serious conditions prevailed at Zanesville, Chillicothe, Delaware, Hamilton, Piqua, Tiffin, and many other places. According to an estimate made by Red Cross officials at Columbus on April 5, the total loss of life in Ohio was 454, while 77,133 people at that time stood in need of substantial aid for rehabilitation. On March 30 the Governor of Ohio estimated that half a million flood sufferers in his State would need relief for at least three weeks. A preliminary statement prepared by the Public Utilities Commission placed the property loss in Ohio at the colossal figure of $350,000,000—and this was before the disasters along the main river. In Indiana the loss of life was estimated at the end of March at 63, the greatest mortality having occurred at Peru and Brookville.

In point of material losses the recent Ohio valley floods probably surpass any previous disaster in the history of the country due to natural causes. In the extent of the attendant mortality, however, they occupy a comparatively low rank. Thus the local flood due to the bursting of the Johnstown dam in 1889 is commonly stated to have cost 5,000 lives; while the storm wave that overwhelmed Galveston in September, 1900,

took toll of about 6,000. In the San Francisco earthquake and fire about 500 people perished, *i. e.*, somewhat fewer than in the Ohio floods.

Returning, now, to the record of atmospheric phenomena, by March 26th the rainfall area had spread south of the Ohio River, and also northeast over the headwaters of that stream. With abnormal contributions of water from all its tributaries, a serious flood in the main river was inevitable. Meanwhile, with the movement of the low-pressure trough to the eastward, broadside-on, the area of excessive rains spread over the whole of the Atlantic States, and destructive floods occurred far beyond the limits of the Ohio River system. The upper Hudson experienced higher stages than were ever before known, with property losses at Albany estimated at a million dollars, and at Troy at two million. The Genesee, at Rochester, rose higher than at any time since 1864, and the inundations here are estimated to have entailed losses of half a million. Flood stages were passed in most of the important rivers of the State, and there were many scattered disasters. Severe floods also occurred over the James River system, in Virginia.

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PART OF AN EXPRESS TRAIN HURLED INTO THE RIVER AT COLUMBUS AFTER THE BREAKING OF A TRESTLE

PARALYSIS OF COMMUNICATION LINES

At last, on the 27th, the long-continued rains ceased all over the eastern States, with the passage of the low-pressure area out of the country by way of the St. Lawrence valley. In the afflicted Ohio valley the weather had turned cold. The latter part of the precipitation here occurred in the form of snow, and the suffering of the homeless thousands was greatly intensified. Although the rivers north of the Ohio at once began to subside rapidly, there was a long period of suspense before the exact state of affairs could be made known to the anxious world, and before the measures of relief, in which the whole country cooperated, could be made effective. This was due to the fact that telegraph lines and railways were almost completely paralyzed wherever the floods had raged. The *Electrical World* says: "It is believed that never before in the history of the United States has there been such a general prostration of telephone and telegraph lines as existed in the flood-swept districts on March 27." As to the railways, the *Engineering News* says: "All through railway communication across Ohio from east to west was broken, except for the line of the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern. Six trunk lines connecting New York with Chicago and St. Louis were completely interrupted for three days; viz., the Baltimore & Ohio, the Fort Wayne and Panhandle lines of the Pennsylvania system, the Erie, the Big Four, and the Nickel Plate."

Copyright by the American Press Association, New York
BRIDGE AT GLENS FALLS, N. Y., SWEPT AWAY BY THE TORRENT

RELIEF MEASURES

The National Red Cross, the War Department, and the local authorities organized prompt measures of relief. On behalf of the Red Cross, the President of the United States issued a public appeal for funds, to which the nation responded generously; upwards of a million and a half dollars was raised in the course of the next fortnight. Secretary of War Garrison and his Chief of Staff, Major General Wood, proceeded in person to Ohio as fast as the crippled railways would carry them. Besides rushing food and tents to the scene, the Government took steps to organize hospital facilities throughout the flood section, and to set on foot the active sanitary measures needed to prevent the outbreak of disease.

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RELIEF STATION AT DAYTON

By the end of March the situation was well in hand throughout the theater of the original floods; and with the discovery that the loss of life had been far less than was at first supposed that the tension of the previous days was vastly relieved. Meanwhile, however, grave dangers threatened in another quarter, for the Ohio River was now everywhere above flood stages, and ultimately, over a greater part of the river, the previous high-water records, those of 1884, were surpassed by from one to six feet. These conditions were, of course, announced in good season by the Weather Bureau, and there was accordingly no prospect of serious loss of life, but a dire struggle to save property from the river—an experience so often renewed in the Ohio valley—was at hand.

PERIL AT CAIRO

From this time interest focussed on Cairo, at the mouth of the river—always a critical point in an Ohio flood. A regiment of Illinois militia was hurried to this place, and detachments of other regiments were stationed at various points up the river. Besides maintaining order and actually working on the levees, the troops were kept busy impressing reluctant laborers to share in the common task. A detachment of the State Naval Reserve manned boats and aided in the work of rescue on the river.

On April 1 the levee went out at Columbus, Ky., driving some 1500 homeless people to the hills, and on the same day the levee at Shawneetown was cut and that place almost completely wiped out by the waters. On April 4 new complications developed, when a ten-hour downpour caused fresh floods at Dayton, Columbus, and other points on the tributaries, and swelled the flood in the Ohio. The Howell levee, between Howell and Evansville, gave way despite three days' heroic work to protect it.

By April 5th the crisis already appeared to be passed at Cairo, where the escape of the Ohio waters into the Mississippi through Cache Creek and the breaking of levees in Missouri had somewhat relieved the great pressure of the water. By the 8th the danger was practically over at Cairo, and the lower Mississippi was in the throes of a flood promising to surpass that of 1912. At this writing the ultimate extent of the disaster in the Mississippi valley below Cairo is still problematical.

OUR ANNUAL FLOOD BILL, $50,000,000!

A retrospect of the occurrences up to date suggests the urgent necessity of doing everything that is humanly possible to obviate or at least mitigate the standing menace of the great Ohio river system, not only on account of the vast interests at stake in the drainage basin of that stream itself, but because it is notoriously the mainspring of trouble in the much-afflicted lower Mississippi. An immense amount of earnest attention has recently been devoted to this problem, some results of which will be found incorporated in the reports of the National Waterways Commission and the Ohio Flood Commission.

Aside from the recent unparalleled disaster, it is a stupendous fact that Ohio floods have for years caused devastation to the extent of at least $50,000,000 annually, on an average.

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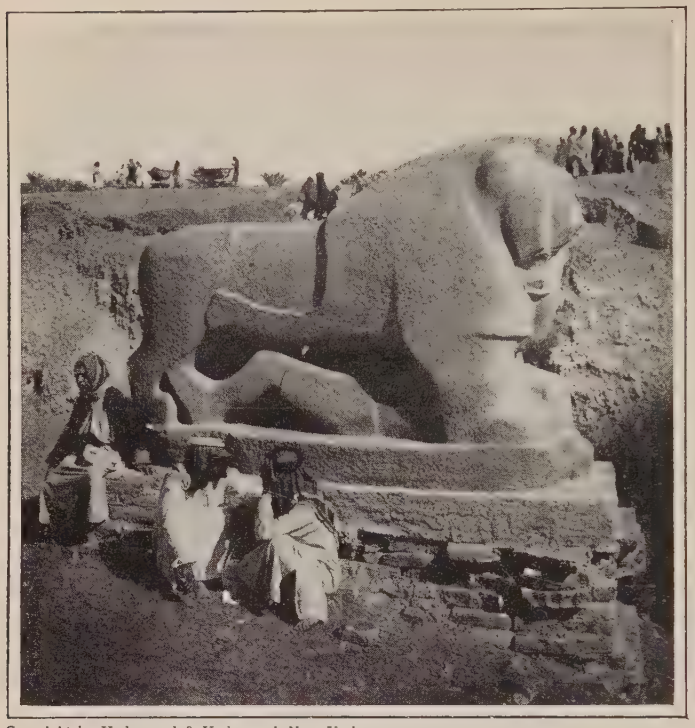
THE RUINS OF ANCIENT BABYLON UNCOVERED BY GERMAN ARCHÆOLOGISTS

UNCOVERING BABYLON

IN the Asiatic empire to which Turkey is now withdrawing, there are many monuments of human history of deep interest to all the races of the west. No section of the habitable world is perhaps more absorbingly interesting to-day than the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, in which, according to tradition and science, the human race had its cradle.

The ancient empires of this Near East are being uncovered by the efforts of the archæologists, and we are beginning to see how the Assyrians, Chaldeans and Babylonians lived. These investigations are in part confirming, and in part apparently contradictory, of the descriptions given by the classical writers. All the checkered history of Babylon as it passed through the hands of its various conquerors is told in the inscriptions that have been and are still being deciphered by the learned archæologists of Germany, France and England. The Germans have been particularly active in the excavation and exploration of the ruins of the city of Babylon.

The valley of the Tigris and the Euphrates, generally known as Mesopotamia, was at one time one of the richest agricultural regions of the world. Early in the history of the human race two splendid cities, each, in turn, capital of the Assyrian empire, arose in this valley—Babylon on the Euphrates, and Nineveh on the Tigris. Babylon is undoubtedly one of the most celebrated cities of all history. The ancient chroniclers tell us that these walls were forty-two miles long and rose three or four hundred feet in the air. The Chaldean priests ascribed to it the antiquity of 400,000 years, but the book of Genesis in the Christian Bible fixes its foundation within the historical period. It ascribes the building of Babylon to Nimrod,



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HUGE SCULPTURED LION FOUND IN BABYLON

the mighty hunter. Semiramis, the famous queen, was one of the Babylonian monarchs. It was she who constructed the quays and built the Hanging Gardens and the wall. When Nineveh was destroyed in 789 B. C., Babylon became supreme. Nebuchadnezzar, its king, defeated the Egyptians, destroyed Jerusalem, took Tyre, and adorned his capital with many magnificent monuments. Cyrus, king of the Persians, captured Babylon, and made it one of his capitals. So did Alexander the Great. For centuries nothing was seen on the spot it occupied except a heap of ruins, for which the Arabs had such a superstitious reverence that they declined to pitch their tents there, and which remained only a lair for the beasts of the desert.

We reproduce on these three pages some especially good photographs of the results of these excavations, photographs which have been only recently made and are quite new to American readers.

Babylon was utterly abandoned by human inhabitants long before the Christian era. In fact, it almost disappeared from the surface of the earth. In the latter part of the past century, however, archæologists began to explore and excavate in various parts of Mesopotamia. In 1899, the German Orient Company (*Deutsche Orientgesellschaft*) began systematic work in the city of Babylon. The director was Professor Koldewey, an eminent German archæologist (who had already excavated in Arabia, Asia Minor, Greece and Italy) and the work was done under the direct patronage of the German Emperor himself. It was learned that the ancient city lay on both sides of the river Euphrates, that there was a movable drawbridge joining the two parts of the city together and ferry boats plying between the two landing places of the gates.

The first picture we show is a general view of the remains of the city as now uncovered by the Germans. The figure showing on the left stands upon a piece of brick pavement, which, it has been found, formed a part of the long street named after the Hebrew prophet Daniel. He himself, undoubtedly, walked along this thoroughfare many times. To the right of the picture, in the hollow, is the gate named after the Goddess Isthar. This is the most prominent ruin, and perhaps the best preserved of all Babylon. The gate, which is shown in another of our pictures, consists of six square pillars, three on each side, each forty feet high and twelve feet broad, resting against the walls of temples and other structures. The so-called processional road of the God Marduk led through the gate. Passing it and turning to the right, the way led to Nebuchadnezzar's Throne Hall. These two monuments, the gate and the throne hall, almost alone escaped the hands of the Arabs, who, for succeeding centuries, have devastated Babylon of all the bricks they could find, carrying them away to build their own squalid towns. On all the sides, it will be noticed, the walls are ornamented with relief of the sacred bull, the holy animal of the Babylonians. A closer view of one of these embossed figures of the sacred bull of Nebo is shown in another photograph. The sculptured lion, on this page, was probably one of the earliest chiselled works of the Babylonians. It shows a huge lion standing over a man. This, which is

the largest piece of sculpture so far unearthed in the ancient city, was hewn from a block of granite. It was apparently never completed and bears no inscription to tell its age or history.

It is pointed out by the photographer that the ruins are a pale yellow-brown in color, with a slight tint of red. The lion, however, is steel-grey blue in color.

The excavation of Babylon is not yet completed. A good deal of the ancient city still lies beneath some 40 or 50 feet of later ruins. The city being excavated by the Germans is chiefly the capital of Nebuchadnezzar. In fact, nothing preceding the time of Sennacherib has been found. That monarch boasted that he completely destroyed the first Babylon, throwing even its foundations into the river Euphrates. On one of the larger mounds known as Babil, Dr. Koldewey believes there stood the ancient structure known in the Bible as the Tower of Babel. The excavators have already revealed hugh arches of passage ways leading through the ruins. These arches, modern scholars believe, once supported the famous Hanging Gardens. The explanation is that the overhanging foliage of the different terraces gave the appearance of being suspended in the air.

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THE HOLY BULL OF NEBO FOUND ON ALL THE WALLS OF ANCIENT BABYLON

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THE TRIUMPHAL GATEWAY OF THE GODDESS ISTHAR IN BABYLON

The German zeal for investigation in this is undoubtedly due primarily to scholarship. In fact, funds for the work have been subscribed, as has already been said, by the *Deutsche Orientgesellschaft.* However, it may be that there is also a political motive behind the work. The ambition of the German government to dominate in the Near East is well known. When the Bagdad railroad is completed across the northern desert, which will be a triumph of German diplomacy and engineering skill, this land of vast mineral wealth, agricultural possibilities, and ancient ruins may then become, to all intents and purposes, German territory.

THE "SANTA CRUZ"

(This new ship, owned by W. R. Grace & Co., with three sister steamers built by the same house, will be operated in a fortnightly service from New York and Philadelphia through the Panama Canal to San Francisco and Puget Sound)

AMERICAN SHIPS FOR PANAMA

BY WINTHROP L. MARVIN

IS the American flag to be a stranger in the Panama Canal when it is completed? Will all maritime nations be prepared and ready then to make use of that canal except the nation whose money and energy have built it?

These are questions sharply raised by current discussion of the canal and its probable opening within the present year. They may be answered in part by "yes" and in part by "no." So far as international commerce via Panama is concerned, not one new keel is being laid in the United States, and not one new ship has even been projected. The Panama Canal act of last August reversed our former policy and granted free American registry to foreign-built ships for international commerce, through the Panama Canal or elsewhere. But this "free-ship" experiment has utterly failed. Not one foreign craft has hoisted the American flag; not one request for the flag has reached the Bureau of Navigation. Foreign-built ships when admitted to American registry cost as much to officer, man, and maintain as American-built ships, and are not eligible for foreign subsidies.

If international trade with South America, Oceanica, and the Orient were all, it might well be assumed that the Stars and Stripes were never to be seen at Panama save as borne by some casual yacht or man-of-war. But there is another and a great and important traffic served by the canal—the purely American coastwise traffic between ports of the United States, including Porto Rico, on the Atlantic, and ports of the United States, including Hawaii and Alaska, on the Pacific. All this commerce under century-old national laws must be carried in American ships; and for this commerce American shipowners are making the most vigorous and far-sighted preparations.

The American merchant marine as it exists to-day is very much larger and more powerful than those who are unfamiliar with it may imagine. It is in aggregate tonnage the second mercantile fleet in the world—a fleet of 7,714,183 tons, as officially reported on July 1, 1912. Of this significant total, 2,949,924 tons is represented by the shipping of the great Northern lakes, but the Atlantic fleet is larger still, or 3,625,595 tons, and the Pacific fleet is 963,319 tons. These vessels, with the craft of Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Western rivers, make up the aggregate of 7,714,183 tons, all but 932,101 tons of which is employed in coastwise or domestic commerce. Our coastwise fleet of 6,782,082 tons compares impressively with the 1,380,057 tons of British shipping employed wholly or partly in the coastwise trade of the United Kingdom, or with the entire German merchant marine, in both foreign and coastwise commerce, of 4,593,095 tons, or with the total

2,088,065 tons of France or with the total 1,452,849 tons of Italy. The coastwise laws have kept alive the spirit of maritime skill and enterprise in the United States.

RAILROAD SHIPS BARRED OUT

Congress, in the act of last August, saw fit to bar wholly from the Panama waterway all vessels in which transcontinental railroads had any direct or indirect interest. This struck at once from the list of builders of new canal tonnage the richest and most powerful transportation companies in America—for before this sudden prohibition several great railroad corporations were planning to seek a share of the Panama trade. However, the field was left free to distinctively shipowning companies, and some already in existence and others newly organized are moving to set the Stars and Stripes foremost in the procession when the Gatun gates are opened a few months hence.

Already, before the canal is a fact, the merchandise shipped between the Atlantic and Pacific ports of the United States has attained an annual value of $125,000,000, of which about one-fifth is carried via the Panama Railroad and its steamship connections, and four-fifths via the Mexican railroad across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. The steamship service from our Pacific ports to Panama has long been performed chiefly by the Pacific Mail Company, whose fleet under its present ownership will presumably be denied the use of the canal—for the Pacific Mail is controlled by the Southern Pacific Railroad. On the Atlantic side, the coastwise service between Colon and New York is that of the Panama Railroad Steamship Company, owned by the United States government.

ONE FLEET OF TWENTY-SIX STEAMERS

Neither the Pacific Mail nor the government line is constructing a single new ship for the canal commerce. Both, it is supposed, will disappear as definite factors when the canal is opened, their ships passing, perhaps, to other hands. But the field will instantly be occupied by several new and powerful competitors. First in magnitude is the American-Hawaiian Steamship Company, now operating the largest sea-cargo fleet under the American flag. This company, a direct lineal successor to the Yankee clipper ships of Cape Horn fame, came into existence when the coastwise navigation laws were extended, in 1900, to newly annexed Hawaii. The American-Hawaiian managers quickly utilized the opportunity by the construction first of three cargo-carrying steamships of a superior type, and then as the trade grew of others, until in 1910 the company possessed a fleet of eighteen steamers, all American-built, of a total dead-weight capacity of 190,000 tons.

The long 13,000-mile route through the Straits of Magellan was first followed between Hawaii and our Pacific coast and the Atlantic coast—a voyage of sixty days. When in 1907 the Tehuantepec Railway was opened, with ports on Atlantic and Pacific, the American-Hawaiian Company ran its ships to these terminals, transshipped its freight, and reduced to thirty days the time required for delivery between San Francisco and New York. The Panama Canal all-

THE "MINNESOTAN," OF THE AMERICAN-HAWAIIAN LINE

(One of a fleet of twenty-six ships to engage in Atlantic-Pacific trade by the Panama route. The *Minnesotan* was built at Sparrow's Point, Md., and has a dead-weight capacity of 11,148 tons and a speed of thirteen knots)

water route, avoiding transshipment and port delays, will reduce this still further, to twenty days or less. Realizing its new opportunity, this company has ordered eight more steamships of 10,000 tons dead-weight capacity each, the first of which are afloat and the rest building, at the yard of the Maryland Steel Company, near Baltimore—the heaviest contracts ever placed by an American steamship company with an American shipyard in a single year. Six of the American-Hawaiian steamers are being fitted with refrigerating space, and will offer the first chance for the transportation of Hawaiian pineapples and California oranges and other fruits to the Atlantic States by a route independent of the railroads. The whole fleet of this company is as follows:

AMERICAN-HAWAIIAN STEAMSHIP COMPANY'S FLEET

Steamer	Where Built	Dead-Weight Capacity Tons	Speed Knots
American	Chester, Pa.	10,179	11
Californian	San Francisco	10,179	11
Hawaiian	Chester, Pa.	10,179	11
Oregonian	Chester, Pa.	10,179	11
Alaskan	San Francisco	13,882	11
Texan	Camden, N. J.	13,832	12
Nevadan	Camden, N. J.	6,005	12
Nebraskan	Camden, N. J.	6,005	12
Arizonan	San Francisco	13,955	11
Kansan	Camden, N. J.	13,014	12
Virginian	Sparrow's Point, Md.	13,403	12
Missourian	Sparrow's Point, Md.	13,403	12
Mexican	San Francisco	13,763	12
Columbian	San Francisco	13,762	12
Isthmian	San Francisco	8,064	11
Kentuckian	Sparrow's Point, Md.	11,138	12
Honolulan	Sparrow's Point, Md.	10,780	13
Georgian	Sparrow's Point, Md.	11,138	12
Minnesotan	Sparrow's Point, Md.	11,148	13
Dakotan	Sparrow's Point, Md.	11,148	13
Montanan[1]	Sparrow's Point, Md.	11,148	13
Pennsylvanian[1]	Sparrow's Point, Md.	11,148	13
Panaman[1]	Sparrow's Point, Md.	11,148	13
Washingtonian[1]	Sparrow's Point, Md.	11,148	13
Iowan[1]	Sparrow's Point, Md.	11,148	13
Ohioan[1]	Sparrow's Point, Md.	11,148	13
		292,044[2]	

[1] Under construction.
[2] Tons of 2000 pounds.

AMERICAN SHIPS OF W. R. GRACE & COMPANY

The American-Hawaiian Company will be in a position to double its freight capacity over the shortened route. It will have sailings every three days from the Atlantic and every three days from the Pacific, and this fleet of itself will have the capacity to carry more merchandise than is now passing via both the Tehuantepec and the Panama rail routes from coast to coast. But, of course, this commerce will immediately and greatly expand when the canal is opened, and American steamship men are organizing new services to meet the swelling traffic. One of the strongest of American shipping firms, the house of W. R. Grace & Company, of New York, long engaged in trade with the west coast of South America, has three steamships for the canal route under construction in the Cramp shipyard at Philadelphia—the *Santa Clara*, *Santa Catalina*, and *Santa Cecelia*, modern cargo vessels of eleven knots speed and 9000 tons dead-weight capacity, and a fourth steamship, completed at this yard, the *Santa Cruz*, of eleven knots and 7000 tons dead-weight capacity, has already sailed for the Pacific via the Straits of Magellan. W. R. Grace & Company will operate their four new American steamers in a fortnightly service from New York and Philadelphia through the Panama Canal to San Francisco and Puget Sound.

LARGE SHIPS OF THE INTERNATIONAL

A third contributor to the service through the Panama Canal will be the International Mercantile Marine Company, the great Morgan combination of transatlantic lines, two of whose five American-built ships, the *Finland* and *Kroonland*, have lately rehoisted the Stars and Stripes for the express purpose of engaging in this service. The *Finland* and *Kroonland*, passenger and cargo steamers of sixteen knots speed, 7500 tons dead-weight capacity and 12,760 tons gross register, will be the largest ships employed in the coastwise trade. Steamship managers recognize that, though the waterway will be availed of primarily for the carrying of merchandise, there will always be some passenger traffic.

The Cramp yard has lately received a contract for two steamers 500 feet in length and of the very high speed of twenty-three knots, with accommodations for one thousand passengers in the first, second, and third classes altogether. The ownership and trade of these important new vessels have not yet been announced, but the steamers are reported to be designed for the Panama trade.

THE LUCKENBACH AND OTHER FLEETS

Another American shipping house which will be an active factor in the coast-to-coast trade is the Luckenbach Steamship Company of New York. Besides a considerable fleet of ocean-going barges and tugs, this company

THE "KROONLAND" (INTERNATIONAL MERCANTILE MARINE)

(This ship, like the *Finland* of the same company, has lately rehoisted the Stars and Stripes for the express purpose of engaging in the coastwise-Panama service. These are both passenger and cargo steamers of sixteen knots' speed and 12,760 tons gross register—the largest ships employed in the coastwise trade)

controls ten cargo-carrying steamers with a capacity of from 4000 to 7000 tons, some of which have been engaged in the long-distance carrying trade through the Straits of Magellan. This company has been planning to construct two or more new steamships, and in preparation for the canal trade has just taken up the service on the Pacific to and from Panama that was relinquished by the California-Atlantic Company of San Francisco.

Another New York shipping firm that will be in a position to enter the coastwise trade through the canal with some of its increasing fleet of cargo steamers is A. H. Bull & Company, whose vessels run to New England, the Southern ports, and Porto Rico. There has been in the past three years a notable development on the Atlantic coast of well-designed, efficient, economical freighting steamships, for the coal, lumber, sugar, oil, sulphur, and phosphate trades. The Coastwise Transportation Company, the New England Coal & Coke Company, and the Boston-Virginia Company of Boston have rapidly created excellent American-built steam fleets of this useful all-round type, and though most of these vessels are employed on time charters in Atlantic waters a certain proportion of this tonnage may well be regarded as available for the longer coastwise voyages through the canal in case of need.

A NEW GROUP OF LAKE-BUILT OCEAN FREIGHTERS

It is unquestionably a fact that, aside from the regular passenger and freight lines on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, all the owners of new ocean-going steamships built in the ocean shipyards of this country during the past two or three years have taken the Panama Canal very closely into their calculations, and that long before its actual opening the great waterway has powerfully helped to swell the tonnage of the American merchant marine.

Nor is this true of the ocean yards alone. The effect of the canal is manifest also in the records of the enterprising yards of the great Northern lakes. Ten or twelve excellent cargo steamers of the conventional ocean "tramp" type, from 250 to 260 feet in length with a speed of from ten to twelve knots and a cargo capacity of about 4000 tons, have been constructed at Toledo and Detroit within a few months, expressly for Atlantic and Pacific service. These ships are built to the maximum limit of the locks of the Welland Canal, through which they must pass on their way to the St. Lawrence River and the ocean. Most of them are now in commission in Atlantic waters. Pending the opening of the canal, some of these new American freighters are engaged in the Atlantic coasting and others in the West India trade. One has gone on a voyage to the Mediterranean with wheat—a trade in which the American flag has seldom been seen in a third of a century.

A RECORD YEAR FOR THE SHIPYARDS

The year 1912 was an active year in shipbuilding all over the world. Shipyard records were broken everywhere, but it is a significant fact that though our country plays almost no part in the vast business of international carrying, the year's shipbuilding progress was greatest in the United States—our ratio of gain in newly launched tonnage over the previous year being stated by Lloyd's as 66 per cent., as compared with 50 per cent. for Germany and 45 per cent. for Italy, the next in rate of increase.

How much of an influence upon American shipbuilding the remission of canal tolls to

American coastwise craft has exerted, it is impossible to tell. It is quite likely that there is a certain calculable value in the privilege, but it was not asked for by shipowners themselves. As President Dearborn of the American-Hawaiian Company said before the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce:

> The no-toll business is a matter of principle. We would not spend one dollar in any propaganda for no tolls, because the shipper is going to pay for it. It is an operating expense.

That is, if tolls are exacted they will be paid by the men who own the cargo, not by the men who own the ship. And thus the remission of the tolls in the long run would benefit not the shipowners but the planters, manufacturers, or merchants who actually requested it. It is the coastwise navigation law rather than exemption from tolls that is filling the shipyards and launching this new American ocean tonnage.

It is estimated that the American steamship companies which have already signified their intention to run steamers through the Panama Canal from coast to coast will have enough steamers when the canal is completed to dispatch a ship from the Atlantic or from the Pacific practically every business day throughout the year. This means that there will always be an American coastwise ship in the canal—a ship of a regular line service for general freight on a fixed, announced schedule. In addition, there will be the "tramp" business of sailings whenever needed of bulk-cargo carriers of coal, wheat, asphalt and lumber—a traffic for which the new lake-built ocean craft and the large so-called "steam schooners" of the Pacific are especially adapted.

A GREAT COMPETITIVE TRADE

There will be competition, keen and incessant, for this American canal business. The companies that are engaging in it are known to the maritime world as wholly separate, rival individualities, aloof from railroads, and absolutely dependent upon the increase of their own sea-borne trade. Their new ships, built and building, are of the true deep-sea type, and so must be their officers and sailors. Much of our local coastwise tonnage creeps along shore. These canal-trade ships will go boldly out on a voyage of 5000 or 6000 miles, twice the length of a North Atlantic passage. Every steamer that swings through the new waterway between our eastern and our western seaboard will be a potential part of our naval auxiliary or naval reserve. The twenty-six fine vessels of one company alone have a capacity sufficient to coal and supply the whole battleship fleet of the United States on another voyage around the world.

The foreign trade of our own and other nations through the Panama Canal will be conveyed for some time beneath alien flags, for American nautical enterprise and skill cannot now compete with the double handicap of cheap alien wages and alien subsidies. But in the great American coastwise trade which United States laws reserve to American ships controlled by loyal citizens of the republic, there will be a fair chance and honest and equal competition. In this trade American shipowners are prepared to "make good" with the most important new steam fleet ever created at one time for our ocean-going commerce—a fleet which may well prove to be the nucleus later on of another vigorous and successful American competition in the broad field of international carrying.

THE "A. A. RAVEN," BUILT ON THE DETROIT RIVER IN 1912 FOR ATLANTIC AND PACIFIC SERVICE

GOVERNMENT RAILROADS FOR ALASKA

BY GUY ELLIOTT MITCHELL

A GREAT, rich, and neglected territory belonging to the people of the United States, is coming into its own. The promise of hope fulfilled is held out strongly to Alaska in the work and recommendations of the Alaska Railroad Commission, whose report to Congress was made public early in March. In transmitting this admirable document President Taft made an outright recommendation for the construction by the United States of two trunk line roads at an estimated cost of $35,000,000 and the friends of Alaska are now hopeful of securing an equally favorable recommendation from President Wilson.

On August 24, 1912, Congress provided for the appointment, by the President, of a railroad commission to visit Alaska and make an immediate report on the "transportation question in the Territory of Alaska; to examine railroad routes from the seaboard to the coal fields and to the interior, and navigable waterways; to secure surveys and other information with respect to railroads, including cost of construction and operation; to obtain information in respect to the coal fields and their proximity to railroad routes; and to make report of the facts to Congress together with conclusions and recommendations in respect to the best and most available routes for railroads in Alaska which will develop the country and the resources thereof for the use of the people of the United States."

The President at once appointed a commission consisting of Major Jay J. Morrow, Corps of Engineers, U. S. A., Chairman; Alfred H. Brooks, United States Geological Survey, Vice-Chairman; Leonard M. Cox, civil engineer, U. S. N., and Colin M. Ingersoll, consulting engineer, of New York. Three of the members are engineers and the vice-chairman is the head of the Division of Alaskan Mineral Resources of the Geological Survey. Proceeding immediately to Alaska, the commission visited the southern and central parts of the territory, including the available harbors and practically all of the railroads, and by an overland trip of some 700 miles, to Fairbanks, gained a knowledge of the interior.

The report submitted is not only highly optimistic but it is such a thoroughgoing document as might well be expected from a body

THE ALASKA RAILROAD COMMISSION

(Standing,—left to right,—Dr. Alfred H. Brooks; Leonard M. Cox. Sitting,—left to right,—Colin M. Ingersoll and Major Jay J. Morrow, chairman)

"PACKING,"—STILL NECESSARY ON THE MOUNTAINS OF ALASKA

(On this and the opposite page are shown the various transportation methods now employed in Alaska in the general absence of railroads)

of men so eminently qualified to consider the greatest needs of a new country—railroads. President Taft could probably have sought far and wide before finding a better equipped or harder working group of experts to attack this important special problem. Major Morrow's wide experience in the construction of river fortifications on the Potomac River and in river and harbor improvement at Portland and elsewhere; Lieutenant-Commander Cox's railroad service, especially that connected with coal-mine roads, and his expert knowledge gained from service in the Bureau of Yards and Docks of the Navy; Mr. Ingersoll's broad experience as a railroad and railroad bridge construction engineer and as chairman of a board of harbor commissioners, and Mr. Brooks' intimate acquaintance with the physical conditions in Alaska gained from fifteen annual trips including nearly every portion of the great territory and a close study of its geography and resources during that period, all combined to equip the commission with about every qualification desired for the work undertaken.

The commission points out clearly not only the entire feasibility of providing adequate railroad facilities for Alaska, but the immense results which will follow. It calls attention to the fact that there are not only vast undeveloped mineral resources, but also large areas of farming and grazing lands in Alaska. These are south of the Arctic Circle, and fully as capable of high development as the lands of Norway and Sweden, and of an area equal to that of all the States lying east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio and Mason and Dixon's line. The climate of the Pacific coast region is comparatively mild and while that of the interior is more severe it is not unfavorable to colonization and agriculture.

The development of Alaska, it is well recognized, centers around two questions, the opening of the coal fields and transportation. The former is dependent upon the latter. The vast resources of this enormous territory are unquestioned, but without an adequate transportation system they will remain largely potential, undeveloped, and unused; given this lacking factor Alaska must respond

STAGE TRAVEL FROM VALDEZ TO FAIRBANKS

PROSPECTOR WITH PACKS AND DOGS

(The importance of the dog as a factor in Alaskan transportation is further illustrated in the picture at the bottom of this page and in the winter scene on page 584)

to a degree which will make even the great activity and the large production of the past eight or ten years seem trivial by comparison.

The commission was undoubtedly fortunate, considering the vastness of the territory to be examined and the shortness of the time, in finding a large supply of maps and data on transportation routes already at hand as a result of the extensive work of the Geological Survey and also the data bearing on agriculture, commerce, navigation, etc., of other government agencies. Drawing on this in large part, it has discussed in its report all the feasible transportation routes, both water

OX-SLED, USED FOR HEAVY FREIGHTING

DOG-TEAM AND SLED

(A dog-team like this, carrying the United States mails, has made the distance of 412 miles between Nome and Cripple Creek in 82 hours and 2 minutes)

MAP SHOWING THE RAILWAY ROUTES AND COAL FIELDS OF ALASKA

and rail, including operating lines, but its definite recommendation resolves itself into the construction of two main or trunk lines, from tidewater and the two principal coal fields on the southern coast to the two interior valleys of the Kuskokwim and the Yukon-Tanana.

THE KUSKULANA BRIDGE ON THE KENNICOTT BRANCH, COPPER RIVER & NORTHWESTERN RAILWAY

Utilizing the results of many private railway surveys, as well as the topographic maps and geologic data available, it has been possible to lay out routes with maximum grades, north and south, of from 1.13 to 2 per cent. at an average cost of construction per mile of from $44,600 to $52,300. The commission believes that the two main lines recommended will form systems that will at once advance development in the territory. The recommendation for two trunk lines connecting navigable waters is in accord with the natural evolution of railway construction. In new countries the first lines of communication established are always those built over the main divides and connecting with navigable waters, and thus serving to supplement water transportation. It is only in well-settled countries that lines tying together such transverse systems and paralleling waterways are built. The industrial advancement which will follow the building of the main trunk lines can not fail to call for the extension of many branches to serve adjacent districts. There is no reason to believe that such branches will not follow in Alaska as they have in all railroad history, and such extensions will ultimately provide for intercommunication between the two systems recommended.

The unanimous conclusion of the commission is that this 733 miles of new construction

WHARF AND HARBOR AT CORDOVA, THE SOUTHERN TERMINUS OF THE RAILROAD TO FAIRBANKS, RECOMMENDED BY THE COMMISSION

should be undertaken at once and prosecuted with vigor, "under some system which will insure low transportation charges and the consequent rapid settlement of this new land and the utilization of its great resources." This new construction will connect with lines already built and will give through transportation to the interior valleys.

Of the two lines recommended, one is from the excellent harbor at Cordova on the southern coast of Alaska, running north, tapping the famous Bering River coal fields and on through to the huge Yukon and Tanana valleys with their great mineral and agricultural resources; the other line, with Seward, situated on the extensive harbor of Resurrection Bay as a tidewater terminal, taps the Matanuska coal field, passes through the lower Susitana Valley, and opens up the great Kuskokwim Valley, lying to the west of the Alaska Range. Both of these terminal harbors are ice-free throughout the year and within four days' sail of Seattle. With the construction of the roads recommended therefrom there should be continuous, uninterrupted transportation between the far interior of Alaska and the United States, with no greater difficulties than are overcome in crossing the Rocky Mountains or the Sierra of California.

Of these lines the more important, perhaps, is the Cordova-Fairbanks route, the estimated

ON COPPER RIVER & NORTHWESTERN RAILWAY

WINTER TRAVEL BY DOG POWER ON THE ALASKA NORTHERN RAILWAY

(This line is not completed and traffic does not warrant the expense of train operation in the winter months)

cost of which is $13,971,000. With a through freight rate of $24.43 per ton and a passenger rate of $26.70, this road, it is believed, will pay 3 per cent. interest on its cost, while the rates are sufficiently low to stimulate the development of this great region. Similar estimates are also given for the road from Seward to the Kuskokwim. The mineral and agricultural resources of these enormous interior valleys are known to be very great. In the Tanana Valley alone there is estimated to be some 2,500,000 acres of proven agricultural land, besides large areas of grazing land, and much gold-lode and placer territory. The valley of the Kuskokwim is not so well known, but it includes the rich Iditarod gold district and is stated to be a region of great potential mineral and agricultural wealth.

The Alaska Railroad Commission has undoubtedly furnished the country with a key to the solution of the Alaskan transportation situation, and therefore to the development and prosperity of the territory, based first, on the consideration of the physical problems, and second, on careful study and analysis from an engineering and "railroad" standpoint of the intra-territorial needs of Alaska and the necessity of free access to the markets of the United States and those of the world. While Major Morrow and his associates express themselves as feeling unauthorized to recommend either for or against Government construction or operation of the railroads, their findings leave but one conclusion, and President Taft in his letter of transmittal to Congress recommending Government construction, says:

> The necessary inference from the entire report of the commission is that in the judgment of the commission its recommendations can certainly be carried out only if the Government builds or guarantees the construction cost of the railroads recommended. If the Government is to guarantee the principal and interest of the construction bonds, it seems clear that it should own the roads, the cost of which it really pays. This is true whether the Government itself should operate the roads or should provide for their operation by lease or operating agreement. I am very much opposed to Government operation, but I believe that Government ownership with private operation under lease is the proper solution of the difficulties here presented.

Likewise the commission feels unauthorized to make any recommendation regarding the proposition to utilize the construction machinery employed on the Panama Canal, now nearing completion; it nevertheless submits a list furnished by the Canal Commission of the rails, cars, steam shovels, and other equipment which might be available for use in Alaska.

The issue of giving Alaska what she should have had long ago, considering the nearly $500,000,000 worth of products she has contributed chiefly to the United States, namely transportation and coal—the latter of which is her own—may now be said to be squarely before Congress, and the country. Congress provided for a commission to investigate the matter. The commission has reported exhaustively, conservatively, admirably. The people of Alaska are earnestly insistent for relief and this relief afforded will bring untold wealth into the United States.

THE FEDERAL PLANT QUARANTINE

BY WALTER C. O'KANE

(Entomologist, New Hampshire Agricultural Experiment Station)

IN the latter part of 1912 our federal Congress wrote into the statutes a long-needed Plant Quarantine law, providing for safeguards against the importation of dangerous insects and plant diseases into this country and their dissemination from one section to another. The machinery of that law is now getting into active running order. Its provisions are of direct concern to every citizen whose affairs are in any way connected with the soil, and of genuine interest to all of the rest of us.

OUR DANGEROUS IMPORTED SPECIES

For years this country has been the victim of escaped malefactors in the insect and plant world—dangerous pests which have been brought here through chance or carelessness from their native homes in Europe,

THE MEDITERRANEAN FRUIT FLY[1]
(Enlarged and natural size. Considered one of the most destructive fruit insects known)

Asia, or Central America, and which have run riot when they got here.

At present there exist in the United States about sixty-five or seventy insect pests of first magnitude, that is, species that are causing heavy and widespread damage.

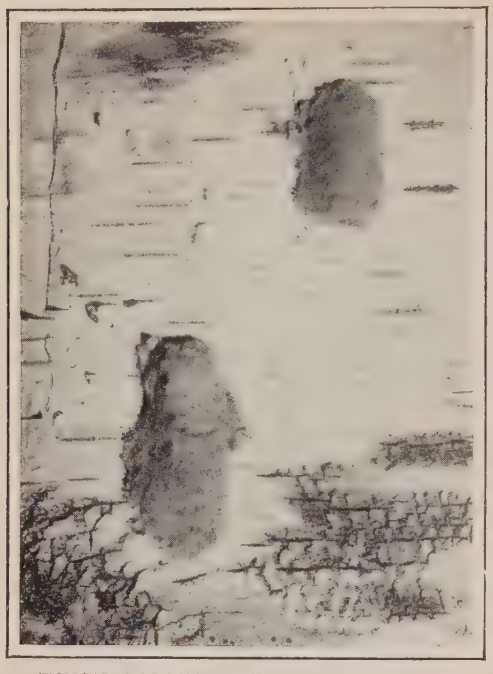
[1]The illustrations with this article are from photographs taken by the author and by representatives of the United States Department of Agriculture and the New Hampshire Experiment Station.

CHARACTERISTIC SWELLING CAUSED BY THE WHITE PINE BLISTER RUST
(The fungus is especially fatal to young trees)

There are two or three hundred others that exact no small toll, and many of these occasionally reach alarming proportions. But the above number—seventy—includes the pests that are habitually beyond reasonable bounds Of this number approximately one-half are native to the United States. So far as we know now they have always been here. The remainder, some thirty-five species, are definitely known to have been introduced from abroad.

INTRODUCED PESTS MORE DESTRUCTIVE

But this does not tell the whole story. Of the native species perhaps seven or eight have reached the proportions of extraordinary scourges. This is true of the Chinch Bug, for example, which frequently causes losses aggregating from $30,000,000 to $40,000,000 in a single season. The Ox Warble, a native



TYPICAL EGG-MASSES OF THE GYPSY MOTH
(Under the new quarantine both plants and plant products, such as lumber and logs, must be inspected)

insect, is guilty of depredations reaching an annual sum of from $15,000,000 to $30,000,000. The Colorado Potato-Beetle, the Grape Root-Worm, and the Army Worm are additional examples.

Of the imported insects no less than seventeen or eighteen species have been and are now causing tremendous losses. It is in this group that we find such unparalleled pests as the San José Scale, the Cotton Boll Weevil, the Hessian Fly, the Gypsy Moth, the Browntail Moth, the Codling Moth, and, recently, the Alfalfa Leaf-Weevil and the notorious Argentine Ant. These are the tax-gatherers in the insect world. We pay the Hessian Fly from $50,000,000 to $100,000,000 every year Single States are yielding tribute to the Cotton Boll Weevil to the amount of $20,000,000 annually. Our apple-growers are taxed not less than $30,000,000 each season by the San José Scale and the Codling Moth. In the fight against the Gypsy and the Browntail Moths New England authorities, with the federal Department of Agriculture, are spending more than $1,000,000 each year.

INFLUENCE OF INCREASED FOREIGN TRADE

With our greatly increased interchange of commodities with foreign countries in the last few decades it was inevitable that opportunities for the chance introduction of pests should increase. The time of ocean passage has been quartered and then again halved. New articles have entered foreign commerce on a large scale—notably various food-stuffs and fruits, in which insects may readily be transported. Especially, within the last twenty-five years, the practice of importing nursery stock has been widely extended, and odd corners of the world are drawn on for new and unique specimens. It is this last class of merchandise that furnishes precisely ideal conditions for the successful introduction of a new pest. The insect is brought over with its food-plant; together with its host it is given good care; its progeny are accorded a favorable start.

The extension of transportation facilities within our own borders has played its part Dissemination of a new species has naturally been given much impetus, and probably its safe and prompt arrival at suitable sections for increase has thus sometimes been assured.

WHY INTRODUCED SPECIES THRIVE

It is not difficult to lay hold of the reasons why introduced pests have overtopped our native species in the extent of injury. Primarily the cause lies in the freedom of the imported insect from the various natural enemies, especially parasites, that attack it in its home country. Seldom are many of these enemies introduced by the same chance agency that brings in the pest itself. Indeed, even if all the natural checks existing in the native region were imported, the chances are more than even that one or more of them would find conditions here unfavorable or impossible. A further influence sometimes favoring the introduced insect is the less intensive system of agriculture prevailing in America, the lack of the practice of crop rotation in many large areas, the greater carelessness as to weeds and other similar

THE FEMALE GYPSY MOTH
(In spite of its ample wing expanse it cannot fly)

factors helpful to the insect enemies and harmful to the plant. It is the latter contrast as to cultural methods that is believed to account in some measure for the rather singular fact that our bequests of dangerous pests to Europe by no means approach her gifts to us. Repeatedly certain of our native insects have been observed abroad, but have failed to secure a foothold.

The part that parasites play in the control of a potential pest in its native country suggests, of course, the desirability of finding, importing and establishing the natural enemies here whenever a new species has gained a threatening foothold. This procedure is, indeed, the only one available in some instances. But the undertaking is much more difficult than one might imagine. Each step in it is a problem: to find the natural enemies, to devise means for their successful transport, and to colonize them effectually, once they are received. By no means rarely obstacles arise in connection with an important species which cannot be overcome. Far simpler, more certain, and less expensive is the alternative plan of guarding the border against the introduction of the pest itself: in other words, the maintenance of an efficient system of inspection, expanded into quarantine where necessary.

THE CATERPILLAR OF THE BROWNTAIL MOTH
(It is this species that bears poisonous hairs)

CATERPILLARS OF THE GYPSY MOTH
(This pest is the object of a recent federal quarantine)

SIMILAR HISTORY OF INTRODUCED PLANT DISEASES

In the field of plant diseases the situation and the problem are the same in essence as in the case of introduced species of insects. Modern traffic has increased the danger of chance introduction of threatening diseases, and already we are paying a heavy penalty for failure to watch the door. The Chestnut Bark Disease is a striking example and an all-too-prevalent warning. That our trees of this group should be doomed seems both an esthetic outrage and an indefensible economic loss. The impending introduction of two other diseases, the White Pine Blister Rust and the Potato Wart Disease, either one capable of becoming speedily a thorough national disaster, had much to do with the final passage of the new quarantine law. It was undeniable that no other measure could possibly avail.

More than forty years ago a clear and logical presentment of the need for inspection and quarantine was voiced by C. V. Riley, who afterwards became government entomologist. Both the statements of facts and the recommendations were pioneers in a new field, so far as this country was concerned. Nothing came of them.

ACTION BY FOREIGN POWERS

Meanwhile foreign powers began to take heed of their own welfare in the same regard, and to provide for inspection of incoming nursery stock, fruits, and the like, or for entire prohibition of any such imports from certain sources, including the United States. A dozen years ago inspection service was in working order in most of the enlightened European states. Two of these, at least, had declared an absolute quarantine against various plants and plant products coming from America, especially nursery stock. Such stock could not be shipped by us into those countries under any conditions. In others entry was permitted under restrictions, usually only at certain ports and after examination, though in some stock was admitted if it bore a certificate of a State inspector.

EFFORTS IN THE UNITED STATES

An active campaign was begun by American entomologists and horticultural inspectors to secure the enactment of a comprehensive federal law that would empower the Secretary of Agriculture to issue regulations applying to imports of plants, and to declare a quarantine where called for. It was obviously wholly impossible to secure adequate and connected action through the separate States. Federal regulations alone were feasible, and for these ample precedent existed in the laws already on the books relating to infections and contagious diseases of animals. For several consecutive sessions the proposed enactments failed of passage, partly through opposition that feared an injury to business, partly because of lack of understanding of the facts and dangers and appreciation of the necessity for federal intervention.

Finally, on August 20, 1912, a really comprehensive, effective, and well-planned bill, styled the Plant Quarantine act, received the necessary support and became a law.

ESSENTIALS OF THE NEW LAW

The fundamentals of this excellent measure have to do with four distinct topics:

First, a definite safeguard is placed around incoming nursery stock.

Second, the same provisions are made possible, where needed, in the case of imported fruits, vegetables, seeds, and various plant products.

Third, the Secretary of Agriculture is authorized to declare an absolute quarantine against foreign countries and applying to specific plants or plant products where such quarantine is deemed essential to prevent the introduction or establishment of a dangerous insect or disease.

Fourth, a precisely similar domestic quarantine is authorized against States or parts of States and in favor of the remainder of the United States whenever by so doing an insect or disease not yet widely distributed may be repressed or appreciably held in check.

THE FEDERAL HORTICULTURAL BOARD

The measure provides for the creation of a federal Horticultural Board, of five members, appointed by the Secretary of Agriculture from employees of the Bureau of Entomology, the Bureau of Plant Industry, and the Forest Service. The board has no explicit administrative function, but virtually carries out the provisions of the act, drawing up needed regulations, holding the public hearings that are a requisite preliminary to any quarantine, and otherwise representing the Secretary in supervising the machinery of the measure. The penalty for violation of any of the regulations is fixed by the act at a fine not exceeding $500, or imprisonment not exceeding one year, or both.

Regulations have been drawn up by the board specifying the procedure governing the entry of foreign-grown nursery stock into the United States.

ENTRY OF NURSERY STOCK

In general the act does not follow the plan of inspecting such stock at the port of arrival, unless it comes from a country that does not maintain an organized inspection service. In the latter event entry is possible only at the ports of New York, San Francisco, Seattle, Jacksonville, and New Orleans, and on arrival at customs in any of these ports the stock must be examined by a federal inspector, and certified as free from dangerous insects or disease. If it is found not to be free, it may be treated or destroyed as circumstances warrant.

In all other cases, and these constitute the majority, the procedure is as follows: The importer must first apply for a permit, as in the previous class, stating what he proposes to import, from whom and where, and at what point he will offer the stock for entry. A permit is then issued by the Secretary of Agriculture, and a copy furnished the cus-

toms officer at the point of entry. When the stock arrives it must bear a certificate of the inspection officer in the country where grown, and the box must be marked with the source of the stock and its nature. In addition the consular invoice must be accompanied by a signed declaration of the shipper indicating such points as the locality where grown and the fact that the stock has been properly inspected.

Immediately on receipt of the shipment and before removing it from customs, the importer is required to make out a statement specifying, among other matters, the ultimate destination of the stock, and must mail a copy of this to the Department at Washington and other copies to the proper State officials, according to the various points to which he proposes to reship. Thus prompt information is given the State inspection organizations, showing that stock of a certain kind from a certain place is in transit, and provision may be made by the State official for inspection of the shipment as soon as it arrives. Naturally the federal board is without authority to enforce such inspection, but with the machinery thus set running and the data conveniently in hand, the State organizations are apt to respond, thereby adding the safeguard of actual personal inspection to that implied in the certificate of the foreign officer in the country where the stock was grown.

ADULT MALE AND FEMALE BROWNTAIL MOTHS

WINTER NESTS OF THE BROWNTAIL MOTH
(Deciduous nursery stock may readily carry these nests unless inspected)

QUARANTINE DIRECTED

Three measures of absolute quarantine were specifically directed in the act itself, to take effect at once.

The first of these is concerned with White Pine Blister Rust, and applies to several European countries and to Great Britain; the second refers to the Mediterranean Fruit Fly, and applies to the Territory of Hawaii; the third is directed against the Potato Wart Disease, and applies to Newfoundland, the British Isles, and some other regions.

WHITE PINE BLISTER RUST

The White Pine Blister Rust is a peculiarly dangerous fungus threatening the tremendous forest resources of this country so far as represented in the white pine and its immediate relatives. It is primarily a disease of the stone pine of Europe, but since the introduction of American white pine abroad has attacked the latter with unexampled severity. The imminent likelihood of introduction into the United States lay in the increasing shipment of white pine seedlings from European nurseries to America. In fact an alarming number of shipments of diseased trees was made before the enactment of the new law, and there is grave

danger that the parasite may already have become established.

LIFE HISTORY OF THE FUNGUS

Like many other parasitic fungi, the rust has an alternate host plant, in this case any of the varieties of wild or cultivated currants or gooseberries. The leaves of these plants are attacked, and from pustules on the lower leaf surface myriads of spores are produced. These infect other leaves of the same class of plants, possibly at a considerable distance, since the spores are wind-borne. At the close of summer, winter spores are produced, which infect pines, penetrating the tender bark and growing thereafter within the tissues. In spring spores are set free from the pine, and these in turn germinate when lodging on the leaves of the alternate host.

For the first few months, or even for a year or more, the fungus exhibits no visible sign of its presence in the tissues of the pine. It is this fact that makes attempted inspection of nursery seedlings futile. Later, on young trees, a characteristic swelling appears, involving the main stem at the point of the first branches. As a rule, in small trees, the fruiting of the fungus, a few months or a year later, is coincident with the death of the tree. Young transplants and forest seedlings are attacked in their smaller branches, but usually do not succumb.

THE POTATO WART DISEASE

The Potato Wart Disease is seemingly a newcomer in Europe itself. It was noted first in Hungary, in 1896, then in Germany, England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, and finally in Newfoundland. Late reports declare its presence in France, Italy, and Scandinavia.

The common name of the disease is descriptive. Its presence is manifested not in the vines, which may preserve an abnormal greenness, but in the tuber. The latter develops warty outgrowths, which enlarge and coalesce until the entire potato becomes an unrecognizable mass. Summer spores are given off, and by fall millions of spore sacs have been developed, to remain in the soil when the mass is broken open in attempts to harvest the crop. These resting spores may retain their vitality for a number of years; certainly eight and possibly more. In the event that potatoes are again planted in the same field within this period, they will become infected.

As with the Pine Blister Rust, the early stages of the disease cannot be detected. Potatoes that are but slightly attacked, giving no visible evidence, may be sold and distributed for seed, and thus spread the infection to remote points. Inspection is impossible.

THE MEDITERRANEAN FRUIT FLY

Concerning the Mediterranean Fruit Fly, it has been said that no other pest of fruit under observation to-day equals it in destructive powers. It has been known for many years, has gradually increased its distribution, and is now an intolerable scourge in many widely-separated sections of the globe, including the Mediterranean region, South Africa, Australia, Bermuda, Brazil, and, in 1910, a part of the Territory of Hawaii. The danger of introduction into California through fruits shipped from Hawaii was the immediate cause of the quarantine relating to this pest.

The destructive ability of this species lies not only in the rapidity with which it increases but especially in its extreme range of food plants. In the new federal quarantine twenty-seven fruits are enumerated in which the pest is known to breed, and in addition three vegetables. The only reassuring fact is its apparent inability to survive in a climate of freezing winter temperature.

THE WORK OF THE PEST

The larval stage of the fly is a whitish maggot and this part of its life round is passed wholly within the pulp of the fruit, in which it tunnels here and there. When the fruit has fallen and begun to decay the mature maggot leaves it, enters the ground an inch or so, and there goes through its transformation to the adult fly. Eggs are laid by the female beneath the skin of the fruit, and thus the life history goes forward. Infested fruit may or may not show outward evidence of the presence of the pest. It is certain, therefore, that only absolute prohibition of the importation of fresh fruit from sections where the insect has become established can be expected to prevent its introduction into the United States.

THE GYPSY AND THE BROWNTAIL MOTHS

A fourth quarantine has been declared by the Secretary of Agriculture in an effort to delay the spread of the Gypsy and the Browntail Moths, now thoroughly entrenched in parts of New England.

Two distinct but partly co-extensive areas have been defined corresponding to the present known distribution of the two pests. That referring to the Gypsy Moth includes a group of towns in southwestern Maine, and parts of New Hampshire, of Massachusetts and of Rhode Island. The area quarantined for the Browntail Moth describes a still wider arc, taking in parts of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island.

CHRISTMAS TREES AND GREENS

The regulations as to the Gypsy Moth prohibit absolutely the interstate shipment of Christmas trees or Christmas greens from points within the quarantined area to points without. It was deemed necessary to do this because of the impossibility of inspection of this class of merchandise at reasonable cost or with certain efficiency. From September throughout the winter, at the time when evergreens of various sorts are cut and shipped for the holiday trade, the Gypsy Moth is in the egg stage. Egg-masses are attached to the trunks or limbs of trees or shrubs, or to neighboring objects. They may readily occur on Christmas trees or greenery collected in infested localities.

NURSERY STOCK AND PLANT PRODUCTS

The interstate movement of forest plant products, such as lumber, cord wood, posts, bark, and logs, and the shipment of nursery stock, from points within the Gypsy Moth area, is permitted only after inspection and certification. All of these things may carry egg-masses of the pest, if shipped in winter, or living caterpillars, if transported in summer. Their examination is practicable, and thorough inspection at the time of shipment, especially in the case of nursery stock, may be expected to offer a reasonably sure safeguard.

THE BROWNTAIL MOTH

The regulations for the Browntail Moth area apply only to deciduous trees or shrubs, vines, field-grown florists' stock, and the like. Shipment of these is permitted after inspection and certification.

Unlike the Gypsy Moth this species attacks only deciduous plants, and is not found on evergreens. It passes the winter in tightly woven nests at the tips of twigs. Usually a leaf is used as the foundation for the nest, strands of tough silk following the petiole and binding it to the twig. Within are several hundred tiny caterpillars that hatched from eggs laid on the leaf in July by the snow-white parent moth. In spring the caterpillars emerge from their winter home, to feed on the expanding foliage. It is this pest that causes a severe poisoning of the human skin through the penetration of barbed hairs borne by the caterpillar.

WORK OF THE POTATO WART DISEASE
(This new parasite threatens the destruction of the potato-growing industry)

THE PURPOSE OF DOMESTIC QUARANTINE

It is not expected that the enforcement of these regulations concerning the Gypsy and the Browntail Moths will prevent for all time to come the introduction of these pests into other parts of the United States. But it is hoped that the spread may be retarded, and especially that numerous sporadic and disastrous outbreaks in remote States may be prevented. If this can be accomplished the two species may be held down to their present distribution, increased from time to time by the inevitable natural spread that defies all repressive measures. It then becomes reasonable to expect that the several species of parasites that have been imported and colonized will catch up with the frontier line of their hosts and reduce them to moderate numbers.

RIZAL'S PICTURE OF THE PHILIPPINES UNDER SPAIN

WITH the advent of the Wilson administration at Washington renewed public attention has been directed to the Philippines. How soon will the Filipinos be fit for independence, or for that measure of self-government which it is wise and proper to confirm to them?

JOSÉ RIZAL, THE FILIPINO PATRIOT
(From the painting by Hidalgo [Madrid 1883]. Loaned by the World Book Company)

Three books recently published will prove very useful in clarifying our ideas of the Philippines and the Filipinos. James H. Blount, the son of President Cleveland's "paramount commissioner" in the Hawaiian investigation, who served in the Philippines in a judicial as well as in a military capacity, has written a book on "The American Occupation of the Philippines" in which he urges the abandonment of the islands. We have already—in these pages for January—noticed briefly, this book of Mr. Blount's. The other two volumes, novels of Rizal, are even more important, presenting, as they do, such a complete picture of the Philippines under the old régime. Most of the evils against which Rizal directed his satire have been remedied by the American administration. It seems tragic irony that he could not have lived a few years longer to see it all.

The appearance of English translations of the two principal works of Dr. José Rizal, the Filipino patriot ("The Reign of Creed" [1] and "The Social Cancer" [2]) is noteworthy as a literary event. It is also an important fact in the history of the American people in their world relations.

It is more than sixteen years since Rizal was executed at Manila for participation in the Katipunan revolt. A patriotic Filipino historian says of the trial that he was accused of carrying on anti-patriotic, anti-religious propaganda, of rebellion, sedition, and the formulation of legal associations, and adds: "Some other charges may have been overlooked in the hurry and excitement."

The appearance of the two books in English, which set forth in the form of stories his life work, are most valuable footnotes to the history of Spain's dealings with the Far East.

The comparatively few details of Rizal's career are quickly stated. José Rizal Mercado y Alonso, as his name emerges from the confusion of Filipino titles and terminology, was of Malay extraction, with some distant strains of Spanish and even Chinese blood, although he generally referred to himself as a Tagal. He had exceptional training for his time and nation, a training largely due to the intelligence and devotion of his mother. She taught him to read Spanish from a copy of the Vulgate Scriptures in that language. His father was well-to-do, so he was sent, at the age of eight, to study in the new Jesuit school at Manila. Before this, however, he had inspired considerable awe in his simple neighbors by the facility with which he composed verses in his native tongue. He was intended for the Church. Later, however, he decided to become a physician. In 1882, at the age of twenty-one, he sailed for Madrid. At the University of the Spanish capital he took the degree of

[1] The Reign of Creed. By José Rizal. Translated by Charles Derbyshire. New York: World Book Company. 367 pp. $1.25.

[2] The Social Cancer. By José Rizal. Translated by Charles Derbyshire. New York: World Book Company. 502 pp. $1.25.

Doctor of Medicine and Licentiate of Philosophy and Literature. He acquired a proficiency in Spanish and Japanese, and later in French, English, German and Italian. After leaving the University of Madrid he took courses at Paris, Heidelberg, Leipsic, Berlin and Rome.

Shortly after his return to Manila he published (1886) his first novel "Noli Me Tangere." The exposures of governmental corruption in this book brought down upon him the ill-will of the authorities and he was obliged to fly to Japan. Later he went to London and prepared the sequel to his first novel. This was entitled "El Filibusterismo" and it appeared in 1891. The next year he established a physician's practice in Hongkong, but while there was accused of participating in a native rebellion against the Spanish régime. In 1896, although he had received permission to go to Cuba by way of Spain, to assist in suppressing the yellow fever epidemic in the West Indian Islands, he was arrested in Barcelona, brought back to Manila, tried, and shot on December 30, 1896.

The request that he might not be shot from the back because he was neither traitor to Spain nor to his own country, was refused.

A powerful effort of the will in falling led the victim to turn himself so as to fall with his face to the sky. So the Spanish soldiers saw him as they filed past his dead body and the cheers for Spain and the triumphal music of the band as it played the March of Cadiz did not prevent a feeling of admiration for the brave man.

Rizal's first book, "Noli Me Tangere," which is now translated "The Social Cancer," is a protest against the abuses the author had seen so often in the rule of the civil government and the Friars over his countrymen. The social cancer of the Philippines was the union of church and state which the censorship did not permit to be touched in speech or print. The hero is Juan Crisostomo Ibarra, a young Filipino, son of a wealthy land owner, educated in Europe.

Ibarra is engaged to be married to a beautiful girl, the heroine of the story, Maria Clara, the supposed daughter and only child of Captain Tiago, a typical Filipino chief, one of the characters fostered by the Friar régime. Ibarra determined to devote his life to the betterment of his people. For an attempt on the life of Fray Damaso, the Franciscan Friar who insulted the memory of his father, the young man is excommunicated, and the father of Maria Clara breaks off the engagement. Ibarra succeeds in having the excommunication removed. Just then, however, an uprising of the natives occurs, and the leadership is imputed to him. He is arrested and thrown into prison. Maria Clara, meanwhile, has consented to marry a young Spaniard named by her supposed father. There are the usual love passages and some excellent descriptions of popular excitement. Ibarra attempts to escape. His death is reported, and Maria Clara, ever faithful to him, begs her supposed godfather, Fray Damaso, to put her into a nunnery. It comes out that the Friar is her own father. He confesses that he had brought on all the trouble with Ibarra to prevent her from marrying a native, which would condemn her and her children to the enslaved class. She finally enters a nunnery.

There is a good deal of strength and, at the same time, pathos in the story, and some bits of excellent description of local customs. Its charm and simplicity have assigned it first place in Filipino literature. An excellent introduction of fifty pages by the translator, Charles Derbyshire, adds much to the volumes. The story of Maria Clara as told in "The Social Cancer," says Mr. Derbyshire, is "only one of the few instances of monasticism's record in the Philippines clean enough to bear the light."

The second work, "El Filibusterismo," which appears in the English version under the title of "The Reign of Creed," is not really a novel, but a series of word paintings making up a terrific arraignment of the entire Spanish ecclesiastical régime in the islands. It represents Rizal's more mature judgment on political and social conditions. It is graver and less powerful in tone and is full of bitter sarcasm, although ostensibly a continuation of the first story. It is dedicated to the three priests who were executed in 1872 as a result of the native uprising so barbarously suppressed.

In this volume Rizal showed that he no longer thought only of getting rid of Spanish sovereignty but began to question what sort of a government was to replace it. He resolved to prepare the Filipinos, and the campaign of education which he saw being waged by Spaniards in Spain Rizal thought would be no more unpatriotic or anti-Spanish if carried on by a Filipino for the Philippines. The "Noli" gave a picture of modern conditions in the Philippines under Spanish rule, while "El Filibusterismo" showed what must be the future unless policies were changed. Single-handed, it destroyed Spain's prestige in the Philippines.

Within less than two years after his execution, on the first day of American occupation, the body of Rizal was raised for a more decent interment. The ashes have since been put in an urn of Philippine woods and will be finally deposited in what will be by far the finest of Manila's monuments, the splendid memorial recently constructed to mark the place where he gave his life for his country.

EUROPEAN POLITICS: THE RELATION OF PARTY TO DEMOCRACY

BY JESSE MACY

THE terms "party government" and "party organization" have a variety of meanings in different countries. Centuries ago Whigs and Tories began to govern England; but those names denoted only the leaders who filled the chief offices of state and as members of parliament alternately controlled that body. The cabinet was at the same time the government and the party organization. Not until recent years, with the enlargement of the voting constituencies, has party organization been extended to include the mass of party supporters.

In the United States, on the other hand, the enduring political party was locally organized from the first. The party that nominated and elected President Wilson was organized by Thomas Jefferson, and the opposing party has also adopted the Jeffersonian model. All who habitually vote the party ticket are members of the primary or the local caucus. The national party convention is in theory but the mouthpiece of the people who compose the party primaries. In America we say that parties govern, because party committees and conventions formulate party platforms and nominate and elect condidates to execute party policies. The party is thus identified with the people, who divide themselves into two organized, competing institutions called national parties.

HOW BRITISH PARTY GOVERNMENT DIFFERS FROM AMERICAN

Party government in England is radically different. Party is definitely identified with the government. The cabinet is itself the one authoritative and controlling party organization. It is the party in power, while the party out of power has likewise an organization equally definite, now called the "shadow cabinet," or the king's opposition. These are the two self-appointed party committees. One of them is actually governing: the other acts as critic in the House of Commons and formulates opposing policies. The two authoritative party organs may be said to be in perpetual national assembly. They are continually engaged at one and the same time in both shaping and executing the party platforms. Especially is this true of the ruling party. The cabinet can brook no rivals within the party. Special organizations within the party are mere adjuncts and aids to the cabinet. Local caucuses may express opinions, but they cannot dictate policies. A national convention of local clubs may adopt resolutions, but it cannot formulate a party platform. If the time should come when an outside organization of the rank and file of the party should refuse to follow the official party leaders the cabinet system would be at an end.

Thus, while in one country party government is maintained by identifying party with the people through a system of external machinery, in the other it is the actual governing body to which the term "party" is applied, and the external organization appears as an aid to the party leaders. The two countries resemble each other in being alike subject alternately to one and the other of two ruling parties.

WHO BELONG TO PARTIES?

In no country outside of the Anglo-Saxon world does there appear any tendency to adopt either of these forms of dual party government. Parties there are, indeed, in all states where the voice of the people is heard and they have much to do with the government, but they follow other methods. In states which have adopted some of the features of the English cabinet system the ministry is not identified with a ruling political party as in England, but is supported by a coalition of parties. A cabinet crisis does not ordinarily mean a dissolution of parliament and an appeal to the voters, but a new combination within the same assembly. The most striking differences, however, are found in the use of the term "party organization." In America men belong to a party as they belong to a church. If a citizen is a Democrat; he is a member of the Democratic organization. The party was made that way. English party leaders are seeking to

enroll all party supporters in local clubs; but this is only partially successful. Yet so intense is political life in England and so positively do the voters express themselves that the great body of the citizenship comes to be known as belonging to one or other of the parties. Socialists also are everywhere thoroughly organized, and when a labor union "goes into politics" it is as an organized party. But otherwise, except in the Anglo-Saxon nations, political party organizations include only a small fraction of those who ordinarily vote for the party candidates. They embrace only the few who enroll themselves as members and pay a fee. These only have a right to attend the meetings and participate in the conduct of the organization.

SELECTION OF SCANDINAVIAN CANDIDATES

In the Scandinavian states it is customary for party candidates to be selected by a committee of the organization. This takes place in secret conferences with the leaders. It is the duty of the committee to find the willing candidate and to sound as far as possible the sentiment of the party respecting him; but all is secret. The public is not informed until the committee is convinced that the desirable candidate has been discovered. Then report is made before a meeting of the organization. If that body approves, a meeting is called of the prospective supporters of the candidate, who are sometimes permitted to express their assent by voice or a show of hands.

It is bad form to be publicly known as an office-seeker. As an editor in Norway expressed it, "we still like to keep up a show of modesty." There is a general tendency, however, towards increasing the scope and power of the party organization. In Norway, within the last five years, a communal, county, and state organization has been called into existence, quite after the American model. This applies to the two or three leading parties other than the Socialists—who were already organized. This organization of the rank and file is designed to serve as a school of public affairs, to enable the people to grapple more intelligently and more effectively with the disposal of their superb water-power and to meet the other pressing demands of the time. There is, however, no indication of intention to adopt either the American or the English type of party government. I found the Rector of the University of Christiania on the eve of departure upon a mission to Switzerland to gain information likely to be of use to the government of Norway.

A CARD CATALOGUE OF VOTERS

In the city of Gothenburg, Sweden, I was made to feel quite at home in the office of a salaried agent of the conservative party, who showed me a list of five thousand paying members of the organization and also a card catalogue of all the voters of the city. This last was done in color. Conservatives were decked in blue, Liberals in yellow. The Socialists were in red, and a fourth color designated independent or wavering voters. It was a part of the special duty of the party agent to transfer names of doubtful color to the true blue. When I described to him the working of the Quay machine of Pennsylvania he seemed eager to be placed in communication with some one who would give him additional information. Voters who are thus paternally looked after are likely to become in some sense members of the party. The entire movement is new and there has not yet been time for assured results.

In France something of the same sort began about twenty years ago. M. Charles Oster, who has made an extended study of the party systems both in America and in Europe, notes a striking parallel between the recently developed local hierarchy of party organizations in the communes, towns, and cantons of France and the early American organizations. The historian would remind us that Jefferson took his model from France.

The recent movements for more thorough and more extended organization are everywhere instinct with the new democracy. Socialists and wage-earners are forcing the hands of the other parties. The people are becoming increasingly conscious of their vital relations to the government. The field of governmental operation is being rapidly enlarged. The state itself is being recognized as a voluntary organization. On the continent of Europe the different political parties take their place as minor voluntary organizations or associations. Their object is not to govern but to influence the policy of government in certain specific lines.

THE SWISS PARTIES

Switzerland has been generally accepted as an example of extreme democracy in which parties do not govern. Yet in response to the question put to two experienced statesmen in Zurich, "Do the political parties in Switzerland govern as in England, or do they simply influence the government?" I was surprised to receive the answer, "The parties

govern." I was told that since the revolution of 1848 the radical democratic party had governed the Federation. To the student of comparative politics this means that the parties in Switzerland do not govern in the sense in which they govern in England. There is a loose, morganized agglomeration of voters having a party name, which is permitted to maintain a continuous majority in the Swiss legislature. It is because the party does not attempt to govern that its majority is allowed to be continuous. By means of the popular initiative and the referendum the Swiss govern themselves regardless of party.

This principle is made very clear by the experience of the Socialists in the city of Zurich. As noted above, the Socialists are thoroughly organized. Through superior organization, by an industrious propaganda by moderation and good conduct in office, the Socialist party in the city has rapidly come to the front. The party now has four out of the nine members of the Executive Council and Administrative Board. There is a general expectation that at the next general election the Socialists will have a clear majority in the entire city government. I discovered, to my surprise, that the Socialists with whom I conversed were not at all enthusiastic over the prospect. Finally, one of the leaders assured me distinctly that they did not wish to assume the responsibilities of actual government. They much prefer to continue as they have been, a minority party securing the adoption of their policies, one by one, as the people become convinced of their utility. Radical democrats—which is a form of words indicating political moonshine—may have a continuous majority without serious consequences; but the case is different when a highly organized and clearly defined party has a majority thrust upon it.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

Switzerland has been the field for the development and trying out of the policy of proportional representation. One by one, cantons and cities have adopted it. This involves the official recognition of political parties as factors in government; but it is squarely opposed to the system of dual party government as known in England and the United States. Proportional representation gives to every party, great and small, its equal proportionate share in the representative assemblies. Under such a system it would be mere accident if any one party should gain a majority. If such an accident should occur it would become the duty of that majority party to divest itself of its partisan character and to seek to discover by sympathetic attention to the demands of every party the real will of the state. Proportional representation came into use in a state already experienced in the referendum and the popular initiative. Through these means the people lay down the law regardless of party. All these Swiss agencies of direct, unchecked democracy are either being adopted or coming under discussion in all free states. Not one of them could be adopted in the Anglo-Saxon world without greatly modifying the system of party government.

The advocacy of the referendum by the British conservatives at once raised the question whether that policy could coexist with the English cabinet-system; whether if it were adopted responsible party government would not be gradually eliminated. The proposition to embody proportional representation in the bill providing for an Irish legislature has raised a similar discussion. It is viewed as the thin end of the wedge which if admitted would rend asunder the time-honored system of responsible party rule. I find an increasing number of men in England who are ready to admit that, as an editor of a leading party paper expressed it, "The English party system is found neither in the Ten Commandments nor in the Sermon on the Mount." Yet there still remains a strongly preponderating opinion in favor of party government.

ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION IN THE BALKAN STATES

BY BENJAMIN C. MARSH

THE total number of troops, including all able-bodied males over sixteen years of age, that the Balkan Allies could put on the field last October was only about 850,000. Nearly 100,000 of these men have been killed or have died of their wounds or of disease, during the past five months. The comparative loss in this country would be about 8,000,000. What that would mean here is almost beyond conception. Yet not merely must the loss of men be considered. The countries are overwhelmed with debt. For the past quarter-century every effort of the governments has been concentrated on preparation for the supreme task achieved, we may say, with but a minor and brief anticipation, in this incomparable conflict. During the past few years Bulgaria, Greece and Servia have been spending from a seventh to nearly a quarter of their annual budgets for military and naval purposes.

Many years' residence in Bulgaria and a recent visit there convinced me that economic reconstruction was the most important task confronting the allies.

Several interviews with the Prime Ministers of these three important states of the Balkan Federation, and with many other cabinet ministers and high officials during this war have made it clear that they appreciate the necessity for reorganizing the economic and productive forces of their countries.

Dr. Stoyan Danev, President of the Bulgarian National Assembly, made the following statement to me during the Peace Conference in London, to which he was the first Bulgarian Delegate:

> While the war was begun originally to secure reforms, the outcome of the war has made it impossible for us to remain satisfied with merely another pledge of reforms in Macedonia. The success of the allies in self-government and in developing the resources of the countries in spite of the heavy burdens of defense is the best guarantee of their ability to give the people in the territory ceded the same opportunity. Just and enlightened government is not an experiment for the allies, it is an accomplished and acknowledged fact. To secure these blessings to the territory we claim was the sufficient cause of the war.

Equally emphatic were the statements made me by the two other Prime Ministers. Mr. Venezelos, the astute moulder of public opinion and action in Greece, said:

> Our resources have been severely taxed. We now need sorely rest from the expense of military defense and opportunity to devote ourselves to internal development. Uniquely must we reorganize our agricultural methods, which are outworn and inadequate.

Waste land totals nearly 3,000,000 acres in Greece, while 5,000,000 acres are under pasture, but despite the unusual fertility of the soil, agriculture on the 5,563,000 acres under cultivation is in a most backward state.

Prime Minister Pasitch of Servia also emphasized with equal vigor the necessity for better agricultural and technical training. Servian finances are being entirely reorganized. That little state has been cruelly exploited by French financiers who have demanded 7 per cent. interest for loans.

While Servia had made much progress in agriculture, during the past few years, even to-day two-fifths of the area of 18,757 square miles is still uncultivated, and the yield per acre of most crops is very low. The most important industries are milling, brewing, sugar-refining, and the manufacture of tobacco (which has been a government monopoly since 1883). There are also a few glass works, potteries, cement, cloth, and soap factories, and packing establishments. Although there are large deposits of coal, gold, silver, copper, and lead, and many oil wells, the output is very small, since the risk of production is so great that investments have been inadequate.

Bulgaria has been described as "The Peasant State" and properly so since five-sevenths of the population are engaged in agriculture. Of the 9,570,540 hectares comprised in Bulgaria, nearly two-fifths is cultivated, of which two and a half million hectares is under cereals, while a third of the state's area is under woods and forests.

There are, however, 266 factories in Bulgaria, representing an investment of $13,206,000, employing 13,231 persons, and having last year an output valued at $17,663,000.

The most important industry is the manufacture of food and beverages, with a capi-

tal of $5,282,000 in 100 establishments, an output valued at about $8,100,000, and employing 1567 persons.

While there are only sixty-one textile factories they employ nearly a third of the total number engaged in manufacturing pursuits, and the value of the product was about $3,500,000. As in Servia, and to lesser extent in Greece, however, a large proportion of the peasants still clothe themselves, raising their own sheep, cotton, and silk worms, and making the cloth on the old family loom.

Statistics as to any subject in Macedonia are worthless, except for writers on space, and for those ambitious reformers within the young Turkey party, who wish to impress an applauding civilization with the commercial and agricultural growth of the country.

Most of the peasants held their land from Turkish beys or other officials. Their tenure was uncertain and their rents high. The greatest obstacle to the development of agriculture, however, has been the extortions practiced in the name of taxation. The Turk is as lazy as he is incapable of government and Turkish officials in Macedonia have farmed out taxes for many years. The result has frequently been that the tax collectors take from two-fifths to even three-fifths of the total produce of many small peasants.

During the present war hundreds of villages have been burned. The relief agencies for non-combatants in Macedonia state that at least half a million of Macedonia's population of four and a quarter million are in need of food. The cattle have been taken for provisioning the armies and even should the war be terminated before this issue reaches its readers, so that the troops can go back to factory and farm, the loss of cattle will make farming most difficult and onerous. The peasant women are willing to drag the plows themselves, but with the great loss of oxen that service cannot restore agricultural prosperity. Commercial travelers who have for years visited the Balkan States have shunned them for six months, and assert it will be six years before interrupted industry can regain its lost standing. Destitution in the larger cities of Servia, Bulgaria, Greece, and Macedonia, I am informed by private letters, is widespread and the government is unable to meet the demand even for bread.

The war has cost the Allies about $300,000,000,—nearly four times the combined annual budgets,—in direct cash outlay, in addition to the enormous loss of earnings involved in requisitioning a people's services for six months to make its fighting army efficient. That the Allies will be able to get any sum even approximating this as war indemnity from Turkey is entirely out of the question. They will probably be content if they secure an indemnity which, capitalized, will pay that portion of the Turkish public debt service guaranteed by revenues from the territory ceded,—$140,000,000 at the most. To be sure we repudiated the Spanish debt in Cuba, but that was because we were strong enough to do so, while the European powers are more anxious to maintain and secure their own financial status quo, in Southeastern Europe than to permit the restoration of economic prosperity to the peoples afflicted and impoverished by the war, and the conditions necessitating the war.

Large tracts of land in Macedonia have been stolen from the peasants by Turkish officials during the past. The families of many of the owners have been exterminated or have fled the country and cannot be found. The acquisition of this land by the governments of the Allies is one of the first steps to be taken in the program of economic reconstruction.

The Allies are planning to hold a conference on economic reconstruction during the present year. Their peace delegates at London, especially Dr. Danev and Mr. Venezelos, keenly appreciate the need of learning the best methods and technique of agriculture and industry, and this conference which it is planned to hold under the auspices of the four governments, will consider the following subjects: Technical and industrial training, agricultural development, public health and housing, taxation, and internal communications. . . . The three agricultural schools in Bulgaria, the two in Servia, and the solitary one in Greece, with the auspiciously inaugurated Thessalonica Agricultural and Industrial Institute, near Salonica, are first steps toward scientific agriculture. The Agricultural Bank in Bulgaria, with its hundred and twenty branches, has been of great benefit to the Peasant State. Technical and industrial training is in its infancy in these Balkan states. . . . Twenty-five years of military training have placed the Allies at the front of military states. Half that number of years devoted to practical training in the arts of peace, and application thereof, will put this remarkable Balkan Federation in the front ranks of the industrial states of Europe. That the cupidity and jealousy of Christian Europe should longer deny them this well-won prize of peace is unthinkable.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—A NEW PROFESSION

BY H. S. GILBERTSON

THE revolt against the professional politician is striking deeper than many of us suppose. Gradually the atmosphere clears at the city hall and the state house and the big prizes slip forever from the grip of the spoilsman. Graft and corruption of the dramatic sort are passing into history.

But the subtler influences of machine politics,—what of them? The politician fostered a spirit of localism which jealously kept the public service a strictly home industry; taught us that every American was endowed by nature with a capacity to fill public office, from President to constable. He got us into the habit of trying to fill every public office by popular election; preached the doctrine of rotation in office. Now that the politician has begun to fade, there appear an end of many petty localisms, a distrust of our general versatility, and a dislike for balloting upon public offices for the mere exercise.

THE CALL FOR EXPERT ASSISTANCE

In such an atmosphere of constructive reaction cities to a considerable number are furnishing their officials with an equipment of facts, and are calling in the aid of outside experts in branches of administration with which, heretofore, the local talent was deemed quite competent to cope. Out of the Wisconsin idea of the Legislative Reference Library has developed the Municipal Reference Library, and the three cities of St. Louis, Kansas City and Baltimore have established such service under the direction of highly trained men. The universities of Kansas, Nebraska, and Wisconsin and Whitman College maintain similar bureaus.

More definite, immediate, and tangible, however, are the products of the official agencies for reorganizing the business of cities on the principles of efficiency and economy. The office of Commissioner of Accounts in New York City, once a mere whitewashing political bureau, and an expensive one at that, during the last two administrations has not only brought about the removal of three incompetent borough presidents, but has conducted a hundred important investigations which have resulted in savings to the city of millions of dollars through reorganization and publicity. The Municipal Efficiency Commission of Chicago, appointed in 1909, made a most thorough survey of the 15,000 positions under civil service, eliminating many inequalities of compensation, and establishing systems for recording individual and departmental efficiency. Milwaukee has had its Bureau of Economy and Efficiency, a special feature of which is the consulting staff of the foremost authorities of the country in accounting, engineering, organization, finance and taxation, sanitation and social work. This has been superseded by a permanent efficiency department. An efficiency department in Pasadena, Cal., has begun a study of the other divisions of the city government.

Beneath this cover of organization is an unwonted receptiveness of mind. Last summer the city council of Los Angeles paid the expenses of a number of specialists in the National Municipal League, who came to the city and discussed the proposed city and county charters. The visitors were astonished to find the charter freeholders not only tolerant of suggestions, but eager for advice.

Cities under the commission plan, by reason, probably, of the more direct and potent pressure of popular criticism, are especially amenable to imported ideas. On this principle Houston, Texas, sent a commissioner to Germany to report on its cities; Oakland, Cal., called in the assistance of the Civil Service Commission of Chicago; the mayor of Colorado Springs went down to Pueblo for his chief of police.

THE MUNICIPAL RESEARCH BUREAUS

In great part, the inspiration of these official activities has come from private agencies of the type of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research. Seven years ago this organization started out on the idea that efficiency is quite compatible with democracy, provided the democracy is kept informed as to what is going on. The bureau entered the city departments, conferred with officials and secured their coöperation, studied organiza-

tion and records, suggested remedies. Space limits forbid more than a mention of such typical services as those investigations which led to an increase of $2,000,000 a year in the water revenues, and the cessation of slaughter-house evils; the recovery of $723,000 from the street-railway corporations for having done the city between the companies' rails; the establishment of a bureau of child hygiene in the department of health. Not the least of its benefits are the budget exhibits inaugurated by the bureau, but later conducted at the city's expense, and visited annually by tens of thousands of citizens. (See account of the Cincinnati exhibit in the January REVIEW OF REVIEWS.)

Success in the New York field led to the establishment of similar bureaus in Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Baltimore, Dayton, Pittsburgh, Richmond (Ind.), White Plains (N. Y.), Hoboken, Jersey City, Des Moines, under the direction of men trained in the parent organization. Fairly typical are the results obtained in Dayton, where the bureau has induced the city council to employ an itemized budget, introduced unit cost records in the cleaning and repair of streets, and outlined a comprehensive plan of water-works betterment. In other cities where no permanent bureau has been established, research studies have been made at local expense by the New York staff, as in Boston, Memphis, Montclair, St. Louis, Rochester, Yonkers, and Atlanta. Organizations like the Municipal Association of Cleveland and the Tax Association of Alameda County, Cal., are making investigations of county offices and constructive suggestions for more efficient organization.

THE SHORT BALLOT

And while these beacons of public intelligence are throwing a flood of light on the daily operations of government, the very citadel of the predatory politician is threatened. Swiftly, during the past three years, the public has swung round to the conviction that our long and complex election ballots not only confuse the voter and minimize his suffrage power, but directly surrender the minor offices on the ticket to the extra-legal organization behind the successful party.

The remedy is obvious: If the minor offices are to serve the people's interest, they must be made responsible to the people's major servants; they must be filled by the few luminous, interesting officers like a governor, or mayor, whom the people do in fact select.

The application of this principle will take large blocks of patronage from those unofficial magnates who have controlled conventions or wielded a dominating advantage in the direct primaries. The legislature of Ohio began in January to carry out the specific pledges of the Short Ballot reform in three State party platforms. In doing this, they were confronted with a ballot by which the voter sought not only to select a Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and legislative representatives, but a Secretary of State, State Treasurer, Comptroller, Attorney-General, Dairy and Food Commissioner, besides a long list of county officials, sometimes as many as forty-four in all. The officers in the first group were clearly political; they were entrusted with the shaping of public policies through statutes and executive orders. Every canon of popular governemnt required that their names be retained on the ballot. With the second group, however, the contrary was true; these were clearly of the minor-executive, order-taking class, and the more or less specialized duties which fell to them made it desirable that they be selected after due deliberation and investigation, the conduct of which is one of the most important functions of a responsible chief executive. And so it was proposed in Ohio to amend the constitution so as to make those minor officers amenable to the Governor by vesting their appointment in him, thus at once unburdening the voter and founding a unified, responsible, non-political administration.

The action in Ohio is typical, for measures of similar import are under consideration in the legislatures of Washington, New York, Idaho, Michigan, Iowa, New Mexico, California, Colorado, and North Dakota. The strong drift to this fundamental reform is shown by the affirmative planks in numerous State party platforms and in the national platform of the Progressive party last fall. It has also been endorsed by the three leading candidates for the Presidency and by the present Governors of eleven States in this year's messages or recent public utterances, and by the editors of practically every important newspaper in America. In its best-known form, the Short Ballot idea is in practical and successful operation in the two hundred American cities which have the commission plan of government.

THE CITY-MANAGER PLAN

This new promise of democracy, founded upon efficiency and simplicity, has received

no small impetus from the example of the large private corporations, which in their form of organization, at least, have been conspicuously fortunate. It was the conception of a city as a business proposition which gave the Galveston experiment its first great vogue. More recently, the charter revisionists in many cities are applying to the city organization the literal ground plan of the private corporation—and the spirit of the thing as well.

For instance, the city of Sumter, S. C., is a community of 10,000 inhabitants in which the powers of local government are all vested in a board of three citizens, elected at large and subject to recall. One of these is entitled mayor, but is without powers beyond those of a presiding officer and ceremonial head of the city. To this extent the plan of organization follows the "commission" type, but with these vital differences: The three elected officers are not supervisors of departments; they draw but nominal salaries; they are not expected to give any considerable time to public duties; they are frankly not political experts. The commissioners simply represent the interests of the city as a board of directors, and delegate the responsibility for details to a competent executive, known as the "city manager," who is their servant and subject to removal by them at their pleasure. To him they entrust the appointment, subject to civil service rules, of all the other city officers and employees; to him they look for reports of the city's needs and the formulation of the budget.

And so, in Sumter, the elected governing board monopolizes the "politics" of the town, which is construed in a high sense, as the making of public policies. The appointed executive, free from political influence, is able to conduct his office according to professional standards.

In January the commissioners selected the first "city manager." At no moment did they look upon the office as a plum to be shaken down for a politician who had been active in securing their election, or for a local favorite. They acted in a way which was at once revolutionary and characteristically American. They advertised! The best position in the city went to a young engineer from outside the city, who had no other claim upon it than his ability to perform its duties.

The Sumter advertisement which was confined to a few engineering journals (because it was thought that an engineer could make himself especially useful in the city) brought over 150 applications, from every quarter of the country. The idea of putting a city on a genuine business basis had attracted a remarkable number of excellent candidates; fully two-thirds of them had had experience in municipal engineering and many were holding positions as city engineers. Among the number were several graduates of West Point and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and one was a commissioner of public works, an elective officer in one of the commission-governed cities in the Middle West.

The Sumter experiment, were it but a local phenomenon, would lack significance. But, for four years the city of Staunton, Va., has been under a plan as nearly similar as the laws of the State will allow; the city manager plan was adopted in March by Hickory and Morganton, N. C., and is a feature of the proposed charter of Whittier, Cal., it has been endorsed by official commissions in St. Petersburg, Fla., Bisbee, Ariz., and Owosso, Mich.; it is incorporated in Statewide permissive bills in New York, Minnesota, Ohio, and New Jersey; it has the sanction of the Board of Trade in Lockport, N. Y., and all the leading civic bodies in Dayton, Ohio; it has been seriously discussed in Dover, N. H., and Honolulu, H. T.; it is the central feature in a plan of city and county federation supported by a strong group of civic and commercial organizations in Alameda County, Cal., a community of 250,000 people, which includes the cities of Oakland and Berkeley.

THE SELECTION OF EXPERT EXECUTIVES

Expert professional qualifications for the highest executive offices—this is an appealing prospect. But how to secure the best qualified men; how to keep the office free from political taint, are questions of impending importance.

One answer as to the method of selection is found in some of the late successes in the administration of the merit system of civil service, a significant illustration of which was the choice in 1909 of the head of the Chicago Public Library by competitive examination. Never before had an appointment to a high executive office been made in this way which involved so many delicate factors. The librarians throughout the country generally resented the idea as a blow at their professional status; the usual procedure of examination was totally inadequate. Notwithstanding, in the absence of any other legal method of filling the post, the Civil Service

commission confessed their limitations and called in a committee of experts composed of some of the leading librarians of the country, who set a suitable "examination." The applicants, nineteen in all, did not assemble, but were given a comprehensive statement of existing conditions in the library system and required to work out a plan of reorganization. One month was allowed for the work and personal character, education, and experience were considered in the final selection. By previous arrangement, only the names of the successful candidates were published, and a place on this list, so far from lowering the dignity of the applicant, came to be regarded as a badge of distinction.

By a similar process the present Fire Chief of New York City was chosen to a post which calls for the human qualities of a fearless leader of men, as well as an intimate knowledge of the highly technical building code, the topography of a great city, and the intricacies of the fire-fighting apparatus. Kansas City chose this method to get her Municipal Reference Librarian, and the Philadelphia Civil Service Commission to get their Chief Examiner.

THE SUPPLY OF TRAINED MEN

But the question of methods of selection is infinitely less pressing than that of the human material to be selected. Whence is to come the supply of men not expert in the historic art of massing political influence, but in the science and art of public administration? The experience of Sumter seems to indicate a plenitude of good raw material. But larger cities require in their executives not so often the equipment of civil engineers as a more special training in municipal government based partly upon active contact with the details of administration and partly upon a broad perspective gained from systematic study.

The call is gaining recognition. In November, 1911, the first Training School for Public Service was put upon a tentative foundation through gifts of Mrs. E. H. Harriman and others, and its conduct entrusted to the New York Bureau of Municipal Research. As suggested above, the basic idea of the bureau is to accomplish efficiency through intelligence; the intelligence of the electorate and of public officials, through adequate records and publicity. This is also the spirit of instruction in the Training School. In a practical way, its students are brought face to face with actual municipal problems. Nearly all of them, men and women, have received a previous professional education and experience in teaching, engineering, law, medicine, or social work. Into that training the school aims to introduce the civic conception and the scientific spirit.

For example, three former teachers came under its tuition and were assigned to make a surveyof the rural schools of Wisconsin for the State Board of Public Affairs. With the minutest scrutiny they went over the system, examining its physical details, its personnel, its educational methods, its finances. The report of this work is a striking commentary on the value of professionalized public service, as against the usual rough-and-ready methods which are at their very worst in rural districts. In Syracuse, other members made studies of the schools and of public health; in Dobbs Ferry, N. Y., of the schools and budget; in Newark, of the health department and all-year-round schools; in Orange, N. J., of the health and other city departments. One was called to Philadelphia as aide to the Director of Public Safety and assisted in the reorganization of his department. The field work was done under competent supervision and was supplemented by modern methods of administration and the social needs of cities.

THE TRAINING-SCHOOL IDEA EXPANDED

The idea of the Training School deserves expansion beyond the somewhat restricted field of administrative methods. Somewhere in America is to be found nearly every one of the principal ingredients of a complete School of Municipal Science. The civil service of cities like Cleveland, Chicago, or New York might supply the groundwork of practical experience. In each of these cities is located a great university which offers excellent courses in the science of administration, municipal law, and the other pertinent subjects. The city and the university might coöperate. The federal government is now planning a great municipal exhibit for the San Francisco exhibition. Here is the nucleus of a national municipal museum. The municipal reference library of one of the cities might be developed into a national repository of scientific up-to-date municipal facts.

Some centralizing of these agencies; some plan of executive training, as thorough and complete in its way as the curriculum at West Point or Annapolis, is needed to round out the very hopeful outlook for the new profession of administration.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

TOPICS IN THE MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS

THE May *Atlantic* devotes a fair proportion of space to the discussion of topics of wide public interest. Two articles are contributed on the subject of the Philippines. The first, by H. Fielding-Hall, outlines the task of the United States in the Archipelago from a distinctively British point of view. Professor Bernard Moses writes on "American Control of the Philippines," with the sureness of touch that can only come from long and patient study of the question under specially favorable auspices. An article that has a direct bearing on the present labors of Congress is Professor F. W. Taussig's elucidation of the tariff problem entitled "What Industries Are Worth Having." "The Money Trust" is considered in scientific spirit by Alexander D. Noyes. These are the articles to which the publicist or newspaper editor would first turn for enlightenment, but the essay by Agnes Repplier on "The Cost of Modern Sentiment" should not be overlooked.

The illustrated monthlies are less concerned with the topics of the hour, but in the *Century* (April) appears an interesting "Bird's-Eye View of European Politics," from the pen of André Tardieu. There is also an admirable picture article "Skirting the Balkan Peninsula," with text by Robert Hichens, and reproductions of paintings by Jules Guérin and photographs. In "The Capture of New York," Captain Paul B. Malone, U. S. A., makes very vivid the danger that would threaten the metropolis in event of war with a foreign power. "The Post-Impressionist Illusion" is the subject of a gentle satire by Royal Cortissoz, and William Morton Fullerton describes the lot of "The Unmarried Woman in France."

In the *Century's* "After the War" series Clark Howell writes on "The Aftermath of Reconstruction," ex-Secretary Herbert on "How We Redeemed Alabama," and ex-Senator Edmunds contributes "A Letter on Reconstruction and Impeachment."

In *Harper's* for April there is a graphic account by Dr. Hiram Bingham of the remarkable discoveries made by the Yale Peruvian Expedition of 1911, which seem to have resulted in the finding of the original Inca capital. The fifth paper of explorer Stefánsson's account of his quest in the Arctic appears in this number, and by way of a European travel article Harrison Rhodes describes the Lido, which he calls "A Venetian Playground."

Scribner's for April has an excellent description of the Pacific tour from Panama to Peru, by Ernest Peixotto, with illustrations by the author. Price Collier's study of German and the Germans has to do, this month, with the German army. An installment of extracts from the letters and journals of Charles Eliot Norton is published in this number of *Scribner's* under the title "English Friends."

The leading features of the May *McClure's* are "The Strange Woman," by George Kibbe Turner. "A School for Womanhood," by Burton J. Hendrick; the story of the rise of an immigrant Russian Jew who arrived in America with a capital of twenty-nine cents, by Abraham Cahan; and the new magazine departments—that for women edited by Inez Milholland; "Health—Public and Private," conducted by Samuel Hopkins Adams; and "The Montessori Department," by Ellen Yale Stevens.

In *Everybody's* for April Frederick Palmer tells the story of the battles of the Balkan War. Mr. Palmer was the only American reporter within the allies' lines. In the magazine article, freed from the restraint of the Bulgarian censorship, he describes with freedom all that he saw and learned.

Munsey's for April has articles on "The Passing of the Plunger," by Isaac F. Marcosson; "Eliminating the Middleman Between Farmer and Consumer," by Judson C. Welliver; and "The Progress of the Parcel Post," by Hugh Thompson; "Personal Recollections of General J. E. B. Stuart," by Colonel John S. Mosby; and F. Cunliffe Owen writes on "The Succession to the Russian Throne."

Ex-President Roosevelt's "Chapters of a Possible Autobiography" are now appearing at monthly intervals in the *Outlook*. The installment for April 26, has to do with "Practical Politics." The inherent interest of these papers is sufficient to account for

the widespread publication that they are receiving through newspaper syndicates.

An attractive feature of the *World's Work* for May is the article by William Bayard Hale entitled "Watching President Wilson at Work." Dr. Hale describes the President's method of dealing with his visitors, and makes a comparison with the conditions under Presidents Roosevelt and Taft.

The leading article in the *Popular Science Monthly* for April is Professor Ward's discussion of "The Influence of Forests Upon Climate," which we summarize on page 605 of this number. The *Popular Science* also has instructive articles on "The Domestication of American Grapes," by Professor U. P. Hedrick, and "The United States Public Health Service," by Dr. Alfred C. Reed.

Among the serious topics covered by the *North American Review* for April are: "The Rotten Boroughs of New England," by Chester Lloyd Jones; "Our Wool Duties," by Thomas W. Page; "The Commerce Court," by James A. Fowler; "Aspects of the Income Tax," by Sydney Brooks; and the fourth paper in answer to the question, "What Is Socialism?" by A. Maurice Low. In the same number Mrs. Bellamy Storer writes on "The Awakening of Austria"; William Dean Howells on "To and in Granada"; and Dr. George William Douglas on "Christ and Bergson."

Apropos of recent occurrences in England the *Forum's* leading article for April on "Political Militancy: Its Cause and Cure," by Mrs. Havelock Ellis, is especially pertinent. Two other highly timely articles in this number are "Parenthood and the Social Consciousness," by Seth K. Humphrey, and "The Age of Consent and Its Significance," by Anna Garlin Spencer.

In the *Yale Review* (quarterly) Gertrude Atherton gives her views of "The Woman of To-Morrow"; E. P. Morris writes on "The College and the Intellectual Life," which, of late, have not been intimately associated in the public mind; Max Farrand on "The Election and Term of the President"; and Theodore S. Woolsey on "A Speculation as to Disarmament." Professor Thomas R. Lounsbury gives some interesting reminiscences of his army life in the defenses of Washington during the years 1862 and 1863. C. Charles Arthur Moore, Jr., describes "The Siege of Scutari." There are essays in this number on "Shakespeare as an Economist," by Henry W. Farnam; "Dante as the Inspirer of Italian Patriotism," by William Roscoe Thayer; "The Logic of Feeling," by Edward M. Weyer; and "An Athenian Critic of Life," by Thomas D. Goodell.

The *American Historical Review* (quarterly) contains ex-President Roosevelt's address as president of the American Historical Association on "History as Literature," here printed in full for the first time. In the same number General Charles Francis Adams tells the thrilling story of the sea-fight between the *Constitution* and the *Guerrière* under the unusual title, "Wednesday, August 19, 1812, 6:30 P.M.; the Birth of a World Power."

The English reviews devote a great deal of attention to the land program of the Liberal government. The *Contemporary Review* has a long analysis of the Liberal policy toward the land question, by Sir W. Ryland D. Adkins, M.P. This writer commends the Liberal program and declares it has the endorsement of every thoughtful Englishman. The *Westminster Review* has two articles on the land question: "A Bird's-Eye View of the Land Question," by Richard Higgs—"to solve the problem of which is to reach the ideal"; and "What Jesus Thought of Party and Possessions," by Elijah Greenleaf. The *English Review* publishes a striking study of this question, by F. E. Green, entitled "The Land Enquiry—and After." "Oh, Lord!" concludes this writer, "cannot we have a little less noise and a little more light?" Other noteworthy articles in the *Contemporary* are: "Seven Years of Liberal Government," by Philip Morrell, M.P.; "The Making of Australasia," by Edward Jenks; two articles on the government of India, and a study of "The Optimism of Ibsen," by Edwin Björkman. The *Westminster* has a study of Anglo-American financial relations by W. Turner, a couple of articles on educational subjects, and the second part of Fr. Dougan's "Catholic Church and Socialism." In the *English Review* Arnold Bennett has a study entitled "Seeing Life." The aged French naturalist, Henri Fabre, of whom we have more to say on another page, discusses the status of "Industrial Chemistry"; Mr. R. A. Scott-James argues at some length that "literature is a fine art.

The *National Review* contains a number of heart-searching articles by English writers who try to point out "What is Wrong with England?" Under this phrase as a title the Rev. Lord William Cecil surveys the whole national situation, and calls Britons to a higher patriotism. Claude Grahame-White and Harry Harper consider the danger to England from continental air craft, under the title "Our Peril From Above."

FORESTS AND CLIMATE

THAT forests exercise a marked influence on climate is one of those things that the average man takes for granted. Should he hear doubts on the subject expressed by the man of science he simply sets the latter down for an amiable paradoxer—a sort of *advocatus diaboli*, such as must, it appears, arise to dispute the sanctity of every time-honored belief.

One delusion begets another. In all times and in all countries the opinion has prevailed that "the climate has changed" within the memory of man. An explanation of the supposed change is sought, and what more natural than to find it in the clearing away of the forests and the cultivation of the soil?

As a matter of fact, climates do not anywhere change perceptibly in the course of a generation or so, nor is it at all certain that they have changed anywhere within historic times. On the other hand, the whole face of a country may be changed in a few decades from virgin forests to open fields and pastures. Putting these two facts together, it is evident that the influence of forests on climate, if it exists, must be very small. Does it exist at all? This question is responsible for a large amount of controversial literature—which, however, the average man is not likely to become acquainted with, since it is mostly consigned to technical books and journals of limited circulation.

Professor Robert DeC. Ward, of Harvard, has performed a meritorious task in bringing together the more authoritative expressions of opinion on this subject from widely scattered sources in a contribution to the *Popular Science Monthly*, entitled "The Influence of Forests on Climate."

As to the present distribution of forests over the earth he says:

> We observe, the world over, that where there are extended forests there is heavy rainfall, and we see deserts and treeless areas where the rainfall is light. We infer that the forests have something to do with producing the heavier rainfall, and some of us may even go a step farther and think that the great treeless areas were once forested, and that deforestation has made them dry . . . but . . . the great rainy and dry belts of the earth's surface are controlled by a world-wide distribution of temperature, pressure and winds, that is, by the general circulation of the atmosphere, and by conditions of the higher strata far and away beyond the reach of any local effects such as those of a forest. Universally, in response to natural controls, a scanty rainfall is hostile to tree-growth, and forests are favored by heavy rainfall, which gives good conditions of soil-moisture and is generally accompanied by higher relative humidity, more cloudiness and less extreme temperatures than prevail over treeless regions. . . . We must be careful not to put the cart before the horse. The forests, in other words, are the result of the rainfall, and not *vice versa*.

There is another source of misapprehension on this subject. When we seek to explain why forests should be expected to influence climate, we are apt to forget that the processes involved apply to the climate within the forest itself, whereas the alleged effects of forests in which we are for the most part interested are those supposed to be exerted upon the country at large.

> It is one thing for a forest to have a climate of its own within its own limits, under or above the trees. It is quite another thing for a forest to affect the climate of the surrounding country, or of distant regions. The latter effect is naturally the one in which the real interest centers. But it is also the one which is by far the most difficult to study. It is clear that nothing more than reasonably local modifications of climate ought to be expected. The special climate of the forest itself—so far as it may appear to have one—can only affect the surroundings by modifying the air currents which pass through or over it, by producing an ascending movement of the forest air to take part in the prevailing wind movement, or by causing, as may happen under especially favorable conditions, local air currents of its own. Most, if not all, of the above-mentioned theoretical effects of forests upon climate have been overestimated.
>
> The most obvious effect of forests is that of the barrier, or windbreak. First, there is far less wind movement within the forest than there is outside. Second, friction on the tree-tops reduces the velocity of the wind blowing over the forest. Third, to leeward of the forest there is a belt of relative calm which is roughly ten to fifteen times as wide as the forest is high. It should be noted, however, that this very wind-break, by decreasing wind velocity, keeps the air of the forest interior from affecting the atmospheric conditions round about. In other words, the forest diminishes its own climatic influence.

As to the climate within the forest, it has been found to be characterized by a somewhat more equable temperature than that of the open country—a little cooler in summer, and about the same, or very slightly warmer, in winter—but the difference is far less than is popularly supposed.

Forests, by diminishing the movement of the air, and cutting off the sunshine, decrease the evaporation, but on the other hand supply moisture to the air by transpiration from the leaves.

> But the forests must of course have received the water before they can give it up; they can not supply it by and through themselves. There seems

to be no really very good reason for thinking that the rainfall conditions of the interior of North America would be very much changed if all the forests bordering on the coasts were replaced by crops or by grass. It is foolish for us to think that the forests are more important than the ocean in supplying water vapor for rainfall. Without the rainfall supplied by the vapor evaporated from the oceans the existing forests would never have grown at all. The amounts of moisture concerned in the great rain-producing processes of the atmosphere are so large that the local supply from forests can not conceivably play any considerable part.

Thus we come to the phase of the discussion which is of much the greatest popular interest. Do forests increase rainfall? Does deforestation result in a decrease of rainfall?

After discussing a number of famous cases that have been adduced in favor of the belief that forests increase rainfall, the writer concludes that the records are largely illusory. Rain-gages in a forest undoubtedly catch more rain than those in the open; not, however, because the rainfall is heavier, but because the exposure of the gage is better with respect to the wind. It remains to be proved that forests have *any* effect in increasing rainfall; but even those students of the subject who claim that there is such an effect admit that it is very small. Thus the question becomes academic rather than practical.

Nor, in spite of the prevailing popular impression to the contrary, is there any reliable evidence whatever that cultivation and tree-planting over extended areas of the west and southwest have resulted in any increase in the amount of precipitation. There is, of course, a better conservation of moisture for plant use. We are surely within the bounds of reason when we say that there is no hope that we can increase our rainfall really appreciably or effectively by any amount of tree-planting. A whole ocean of water can not give rainfall if the general pressures and temperatures and winds are hostile to precipitation.

Forests have a local effect on the amount of moisture brought down to the ground in so far as they collect water from fog and low clouds. This may be seen dripping from the trees even when there is no actual rain falling. There is little foundation for the popular belief that forests affect the movement of hailstorms and thunderstorms or serve to break them up. Lastly, the hygienic influence of forests depends upon the shelter they afford and the purity of the air, but not upon any notable difference in the chemical composition of the air. The alleged abundance and influence of ozone in forest air must be ranked with other discredited beliefs concerning that once famous substance.

The influence of forests on water-supply, erosion and floods does not properly belong to climate. The writer quotes, however, the conclusions of the recent "Final Report of the National Waterways Commission" (which by a slip of author or printer here figures as the "National Highways Commission"), the pith of which may be thus expressed:

Under one set of conditions forests may exercise a beneficial influence upon stream flow and floods, while under another their influence will be harmful.

ARE RAILROADS NEUTRALIZING SEA POWER?

ONE of the most important questions now presenting themselves for solution to those statesmen of the world who recognize not only the exigencies of politics and the needs of the military situation, but the potentialities of economic conditions is: What part is the railway destined to play in the limitation and neutralization of sea power? Admiral Mahan and other writers on naval and military matters have been impressing upon us for many years the dominance of sea power as a factor in history. We are just now beginning to perceive the emergence of another influence destined to limit, if not completely nullify, the force of guns on ships of war.

It was pointed out in a recent speech on the naval question in the Canadian Parliament that the Dominion has one transcontinental line which is already a supplement to the navy of Great Britain, the world's dominating sea-power, and that it may, eventually, render that sea-power almost superfluous.

The Grand Trunk Pacific is virtually a second line of defense for British power and influence on the American continent so long as Canada remains an integral portion of the British Empire. Running, as it does, clear across the continent far north of our border, with its eastern terminus under the protection of the British navy, the Grand Trunk Pacific has a distinct military and political value not possessed by the Canadian Pacific whose line runs parallel with the frontier at a comparatively short distance, and might be cut at many points. The value of the Grand Trunk Pacific is, however, more defensive than offensive, depending, of course, on Britain's command of the sea.

Just how vital it may be to a modern nation to hold under its undivided control and exclu-

sively within its own territory a complete trunk line of railway, was demonstrated impressively during the Russo-Japanese war. The Trans-Siberian line had only a single track throughout the greater part of its length. The naval power of Russia, moreover, had been first neutralized and then virtually annihilated in the Pacific. And yet that single-track line saved Russia from losing all her Far-Eastern possessions east of Lake Baikal. Since then there have been many signs, in various parts of the world, that the lessons of that war of 1904, in so far as they relate to the political as well as to the military strategic value of great trunk lines of railway, have not been lost on governments controlling great areas of territory or with ambitions for territorial or commercial expansion, or both.

THE STRATEGICS OF RAILROAD BUILDING

Before the Russo-Japanese war there were many great trunk lines of railway projected, but for political or financial reasons some of them were allowed to lie dormant, while some, for lack of control of the territories involved or the suspicions of their governments, had to be laid aside. Among these last were railways in China intended to form continuations of English, French and Russian lines already built, to terminals on the coast of China. Other lines were suspended because of international disputes over questions of control or right of way. But an impulse has lately been given to the construction of some of the projected lines and the resumption of active work on others because of the attitude of Great Britain in the matter of naval construction and the domination of the seas. This is particularly the case with what is known as the Bagdad Railway, the wrangles over which are one of the principal causes of the Anglo-German quarrel. One has only to look at the maps of Europe and the Near East and draw a line from Berlin to Bagdad through Constantinople in order to understand the present groupings of the European powers, the policy that led to the Balkan war, and what will follow in Europe, in the Near East, and in Africa.

THE "GAME" OF THE BAGDAD LINE

When the Deutsche Bank, with a concession from the Turkish government, opened the first section of the Bagdad Railway, from Constantinople to Sabandja in Asia Minor, it was well understood that this was only the first link in a great trunk line to the Persian Gulf, with branches toward the Caucasus and the northwest frontier of Persia; to Alexandretta on the Eastern Mediterranean; to the holy cities of Islam, Medina and Mecca, with a terminal on the Red Sea at Jiddah; and into southwestern Persia from Bagdad. A glance at the map will show that troops coming from any part of continental Europe could be thrown into any part of Asiatic Turkey and Persia right up to the Russian Caucasus and Trans-Caspian frontiers, the border of Afghanistan and the western boundary of British India, whenever the supplementary lines were constructed, without at any point coming under the guns of British or other warships.

The Bagdad Railway was intended to be the main line of a military system of interior lines against exterior sea-power. The German government, which is behind the Bagdad Railway enterprise, selected Koweit on the Persian Gulf as the sea terminal, but the British government intervened and took the Sheik of Koweit, which is an integral part of Turkish Arabia, under its "protection." Great Britain then claimed the right to joint participation with Germany in the construction and administration of the Bagdad-Koweit section. But the Germans and the Turkish government arranged for its construction by a purely Ottoman syndicate. There the matter stands at present, the construction of the main line through Mesopotamia being pushed as rapidly as possible.

Meanwhile, projects are on foot and arousing a good deal of discussion in England for a direct line of rail from Egypt, through southern Palestine to Bagdad, whence a line is projected from British India, along the south coast of Persia, where it would be under the protection of the guns of British warships. This is only part of a still greater scheme which looks to a continuous communication between London and India, *via* France and Spain, and along the northern shores of Morocco, Algeria, Tripoli and Egypt, where it would meet the line from Asia. That there may one day be an unbroken connection by rail between London and Calcutta has been brought to mind by a recent speech in London by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle at a banquet of the Anglo-French Union. He said:

> The most unintelligent thing done by the present generation of Englishmen was the refusal to allow the construction of a tunnel under the Channel. The government should have it begun at once and completed as rapidly as possible, for in case of war the tunnel would be an effective assurance against national starvation.

That this tunnel will be made sooner or later seems morally certain. There would then remain, when all the intermediate lines were completed and linked together, only one other under-sea tunnel to be made, that under the Straits of Gibraltar. Some years ago preliminary work was begun to ascertain whether this was feasible, but representations from the British government of the day caused the scheme to be dropped. Under present conditions there should be no reason for opposing the project to unite Africa and Europe by a tunnel under the Straits, and in this way to bring London and Paris eventually into direct communication by rail with all parts of Africa as well as southern Asia. In case of war between the two groups of powers into which Europe is now divided, this system would become a reinforcement to the navies of the Anglo-French section of the *Triple Entente*—except that part of the North African line between Algeria and Egypt. At all the ports served by those railways their ships would receive necessary supplies of coal, oil and food, without interruption from hostile fleets.

AFRICAN RAILWAY SYSTEMS EMERGING

In Africa the east-west and north-south lines of rail projected and under construction will in time cover the continent with a network of railways that must have far-reaching effects in developing its vast resources, and be in their nature more commercial and political than military in relation to possible foreign invasion. At the same time the Cape-to-Cairo Railway, with the lines from the British East and West Coast Colonies that will eventually join it, will have a decidedly military importance in the event of England finding herself at war with any of her partners in the partition of Africa.

THE RAILROAD SETTLING ASIA'S FUTURE

The greatest future for railway power in the old world is indubitably in what used to be called the Chinese Empire with its vast population. Mr. Lewis Freeman in his article in this REVIEW for February sets forth this situation more fully, with an excellent map.

These railways through Central Asia will render Russia independent of a navy in the Far East. With every mile of their advance toward the coast, they will tend to limit the influence of the navies of other countries beyond a short distance into the interior. Having no over-sea colonies and detached islands and territories, except in the extreme northeast of Asia and in the frozen north (of no great value), Russia has little need of a navy, while, on the other hand, her railways enable her to conquer territories beyond the reach of any navy. It is with railways that England and France are penetrating into southwestern China from the south and threatening the Republic with disintegration, in the same way that Russia is acting from the north and will act later from the west. The conquest of Asia will be effected by railways and not by ships of war. The railway is the trump card in the game of colonization and conquest in the future.

HOW CALIFORNIA WOMEN VOTERS "MADE GOOD"

AS a foreword to a series of articles by Mr. and Mrs. Lewis Edwin Theiss, the first of which is on "What California's Women Did with Their Ballots," in the *Pictorial Review*, the editor of that publication prints an "editorial declaration" in which he comes out squarely for woman suffrage. "It is not only coming: it is coming fast," he says; and "the movement cannot be stayed." And the question is no longer, "Will women vote?" but "How will they vote?" After months of observation, Mr. and Mrs. Theiss have found "just how the women vote and what they vote for." The writers were in San Francisco on November 5, when "the last-made voters in the Union were to cast their first vote at a national election," and they admit that at first the proceedings were "distinctly disappointing." They say:

> On the days before election we had gone from one political headquarters to another, from one suffrage body to another, and had seen the newly franchised voters swarming about with all the buzz and business of a beehive. We had seen them working for their candidates and receiving printed matter for distribution at the polls and instructions as to the rights of "pickets," and we had expected something "lively"—something at least interesting if not even exciting. What we saw was as tame as a church service. As we passed from poll to poll we found no excitement whatever, nothing militant, nothing unladylike. We saw instead quiet women working quietly for the good of their homes and city and country. . . . At

first it was disappointing. But it became more than interesting as the significance of the thing gradually grew upon us, for San Francisco's vote on election day showed that the women of that city take their politics as they do their housework. And just as they clean their own domiciles, so, quietly, conscientiously, determinedly, without fuss or flurry, they were putting their political house in order.

One noticeable feature of the election was that 1200 women were employed as clerks at the polls, and one was judge of elections. There were three things for which the San Francisco women were contending most at the election in question: (1) the defeat of a race-track amendment, which was a trick bill; (2) the reëlection of Judge W. P. Lawlor, "an able lawyer, a just judge, and an arbiter without partiality," and the man who presided at the San Francisco graft trials; and (3) the prevention of the reëlection of a State Senator who had voted against the bill which had abolished gambling on horse-racing, who was "a relic of the old machine days," and who "was out of place in a progressive administration." It was to secure these results, and the adoption of some other measures, such as free text-books for school children, that the women of San Francisco "marched to the polls to cast their votes, or stood long hours on the cold, wet sidewalk trying to win other voters to their way of thinking." They showed, too, that they were no mere tyros at the election business. They prepared clever little "dodgers" against the race-track amendment which the voters could take with them into the booths, and which explained just how they should mark their ballots; and in the Italian quarter, where some promised dodgers failed to arrive on time, they printed the instructions and warning in colored chalk on the sidewalks.

At first, banding themselves together merely to fight for enfranchisement, in the end the women of California "turned their temporary organizations into perpetual legions, to battle forever for human rights." An idea of the tremendous power at the back of the women's movement in California may be gathered from the following condensed extracts from the article:

The Club Women's Franchise League, having 2500 members and local branches throughout California, became the New Era League of San Francisco. The Woman's City Club of Los Angeles, which started in May, 1911, with 100 members, and is a non-partisan body of women citizens, aiming to produce in women alertness of mind and sanity of judgment, and whose great object is instruction in citizenship, now has 1,400 names on its roster. Then there is the Friday Morning Club of Los Angeles, also out for social service. And perhaps the most influential of all is the California Civic League. the direct descendant of the College Equal Suffrage League, with thirty or more affiliated clubs or centers covering the entire upper portion of the State, and ranging in size from 14 to 1000 members, or, all told, more than 3000 active members. Corresponding to this and covering the lower end of the State is the Civic League of Southern California, an outgrowth of the Woman's Progressive League, and having a total membership of over 10,000. Then there is the State Federation of Women's Clubs, with 25,000 members, making an organized army in California of nearly 50,000 women coöperating in civic study and in an effort to secure legislation which shall place the State at the forefront of the movement for human justice.

The article gives some interesting facts with regard to the things these women's organizations have done. At San Francisco, when a civic center became desirable and a bond issue was decided upon, the mayor left the presentation of the matter to the people in the hands of the New Era League, whose president, Mrs. Coffin, cleverly secured for it such effective publicity that at the special election the citizens voted for the bond issue by the overwhelming vote of 45,000 to 4,000. At this same election, too, the League brought the election authorities to book.

In all San Francisco—a city of nearly half a million population—there was but one registration place. This booth was in the City Hall, in the down-town section of the city, where not only women but even many men found it extremely inconvenient, not to say unpleasant, to go; for San Francisco is a city that spreads over miles and miles of territory.

The New Era League put the matter squarely up to the authorities. "Where are you going to locate your new registration booths?" asked Mrs. Coffin.

"Where am I going to put them?" repeated the astonished official. "There aren't going to be any more."

"The law of California," said Mrs. Coffin, "distinctly says that it is the business of the registration board to *facilitate* registration. You don't want me to advertise that fact that you have not done your legal duty, do you?"

The official began to see a great light. "I have no appropriation to equip other booths," he replied.

"Is lack of money your sole reason for not providing additional registration booths?" asked Mrs. Coffin.

"Yes," said the official.

"Very well," said Mrs. Coffin. "We'll furnish the booths if you will furnish the clerical force."

The official had to say, "Yes," but he quickly added a condition that he thought would dispose of Mrs. Coffin. "You must have your booths ready by ten o'clock to-morrow morning," he said.

"I will," said Mrs. Coffin, though she had no idea how she was to do it.

But by ten o'clock the next morning she had her rooms ready.

The San Francisco center of the Civic League started a registration campaign, and the registration of women jumped from 1200 to 25,000. At Los Angeles the Women's Progressive League in twenty-seven registration days enrolled 83,284 women as voters. The Woman's City Club of Los Angeles gathers every Monday for luncheon, and at every luncheon some speaker of note talks upon an important civic topic. And as illustrating the scope of their work, on one occasion 500 women of various civic clubs of Los Angeles went twenty miles in special trolley cars to inspect the harbor development work at the port, San Pedro. And the women are in dead earnest.

QUICK THINKING IN TENNIS

"PLAYING tennis with one's head" might be another title for an article on "Quick thinking in Tennis" in the *Outing Magazine* for April, by Mr. Raymond D. Little. Mr. Little is one of our foremost authorities on the game, with high rank and international fame as a player. Being himself an expert exponent of the "heady" style of game, Mr. Little is well qualified to write on this subject. In his opinion, headwork in tennis means not only playing your own game, but to some extent the other fellow's also; that is, trying to figure out what your opponent will probably do and acting accordingly,—playing both sides of the net, as it were.

The tennis player must have an alert mind in order to reach the top. An instant's quick thought may in many cases change the outcome of a game or an entire match. The very small margin of "points" that may be noticed in many matches, between the scores of the winner and the loser, shows the importance of using strategy to win every possible point. Mr. Little does not wish to make it appear that tennis is "a game for the fox," but the important fact to remember is that every point begets another point.

The quick play of the mind is illustrated in the maneuver of the "fake opening." In one such case a player, having a large part of his court exposed, had unluckily volleyed weakly to his opponent, who therefore had a splendid chance for a sure shot. Most players caught in this way would have given up the point without a struggle. This player, however, attempted a bit of strategy. But appearing to start on a mad rush to cover his unprotected court, he induced the other player to anticipate his false move and play to his other side, whereupon he promptly turned about and met the ball for a successful shot. Obviously, the next time the opportunity for the "fake opening" is presented, the driver would refuse to be caught by the same trick. The volleyer, however, anticipating this fact, this time makes a genuine dash toward his uncovered court and meets his opponent's drive on his forehand. The driver, having been thus twice anticipated, the first time by deliberate strategy and the second time by careful deduction, loses confidence to such an extent that several additional points are scored against him.

Anticipating an opponent's move is always gratifying to a player, but Mr. Little warns against indicating too quickly to your opponent that you have discovered "his game."

There is danger, also, in over-acting. For instance, one of our best players usually fails to make a successful "fake opening" because his pretended rush toward his unprotected court is so unnatural in its movements that it is easily detected. Then there is that other common case of over-acting in doubles, where a player plainly advertises his intention to drive down his opponents' alley by making a great show of looking off in some entirely different direction. These transparent strategies defeat their purpose.

It is when both opposing players are facing each other near the net, however, that the quickest thinking, or guessing, must be done.

Watching the racket of his opponent as a cat would a mouse and springing forward the instant that the other man indicates by the slightest move to which side of the court he is going to drive, a quick thinker may be able by his forward jump to meet the ball, and of course he will gain the advantage of leaving little time for the driver to recover.

Mr. Little has something to say also about upsetting the strategy of the man who does not think carefully and accurately, the player who tries one dodge after another, only to find himself made ridiculous by being beautifully passed owing to the superior work of the thorough strategist. Such a man discovers that instead of being quick, he is simply being thoughtless.

The primary rule of anticipating—watching the other man's racket—is capable of being followed with different degrees of keenness. There

is the man who knows the rule and follows it fairly well, and the other man who watches at the rate of 100 per cent, the man, for instance, who knows when McLoughlin is going to serve swiftly, and when his service is going to break. This man is not fooled by the concealed racket. He does not decide because he sees a racket moving toward the ball with the face ready to cut the ball extremely that the ball will not be hit squarely. He sees exactly how the racket meets the ball and coördinates with this fact every movement made by the server or driver as the case may be.

And at no time must this keen observation be followed by equally keen deductions so much as when a player is in the position of volleyer. For then time is limited. If the volleyer is fooled by the concealed racket, he may not and probably will not have time to redeem his error. It is not merely a question of seeing where the ball is going that the volleyer has to decide instantaneously, but he must see what kind of a blow the ball has received. For if the ball has been cut he will have to volley differently than if it has been topped. I've known first-rate players to volley into the net simply because they did not watch the other man's racket and see what kind of a twist he gave the ball. . . . The difference then between accurate watching and fair watching is the difference between a miss and a win.

RAYMOND D. LITTLE (FOREGROUND) AND GUSTAV TOUCHARD
(Doubles champions of the United States in 1911)

Saving up your discovery of your opponent's tactics for use in emergencies is a good plan, advises Mr. Little, making use of your knowledge when you really need to gain a point. This is not only beneficial in respect of points gained, but also important for the disheartening moral effect on your opponent when he loses a point he expected to win.

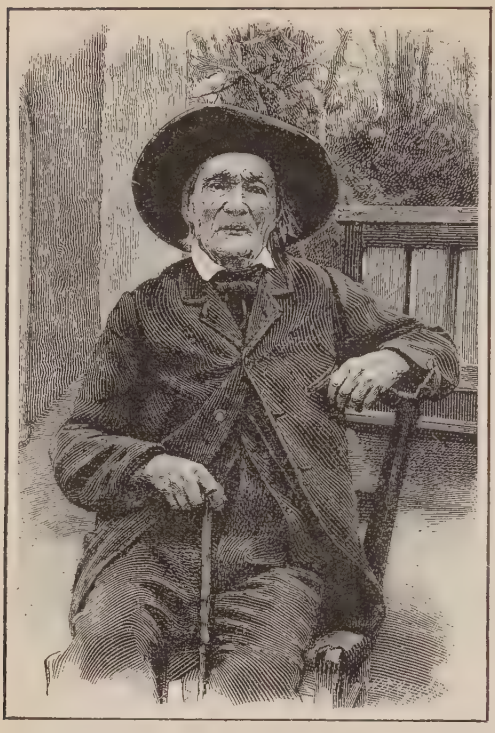
"The only way to keep yourself from being constantly anticipated," concludes Mr. Little, "is to keep the other man constantly surprised. . . . It is in the short court game and in volleying that the quick thinker wins his advantage over the man with a slower and less alert mind."

FABRE, "THE MOST DISTINGUISHED NATURALIST NOW LIVING"

"THE evening of a beautiful day," is what may be well said of the last years of this splendid old man, the most distinguished naturalist now living, who on the twenty-first of last December entered his ninety-second year. It has been signalized by the publication in the French journal, the *Annales* (Paris), of an article on the glow-worm, or lampyris, which has been the subject of his latest observations.

That this little creature, which is in no sense a worm, but a carnivorous insect belonging to the coleoptera, preyed upon the snail, had long been known, but how it was able to overcome or stun its prey, and suck the juices of its body while living, was left to this keen-eyed watcher to discover. That is told in his charming monograph on "Le Ver Luisant."

The insect possesses the prototype of the surgeon's hypodermic needle, and through its minute canal runs a fluid which anaesthetizes its victim. How are these wonderfully interesting facts discovered? The observer has ingenious devices to aid him in watching the little creature whose life is under observation. Under a glass bowl turned down over some herbage and provided with the food upon which it subsists, many phases of its life may be successfully studied. But it requires long days and months of patient watchfulness, bending over this miniature crystal palace, which exposes the life and conduct of the little beings to the trained eye of the scientist. In the evening his harvest of insects in their glass houses has been transferred to the laboratory table where, with the aid of his microscopes, other problems could be worked out. How the light is produced and the degree of control



HENRI FABRE, THE DISTINGUISHED FRENCH NATURALIST

which the insect exercises over it, questions which have been differently viewed by scientists, have come to their last analysis in this monograph, in which the results of the most recondite research are expressed with a grace and charm that reveal the poet in the naturalist.

For Henri Fabre is a poet; Maurice Maeterlinck has called him "one of the finest of the century that is past." He has published, however, but one volume of delightful provençal verse, many of the lesser lyrics in which,—he says,—were written for the pleasure of his children. But it is the spirit of poetry, informing his work, which gives it the interest and charm of a romance of the lives of the insects. His delightful book "The Life of the Spider," ranks with Maeterlinck's "The Life of the Bee," which it is said the author was inspired to write by his talks with Fabre.

The scientific accuracy of his work is as marked as the purity and grace of its expression. Darwin called him "the incomparable observer." A distinguished English critic says that "Fabre is the wisest man, and the best read in the book of nature, of whom the centuries have left us any record."

In early youth, at the death of his parents he had to decide upon his calling in life and to find ways of fitting himself for it. He chose the teaching of mathematics and studied alone until he could pass his examinations. His first position, while still very young, was at the College in Ajaccio. Here he did excellent work, winning the regard and affection alike of his associates and pupils. The friendship of one of the professors, a noted botanist, directed his attention anew to nature, and he spent all the time possible outdoors, studying plants and insects.

Some time after his marriage he was appointed professor of mathematics at the Lycée in Avignon where his outside studies were kept up in his spare time. His genius began to be recognized and in 1865, under the empire, he received the decoration of honor for original work and was offered the position of preceptor to the Prince Imperial. He was now past forty and a career rich in material rewards and honors opened before him. But it would have prevented him from following his passion for original research, and it had been the dream of his life to be able sometime, to devote all his time to it.

He had married young, and the care for his family had kept him closely at work in his profession, but now he planned pecuniary freedom by the manufacture of a fine dye, from the abundant madder root found in the vicinity. He had perfected this in his laboratory experiments and success seemed so assured, that a factory was being built,—when analine dyes made their appearance in the commercial world and no vegetable dye could be sold as cheaply.

So the dream was put aside for long years more, but still it was held, and at sixty he felt sufficiently free to buy four acres of land close to the little village of Serignan. Here he built a cottage and laid out a garden, and then devoted himself to his beloved pursuit. His land, seemingly worthless, was to bear for him a rich harvest of the little creatures that made their homes in its weedy recesses, and the pond with its reeds and rushes furnished a home for the water insects. He wrote of it, "The wish is realized. It is a little late, O my pretty insects! Is the time remaining enough, O my busy Hymenoptera, to enable me to add yet a few seemly pages to your history? or will my failing strength cheat my good intentions?" It was a "little late," yet he has had the happiness of adding many desired pages to the history of the lives and manners of the insects.

His attention has not been occupied alone

with insect life. In botanical investigations he is an authority, and his splendid herbariums, the collections of sixty years, represent the whole of the French flora.

Through all his struggle with adverse conditions, he has kept his independence of character, a sweetness of temper, and a brightness of spirit which enchant those who know him well.

The French government, awakened at last to the worth of a life so distinguished, achieving such results with means so limited, has now done itself the honor of recognizing it, and has conferred upon him a modest pension which frees his last years from anxieties. A daughter, "loving and caring," lives with him.

A friend from Avignon who visited him on his last birthday, and to whose interesting letter published in one of the Paris journals, we are indebted for a very sympathetic view of the great naturalist, speaks of the "magnificent spectacle of an old man of whom the soul remains young, the mind clear, from whose lips you hear no word that resembles a complaint, and who now takes the road to the end without regrets and with serene resignation."

SOME SUCCESSFUL FRENCH WOMEN WRITERS

THERE is at least one country where the woman of letters has come into her own: that country is France. Not only are the most talented French novelist of to-day and the most original poet that France has produced within the last ten years both of them women, but they are not "isolated phenomena." Far from this, they "are merely the shining lights of a galaxy." Such are the opinions expressed by Marie Louise Fontaine in the *Bookman* (New York); and she finds that the development of "feminine literature" in France during the past fifteen years "has been remarkable, and its success so complete that it is hard to award the first place to any one writer." Miss Fontaine makes the somewhat bold assertion that "the time has passed for a discussion of whether women's literary activities interfere with their marital duties."

The point is that French women are writing and writing well. Almost every month in Paris some publisher brings out a new book signed by a feminine name. French women writers no longer hide behind the protecting mask of a masculine pseudonym, as in former days; they enter the literary arena boldly in their own names, and doing so increases rather than lessens their chances of success.

MARCELLE TINAYRE, ONE OF THE BEST-KNOWN FEMINIST WRITERS OF FRANCE

Of the women who "are achieving a financial as well as a literary success in the French world of fiction," the writer selects five, concerning whom she gives some interesting biographical and critical notes. These five notables are Mme. Daniel Lesueur, Mme. Colette Yver, Mme. Gabrielle Reval, Mme. Marcelle Tinayre, and Mme. Myriam Harry. Of the first-named we read:

Among the older ones there is Daniel Lesueur, who has been writing valiantly for the last twenty years. She is the author of forty or more volumes, and is the only woman since George Sand who has been elected vice-president of the "Comité de la Société des Gens de Lettres"; but whereas George Sand considered her election as merely honorary and never attended meetings, Daniel Lesueur works regularly with her masculine colleagues, who recognize her as one of their staunchest coworkers. Besides this signal honor she is of the Legion of Honor, and has been awarded all possible literary prizes. She has tried her skill in almost

COLETTE YVER

every literary genre, poetry, drama, and fiction, and has been successful in them all. . . . It is with intuitive quickness that she seizes upon the ideas or theories that are likely to become popular and uses them for the woof of her novels. When the younger generation and the women were waxing enthusiastic over Nietzsche, she brought out *Nietzschienne*. Somewhat later, when France was beginning to see that . . . the right of might should sometimes be the right of the good against the bad, she wrote *Le Droit à la Force*. Again she has novels like her last one, *Au Tournant des Jours*, based upon life and full of keen observation and psychological understanding of character.

Miss Fontaine gives the history of Mme. Lesueur's first novel. The war of 1870 had left her mother a widow with three children and without resources, and Jeanne at fourteen was sent to an English boarding-school. On her return to Paris she gave English lessons, finding time "to write poetry on the sly." One day she "discovered that she was also able to write prose, and immediately started composing a novel." A college friend of her brother "assured her that it was best to sell the novel outright, and that she would get a large sum for it, at least three thousand francs." But when she took it to the publisher, Calmann Levy, he offered her three hundred, which she accepted, fearing he would be angry if she made any comment.

"IF IT HAD NOT BEEN FOR THE CONSERVATISM OF THE FRENCH ACADEMY, THE TWO LATEST ELECTED MEMBERS WOULD HAVE BEEN WOMEN"

(In this picture the first woman represents "Daniel Lesueur" and the second Myriam Harry. Edmund Rostand is kneeling to the first, and Pierre Loti is saluting the second. The artist, Sellier, illustrating the new woman movement in literary France, insists that these two ladies should have been elected to the Academy instead of Rostand and Loti)

Madame Colette Yver, in her *Princesses de Sciences* and in *Les Dames du Palais*, "depicted extraordinarily interesting characters of women doctors and women lawyers," respectively, while Mme. Reval, who had been a student at Sèvres, presented in her first volume, *Lès Sevriennes*, a very intimate and real study of the life of the women who study at Sèvres as a preparation for teaching in the feminine lycées of France. Her subsequent works "dealt with such types as the woman artist, painter, or sculptor."

Madame Tinayre is the author who, it was rumored, refused the distinction of the Legion of Honor, the real facts concerning which matter Miss Fontaine professes to relate. The ultimate result of the affair was that the author received a good deal of very useful advertising for her *La Maison du Pêché*.

Madame Marcelle Tinayre began writing out of necessity. . . . She had read mediocre novels written by men, and thought she could do as well. She did as well and better. She achieved her first real success in 1900 with *Hellé*, which received a prize from the French Academy. Every succeeding year has brought her more recognition, and to-day she is one of the most striking figures in the feminine world of letters. She is very fond of traveling, and fonder still perhaps of lecturing on her travels.

Madame Myriam Harry was born in Jerusalem in 1875; at fourteen she went to Berlin,

DANIEL LESUEUR

MADAME MYRIAM HARRY

where she attended a boarding school for three years; she then went to Paris and became absorbed in French literature, afterward traveling extensively in Arabia, Syria, Egypt, Europe, Ceylon, China, Indo-China, and Tunisia. In 1899 she published *Passage de Bedouins*, which was followed by several Indo-Chinese novels, and in 1904 came *La Conquête de Jérusalem*. Of this latter work the critic writes:

There are fervid descriptions overwrought with details of form and color and writ in cadences heavy with voluptuousness and with all the perfumes of Judea, with frankincense, myrrh, and spikenard. . . . Through a series of concrete images, each complete in itself, she produces pictures of Oriental life full of sun, and the dazzling whiteness of the flat-roofed houses, full of passion and exasperated sensuality, the whole permeated by the deep minor tones of lassitude and despair.

Madame Myriam Harry's last book, *La Divine Chanson*, is set in Paris. It should be stated that this talented authoress is the granddaughter of an Israelite and an orthodox Slav, and the daughter of an orthodox Oriental and a German Protestant. Socially she is the wife of M. Perrault, the sculptor of animals.

There are, of course, other women whose work is prominent in French fiction, as, for instance, Madame Henri de Regnier, the wife of the Academician, Jean Bertheroy, and Lucie Delarus-Mardrus.

THE GROWTH OF SOCIALISM IN ARGENTINA

IN the *Neue Zeit*, the German Socialist weekly of Stuttgart, Kornelio Thiessen, of Buenos Aires, seeks to show that, in spite of circumstances supposed to be unfavorable to the development of Socialism, that movement has made a vigorous start in Argentina, and is there based on economic evils of like character to those which have given rise to the agitation in other countries. He begins by citing, for the purpose of refuting them, the views of Ferri, who, upon a visit to Argentina two years ago, declared, on the basis of what is known as "the economic interpretation of history," that Socialism has no raison d'être in Argentina.

Argentina, said Ferri, is still only a market for European and North American industry.

> The proletariat is a product of the steam engine. And only with the proletariat, the industrial wage-worker, does Socialism make its appearance. New Zealand and Australia are the best proof of this truth. There is no industrialism in those countries. They have, consequently, only a Labor Party, no Socialist one. The Socialist party in Argentina is, therefore, a Labor party in the economic part in its program and a Radical party in politics.

There is some truth, says Thiessen, in Ferri's contention, but it is not the whole truth. It is not true that the proletariat is the product of the steam engine. It made its appearance ages before Watt's invention. We find it as early as the seventeenth century in capitalist manufactures, and later in factories with hydraulic power. The proletariat may be regarded as a result of the dissolution of the feudal system, the closing of the cloisters, the expulsion of the peasants from the country by the abolition of communal ownership and the sale of church property. Then followed capital and drove those hordes of landless proletarians into industrial occupations.

This creation of an industrial proletariat took place in Argentina also. After the May revolution of 1810, which secured the necessary "order" for the bourgeoisie and took care to guarantee its interest, there ensued a period when the immeasurable stretches of land were greedily seized, and, as the pushing advance of the rich was bound to encounter resistance, the famous civil war broke out, the issues being the total subjugation of the rural population by the "cultured" money-bags or the relative freedom and independence of the Gauchos (peasants). Though the latter were formally victorious, even Rosas could maintain the victory only for a brief space. Peasant dominion split upon the rock of the political incompetence and ignorance of the Gauchos, who thereupon gradually sank into complete bondage.

How far this exploitation has progressed in a country which boasts of encouraging small holdings, is clearly shown, says Thiessen, by such facts as that, in the Province of Santa Fé, 472 proprietors own about 60 per cent. of the land area. Under these condition tenant-farming plays a tremendous rôle, and thus recently there was a regular strike among the farmers, which led to the founding of the peasants' league (Liga agraria). Furthermore, with the sparse population, it is readily comprehensible how little of modern life is to be found on these farms.

> The reign of terror recently "discovered" in the rubber region of Peru is nothing new to us Argentinos. Our young "smart" ensigns win their first spurs here in these wilds. Year after year, hungry, desperate tenants storm the shops (*almacenes*), or field-laborers take forcible possession of railway trains in order to flee from this "land of milk and honey." The rural population, the field-workers, have, moreover, no organization and not the faintest feeling of class-consciousness, because their economic servitude has imbued them with a slavish spirit. The rural masses have from the remotest times been the pillar of the despotic rule of the provincial potentates. As to the provincial towns, bureaucracy is the dominating factor, and our federalism, which often forces upon a city of about 3000 inhabitants a Parliament, the whole legislative apparatus, etc., creates a special plague for the cities.

If this were all, says Thiessen, Ferri might be right. But the economic conditions in Buenos Aires and in some of the inland towns are different. In 1908 Buenos Aires, with a population of 1,200,000, had over 118,000 wage-earners, among them over 88,000 factory workers. Here, then, elements are ripening which offer a firmer basis for Socialism in Argentina. The only followers of Marx come from these labor-circles; they do not wish to neglect work of immediate practical effect, but they believe that it must be permeated with the Socialist spirit if it is to benefit the movement in the future.

In last year's elections in Buenos Aires (April 7, 1912), the Socialists polled 18,000 votes, and, for the first time, two Socialists appeared in the National Parliament. Although they could achieve very little practically, their mere presence, says Thiessen, accomplished wonders. They brought new light into the corrupt political system. Thus

the idea that it is impossible for a man to act at once as a representative of concerns subsidized by the Government and as the people's representative who grants the subsidies, has at last been brought home to the people, and certain gentlemen who are disqualified by this principle have been kept out of Parliament through the efforts of the Socialists.

LAND TENURE AND POLITICAL EVOLUTION IN WEST AFRICA

IN all parts of Africa divided up among European countries there are serious difficulties growing out of the land question. These are greatest in West Africa in the British sphere, on account of the greater density of the population and the more rapid development of the natural resources than in other parts.

The process of alienation of the land of the natives to white company promoters and to educated civilized natives is making great strides in the Gold Coast Colony and to such an extent that it moved the *Gold Coast Leader* recently to utter the following warning:

> With their present reckless bartering away of their rights in their ancestral lands by the alluring offers of fat options, the natives do not seem to realize when and where to put a stop to the dangers they are unconsciously courting for their posterity. What provision have they made to reserve lands for their own working and profit or those of their children's children? . . . Are we going to suffer ourselves to be reduced to the miserable status of the proletarian for exploitation purposes by foreign settlers to enrich themselves and make us a landless people in the land of our birth?

This extract from the West African paper brings to the front a question which Mr. Josiah C. Wedgwood, a member of the British Parliament and of the Liberal party, says ought to be of the utmost importance to Liberals. He thinks it of little use taking credit for the abolition of chattel slavery if, with its eyes open, the British government permits economic slavery to take the place of the old worn out form of compulsory labor. Comparing the slavery that locked up men's bodies with the freedom that set them bodily free but locks up all they need for subsistence, he says:

> It is not to this sort of freedom that we ought to condemn the black citizens of the empire, or to which we ought to allow their chiefs to condemn their children.

An attempt was made by Sir Percy Girouard, when Governor of Northern Nigeria, a few years ago, to prevent the possibility of a landlord class, black or white, ever arising in his province because he saw the intimate connection between slavery and the native land question. Writing on the subject he said:

> My predecessor in Northern Nigeria—Sir Frederick Lugard—referring to the difficulty of obtaining free labor (after the abolition of slavery), mentions the necessity of the "creation of a laboring class to till the lands of the ruling classes," and "the enforcement of proprietary rights in land" as the solution. I can only presume that this meant the creation of a landlord class. I am not at all certain that it would be in the natives' interest to create a landlord class.

In 1907 Mr. Temple, now acting governor of Northern Nigeria, said:

> There is no individual in Northern Nigeria who can say, according to native law and custom, this piece of land belongs to me.

What Mr. Temple then said still applies to the greater part of the British Crown Colonies, but in the case of West Africa two methods have been found by which the natives may be deprived of their free lands and forced to work for wages. The older method and the one employed successfully on the Gold Coast and, with some modifications, in Sierra Leone, has been to assume that a native chief was already in the same economic position as a Lord of the manor, possessing the right to charge rent and to lease or alienate land. The chiefs were then allowed to act as landlords and lease and sell their followers' lands in return for a case of whiskey or a bundle of striped blankets in the old times. Now they get paid in debenture shares. At first the native population notices no appreciable change but soon they are invited to help in the work on the estate or go. As yet it is comparatively easy to go, but it will become more difficult later when proprietary rights in land become universal, and then trouble will begin.

Another system which has been adopted in other parts of Africa has just been applied to Nigeria. It consists in what is called nationalizing the land in the name of the sovereign and placing it under the control of the Colonial Office; the land is said

to be held "in trust" as in the German and Belgian territories and in the other Crown Colonies. But the object of the trust and the manner in which the trust is exercised varies according to circumstances.

The Belgian Trust produced the Congo atrocities, the question in the British "trusted" territories is how to avoid their repetition there, and there are some indications that an effort will be made. The preamble of the Land and Native Rights Proclamation (Northern Nigeria), 1911, opens with the words, "Whereas it is expedient that the existing customary rights of the natives of Northern Nigeria to use and enjoy the land of the Protectorate and the natural fruit thereof . . . shall be assured, protected and preserved," and the ordinance goes on to enact that the state shall only grant the use of the land at rents, revisable every seven years at most and based solely on the value of the land; that the tenant shall have absolute ownership, free of rent and tax, of the improvements on the land. As there are no customs duties or indirect taxes of any kind, as population increases and the unoccupied land comes up to the margin of cultivation, so rent will increase and provide for the common wants of the inhabitants. This defining of trusteeship in Northern Nigeria was largely due to the discovery of an analogous German Ordinance in the Cameroons, the close study of the old Haussa civilization and to the British Budget of 1909–10.

While things have temporarily taken the course indicated in Northern Nigeria, they have been given quite another in the Sierra Leone Protectorate. There a monopoly concession has been given to a large English soap-making company for the exclusive right to the production and purchase of palm-oil and palm-kernels, and to do almost anything that a state or provincial government can do, over a great area of territory without regard to native rights of independent trading or in the land. The alarm excited by this proceeding is finding expression all over West Africa in the native press and in English papers published in the interest of the native races of Africa. A native paper, the *Lagos Weekly Record*, in a recent issue says:

> With it being made evident more and more daily that commercial exploitation is the primary object and aim of government in the British West African colonies, the natives inhabiting these colonies are naturally concerned to know the place they will fill in this new political programme. There was a time when other considerations and interests besides trade weighed in the government of the West African colonies—when the conditions and arrangements under which Great Britain acquired authority and rule over the natives were taken into account; and the policy of the government was directed to meet the obligations arising out of those arrangements.

Continuing its comments on the native and the policy of commercial exploitation which practically, owing to its selfish and one-sided character, divorces the native from consideration, notwithstanding that the government is on general principles as well as on special grounds pledged to care and consideration for him, the article concludes with the following warning:

> Under the influence of the dominating spirit of commercialism this serious aspect of the matter may be overlooked, but it exists all the same as do also the consequences which must inevitably follow a policy so grossly perverted and diverted from its legitimate ends. Causes are what produce effects, and it must be expected that a policy of government affecting the native so widely and profoundly in matters vital to him will produce effects; and no matter what may be thought, the effect of the new policy is making itself felt slowly yet surely with the native everywhere.

In the French West African territories the same questions are arising as in the British, and attention has been drawn to them by a French writer on Colonial subjects, M. Emile Bailland, in the following passage from one of his writings:

> The important question for the European Governments which have elected to play a part in West Africa, is no longer to ascertain how they will occupy that country and in what way they will assert their authority over its inhabitants, but in what manner they shall direct the evolution they have provoked. It is very difficult to say at the present moment what their future policy ought to be to ensure salutary and efficacious action. It will undoubtedly have to undergo modification, just as native society is in process of becoming modified. Englishmen, Germans and Frenchmen have hitherto acted by different means, and in different ways. They must realise that their interests are common interests in West Africa, and that they will one and all be affected by the consequences of the policy they mutually adopt towards the natives. The time is not far distant when that will become true of all Black Africa.

On this the *Lagos Weekly Record* comments as follows:

> It would be more accurate to say that the future policy of Europe will have to be governed and modified to meet native thought instead of society. The interposition of Europe has disrupted and destroyed everything in the shape of "native society" and has evolved instead a social chaos which more than anything else is stirring and turning native thought to the new and inimical

order of life under which he finds himself. And while the efforts of the nations of Europe have only been coherent in the matter of how they shall occupy tropical Africa and assert their authority over its inhabitants, the latter everywhere have been jostled into an awakening, and are taking deep thought as to what the future implies for them.

For the present it is sufficient to have indicated the causes of and the direction which the unrest in West Africa is taking, and which is communicating itself with more or less rapidity to the other parts of the Dark Continent. Native papers both in vernacular languages and English are taking up the discussion of the future of the native races, principally from the moral and economic points of view, and are doing so with great moderation of language and clearness of thought.

BOOKWORMS OF VARIOUS SORTS

EVER since the invention of books—and that was a long time ago, as we may judge by the lament of Solomon concerning their multiplicity in his day—they have been the prey of the larvæ of various insects who have fed on their material substance with the same avidity that their human namesakes have displayed for their spiritual substance.

There is no evidence, however, that this was an acquired taste on the part of the bibliophagic, or book-eating insects. On the contrary they were merely seeking their familiar animal or vegetable food in the leather of the bindings and parchments, in the starch and gluten of the paste, or in the cellulose of paper and pasteboard.

The vast accumulation of books in our modern libraries renders their protection from such ravages a serious matter, and modern entomologists have devoted special attention to the classification and description of these tiny depredators and their habits.

The well-known writer on natural science, A. Acloque, gives a useful *resumé* of such knowledge in a late number of *Cosmos* (Paris).

One class of these insects is found among the *coleoptera.*

> Such are the "borers," (in scientific language the *Anobium*), of which one species, the *Anobium tessalatum*, is particularly worthy the animadversion of bibliophiles. It is an insect about 6.5 millimeters in length, of an oblong convex body, and having antennæ which increase in size towards the extremity. It is of a rather dull brown color and is covered with numerous tiny spots marked by a reddish down.
>
> Its larva pierces tiny tunnels, now straight and now crooked, in the wood of furniture or through the thickness of volumes. These tunnels, which grow in length as the tiny creature feeds, are as even of caliber as if made by a drill, whence the popular name of borers.

All these borers are very injurious both to living vegetable matter such as that of trees, and to dry cellulose, such as found in the wood meant for building or for cabinet-making, and in all sorts of paper. Their presence may easily be detected by the little heaps of a reddish-brown powder, which they leave on shelves and floors and which consist of their *dejecta.* Likewise their presence is often made known in the still watches of the night by the curious knocking or tapping which the adults use as a means of communication with each other. This sounds much like the ticking of a watch and is the cause of the phenomenon known to the superstitious as the "death-watch."

Apropos of this curious rhythmic sound M. Acloque quotes an interesting communication from the abbé Plessis, as follows:

> One day one of my pupils brought me one of these creatures alive. . . . I left it in a little box on my table for a few days . . . The idea struck me of rapping on the table with my pen holder. The insect rapped in response. When it became accustomed to its surroundings I removed it from the box and placed it on the table where we could observe its curious manœuvre. It enjoys a singular elasticity between the head and the "corselet." In order to knock, it bends the head completely beneath the corselet and strikes the wood with the top of the head.

Besides the *Anobium tessalatum* there are two smaller species which should be mentioned, the *A. pertinax* and the *A. paniceum.* The first is a dark-brown slender insect about 4 millimeters long. Its corselet ends in a pointed tubercle. The second, 3 millimeters in length, is of a tawny chestnut color with a solid corselet somewhat wider than long, and with wing cases hardly bigger than the corselet.

> The larva of this borer is especially fond of amylaceous substances, and abounds among old wafers, farinaceous grains, and herbariums. It is the scourge of botanical collections, devouring both specimens and their envelopes.

Some of the *Neuroptera* are common habitants of houses and cellars and live on old

books and papers and collections of plants and insects.

Although very tiny, scarce exceeding a millimeter in length, these insects are provided with strong and active mandibles. It is these which one sees running along the shelves of cupboards or between the leaves of books. These habits, together with their form, and the fact that they are usually wingless has given them the name of woodlice. Such are the *Atropos divinatoria* and the *Clothilla pulsatoria*, which are wingless; and such are the *Psocus binotalus* and the *P. pedicularius*, which have wings and which like to hide among linen. . . . They are fond of damp corners, and consequently of books in libraries which are not well-aired, well-lighted, and dry.

These *Neuroptera*, we learn, are close relatives of the terrible termites, or white ants, and, like them are light-shunning as well as predatory. One species, the *Termes lucifugus*, which inhabits the south of Europe, has been introduced into France and done vast damage already. At the prefecture of La Rochelle it destroyed many of the archives of the department, which are now protected by being placed in zinc boxes.

Another of these little enemies of learning is the *Lepisma saccharina*, commonly known as the "silver fish," from its slender spindle-shaped body and the silvery sheen of the scales with which its body is covered.

Others mentioned by Acloque are the *Periplaneta orientalis*, the *apates* and the *sirex*.

Finally, book-lovers must regard as dangerous the various coleopterous or hymenopterous insects which pass their larval life in the interior of wood; such are the *apates*, close relatives of the borers, and the *sirex*. If such larvæ are contained in wood, at their metamorphosis the adult insects will find their way to liberty by piercing tunnels through whatever objects may form an obstacle.

Many modes of destruction have been proposed, whose very multiplicity renders their efficacy suspect. It has been advised, for example to add the flour of horse-chestnuts to the paste used in binding;—to put vessels holding benzine or carbon disulphide on the shelves;—to use a spray of turpentine, formol, oil of cedar, pyrethrum, or camphor. The surest procedure is frequent handling of the volumes. . . .

THE PROGRESS AND TENDENCIES OF MODERN CHEMISTRY

OF all the sciences whose development during the past century has been so marvelous, perhaps none has so intimately affected human life and environment as that of chemistry. The growth, preparation, and preservation of our foods, the color and texture of our apparel, the conveniences and comforts of our dwellings, all bear witness to the wonders wrought by this master magician, the holder of so many keys to the secrets of the universe.

The rapid widening of the domain of this science makes it imperative for those who would be well-informed to take stock afresh from time to time of its aims and achievements. These are illuminatingly set forth by the eminent *savant*, Dr. Chas. Nordmann in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*.

For the sake of lucidity and simplicity, Dr. Nordmann classifies the objects of chemistry into three divisions:

1. To reduce all material substances into a small number of other elementary substances, themselves indecomposable, and having definite characteristics.

2. To construct synthetically and artificially the complex bodies found in nature.

3. To construct new substances not found in nature.

After observing that Aristotle thought himself able to reduce all known substances to four elements, an idea which held sway until the eighteenth century, whereas modern chemistry recognizes some ninety different elements, he continues:

The elements most recently discovered have been found partly in the atmosphere (as the rare gases argon, helium, neon, xenon, krypton, metargon); partly in the new kingdon opened up to us by radium . . . (as radium, polonium, actinium, radium-emanation, radium-alpha, radium-beta, radium-gamma, etc.); and finally in the rare earths by means of the spectroscope.

The radioactive elements have been discovered by physicists, by means of processes entirely foreign to those of classic chemistry, and this irruption into chemistry of physical methods, which has given birth to the fascinating science of physical chemistry, is one of the most notable peculiarities of the recent evolution of chemistry.

Similarly, the metals found in the rare earths have been discovered by optical methods, and thus has been developed spectro-chemistry, which is also a department of physical chemistry.

For readers unfamiliar with the principle of spectro-chemistry it may be stated briefly that when a body is heated to incandescence and examined through a prism, the light emitted forms a colored band called a spectrum. If the body be a solid or liquid this

band is *continuous*, and contains the colors of the rainbow. If, on the contrary, it is gaseous, the spectrum is marked by brilliant narrow lines of various colors on a dark field; the number, color, and position of these lines is definite and characteristic of any given gas. On this fact is based *spectrum analysis*. This was invented by Kirchoff & Bunsen about the middle of the last century, and resulted almost immediately in the discovery of the two new metals, *rubidium* and *caesium*. Since then it has given us *indium*, *thallium*, *gallium*, *samarium*, and *europium*, and more recently still the young chemist, M. Urbain, has discovered by this means *neoytterbium*, *lutecium*, and *celtium*.

The prodigious sensitiveness of this method makes it applicable not only to masses infinitesimally small, but to objects at an immense distance. By it Lockyer discovered helium in the sun thirty years before chemists succeeded in separating it from the air we breathe. . . . By it we have been able to determine the presence in the stars of bodies still unknown to our chemists, *nebulum* in the depths of the nebulous frigidity where suns are born, and *coronium* in the outer atmosphere of the sun.

Dr. Nordmann takes occasion here to remind us that such discoveries, apparently of purely scientific interest, have frequently proven later to possess great technical and commercial value. Thus the first kilogram of aluminum fetched a fabulous price as a rarity, whereas now every housewife makes common use of it. Another striking example is the immense practical value of the rare metals tantalum and tungsten, due to their use in making the mantles of incandescent lamps. This value is due to their very high fusion point and to the minute quantity required, a single kilogram of tantalum sufficing to furnish filaments for about 45,000 lamps.

* * *

Progress in chemical synthesis has been equally remarkable. This depends of course upon *chemical affinity*, whose laws are better known than its precise nature. Apropos of this Dr. Nordmann remarks:

To tell the truth, it has been recently perceived that chemical affinity is a thing much more capricious than had been thought, and sometimes depends on very *bizarre* circumstances. Such is the case of *catalytic action*, which tends more and more to play a preponderant rôle in chemistry.

If we bring together sulphurous acid and oxygen the two gases remain entirely inert toward each other. But if a bit of pulverized platinum, or "platinum moss" be introduced, instantly the two gases combine with frightful violence to form sulphuric acid. Yet the platinum itself is quite unaltered. It remains intact and may continue to serve indefinitely to cause the combination of unlimited quantities of sulphurous acid and oxygen. . . . *It acts merely by its presence.* It is this action of certain bodies in favorizing chemical action by their presence, without themselves being affected, which is called catalytic action, and substances endowed with this mysterious power are known as *catalysers*.

Such action is assuming increasing practical importance. For example, in the industrial manufacture of sulphuric acid, this process is being more and more substituted for the ancient and complicated method of "lead chambers." Likewise chlorine is now made by decomposing gaseous hydrochloric acid by means of atmospheric oxygen in the presence of copper oxide acting as a catalyser.

The author next discusses at some length the modern processes by which the nitrogen of the air is made to yield the nitrogenous fertilizers so vitally important in replenishing the plant-food in worn-out soils, processes which have robbed of its menace the fact that the nitrate beds of Chili and Peru are being rapidly exhausted by the enormous drains made on them by intensive agriculture.

The increased employment of the electric furnace is not less characteristic of the present evolution of chemistry toward physical methods. It proves that the realization of very high temperatures is not less fruitful for science and industry than is that of tremendous cold.

The electric furnace is formed by an electric arc passing between two carbons in a cavity grooved in a refractory substance such as chalk. In this manner temperatures above 3000° C. may be obtained, by which chemical reactions are achieved which are not realisable at lower temperatures. Thus were first obtained, in the free state, such metals as chromium and molybdenum, which play an increasingly important part in metallurgy, by the reduction of their oxides. Thus also the metallic carbides. . . . One of the best known of these is calcium carbide, which has given birth to a vast industry; first, because it produces acetylene by mere contact with water, second, because by fixing nitrogen it furnishes the cyanamide (used for making fertilizers), of which more than 100,000 tons are now manufactured annually. Carborandum, or silicon carbide, is thus manufactured and is of superior hardness to emery.

* * *

In the final section of his article Dr. Nordmann observes that to pass from metallic carbides to carbides of hydrogen is but a step, and the latter are the fundamental compounds of organic chemistry, the study of which has caused a revolution in the economic conditions of human society by furnishing to man the means of creating a large number of the things he needs, previously furnished him by Nature.

The number of organic compounds at present achieved by chemistry exceeds 100,000, and there is no reason why their number should not increase indefinitely, since it is theoretically infinite.

* * *

The sole difficulty lies in accomplishing the required substitutions and combinations. This is arrived at by various processes, one of the most remarkable of which is that invented by M. Sabattier (winner of the Nobel prize for chemistry), in collaboration with M. Senderens. It proceeds from the discovery made by these scientists that certain metals in a pulverized state (especially nickel), possess a curious catalytic power which permits them to fix hydrogen upon other substances, or to substitute it for other elements. The number of useful organic substances which have been successfully prepared simply by this process, and which were previously extracted with difficulty from natural products, is considerable.

It is by divers methods, of which one is directly borrowed from this invention, that the artificial synthesis of rubber has been accomplished.

In conclusion certain other achievements of synthetic chemistry are recalled: that of coloring matters from the waste residues of coke-ovens; that of indigo from naphtaline, which has supplanted natural indigo; that of camphor from turpentine; that of vanilla; that of all the floral perfumes; that of glucose, and that of the alkaloids so useful in medicine.

SUBMARINE VISION

FEW people are aware, perhaps, that the depths of the ocean are much more clearly visible when seen from above, even at a very considerable height, than they are by the occupants of a boat on the surface. This fact was observed by the first balloonists who happened to traverse deep bodies of water, and has been strikingly confirmed by the more recent experience of aviators.

When Blériot made his famous cross-channel flight on July 25, 1909, he was deeply impressed by the curious spectacle afforded him at a point near the town of Deal. He plainly saw the long line of submarines which, deep beneath the water, in fancied obscurity, were following in the wake of two "destroyers."

Other aviators later made similar observations and it was instantly apparent that, in the case of a naval war, a fleet of aeroplanes might be of absolutely invaluable service in the detection of these dangerous and supposedly invisible enemies.

But it is equally apparent that the securing of such clear vision of the depths of seas and lakes, with their flora and fauna and the conformation of their beds, including permanent or temporary shoals and shifting beds of sand, may be of infinitely greater service in the cause of science, to say nothing of the location and recovery of lost treasure and sunken ships.

Such vision, for example, would obviate much of the difficult and dangerous labor of the diver. This matter and the reason therefor is entertainingly discussed by Ernest Constet in a late number of the *Revue Scientifique* (Paris).

The reason for the seemingly anomalous circumstance of clearer vision at a great elevation above the water than when near it he thus explains:

It is because the water, no matter how transparent, does not absorb all the light rays which strike its surface: a part of the incident light is reflected as from a mirror.

This is especially evident toward sunset, when the brilliant colors of the sky are dazzlingly reflected from the water, and even when the sun is veiled the same thing is shown by the fact that the water looks blue or grey according as the sky is clear or clouded.

This phenomenon of reflection contributes doubly to the masking of submarine depths. Not only is the reflected lost to the submerged objects, but the reflection dazzles the eye.

But the reflecting power of the water augments with the obliquity of the rays which strike its surface and the observer whose position is elevated to a sufficient height receives a larger quantity of vertical rays.

And, at the same time that the brilliance of the reflection diminishes, that of the submarine depths augments, because the retina of the observer receives a greater quantity of light on a given surface in direct proportion to the distance; just as in a landscape the background is more luminous than the foreground.

M. Constet proceeds to observe that it is not necessary, however, to make use of a balloon or an aeroplane to secure this direct vision of submerged objects. Such vision may be obtained by the simple expedient of cutting off the reflected rays. This is accomplished by the unpretentious optical instrument known as the "Dibos water glass." This is a light tube about two meters (a little more than six feet) in length, whose lower

extremity is covered with a glass plate. The observer seated in a small boat plunges this end into the water and looks through the other. Of course a high degree of transparency in the water is presupposed.

If the exterior light still penetrates too much the tube is covered with a black cloth such as photographers use.

> This suffices to eliminate completely all the light reflected from the surface and the eye receives only the light proceeding from immersed objects. After a moment, when the eye has had sufficient repose from the outside light, and in case the water is not troubled, one perceives clearly this strange world, thus far so little explored.

A similar device is found in the "glass-bottomed boats in use along the coast of California and elsewhere in tropical waters. These have thick plates of glass set into the bottom, each covered with a heavy slide which can be quickly closed in case of accidental breaking of the glass. An awning cuts off the exterior light and the passengers gaze fascinated upon the undreamed wonders and beauties of the deep.

The writer closes with a warm plea for the extension of the use of such devices wherever water sufficiently clear is found, believing that very valuable scientific data may thus be gathered.

Nor is the spectacle to be despised from the viewpoint of beauty alone.

Concerning this he quotes from Goncet's *Voyage Autour du Monde*, as follows:

> These grottos which nature has adorned with a thousand hues, from the green of marine plants to the velvety gray and red of the rocks; these grottos of a thousand tints, of extravagant contours, surrounded and half-hidden by plants whose delicate branches support great leaves. . . . I regarded all this with rapture! . . . and when the sun, which had been obscured for an hour illumed these submarine lands there was an increase of vividness. . . . The leaves displayed their transparency, the fish their most sumptuous colors, the grottos their garniture of lace. . . . It is a spectacle which I shall never forget, and whose magnificence must be seen to be comprehended.

WILL GREECE ALLY HERSELF WITH ITALY?

AS a result of their recent triumph in Tripoli, the Italians are displaying keen interest in the future possibilities of commercial intercourse with the Africa of to-day, and even more with the Africa that is to be, when the stimulating influences of European civilization shall have made themselves felt throughout the length and breadth of that continent. This is the theme of a timely article by Signor Alfredo Pampili in the *Nuova Antologia*.

The writer regards the position occupied by the Italian peninsula as one eminently favorable for the purposes of commercial intercourse between Europe and Africa. The means of communication with Central Europe are already well developed, and the present economic and political status of Italy is such that she should be fully able to utilize her advantages. He recognizes, however, that the new era dawning in the Balkans may result in the creation of new and powerful interests in rivalry with those of Italy. Above all a systematic and energetic development of the advantages offered by the port of Salonica would be a source of danger in this direction. Of this he says:

> If it be true, however, that the port of Salonica on the Egean Sea opens a way toward Africa and the Orient, it is no less true that the Egean is not a free and open sea, since it is controlled by Greece on the west and by Asiatic Turkey on the east, and is so peculiarly hemmed in by the Cyclades and the Sporades that we might almost call it a closed sea. All navigation is forced to wend its way through the Archipelago. Hence it is easily understood that the command of this route to Africa and the East will be in the hands of the powers ruling these island groups.
>
> At present Greece occupies the Cyclades, and thus two-thirds of a line drawn along 37° N. L.; the other third is formed by the Sporades still in the possession of Italy. This is the line which we should in some way dominate in order to arrest, if not to fully neutralize a dangerous competition in commercial intercourse with Africa. Thus it can be seen that Greece really, though not apparently, holds an exceptionally important place in the Balkan questions; for, in effect, from her favorable geographical position there results for Greece an important sphere of activity, namely, the quasi monopoly of maritime intercourse through the Egean. To-day, with this present military power and organization, the Slavonic peoples have their eyes fixed upon the Egean Sea; but even should they succeed in obtaining an outlet into the Mediterranean, they will find, more especially after her recent victories, that Greece holds the keys of the situation in her hands, and a contest among the allies of to-day will inevitably break out.
>
> Italy *cannot* and *must not* base her policy in the East in the principle of neutrality, for it is our duty to defend the natural advantages of our land as a most important connecting link between Europe and Africa. In the eventual struggle in the Egean between the newly-awakened Greek element and the Slavonic element or the German element, or both united, Italy must frankly take her stand.

The writer then proceeds to consider the conditions favoring an alliance between Italy

and Greece. He believes that the Slavs and the Germans would regard with disfavor any notable increase of Greek power and influence in rivalry with their own claims, while Italy has every reason to promote such a development as a means of counteracting any undue predominance of Slavic or Germanic activities in the eastern port of the Mediterranean. While Italy neither would nor could seek to obstruct commercial intercourse with Africa by way of Salonica, she would, nevertheless, make every effort to control the situation as far as possible. Signor Pampili concludes his exposition of the matter as follows:

In the meanwhile Italy's warships, manned by her patriotic and courageous sons, have demonstrated her power in the Egean Sea, and it is just now, as a new and momentous era begins for the Balkan Peninsula, an era born in bloodshed and traced out by the hand of Fate, that the effect produced by this revelation of Italy's power should be utilized to the full extent for the defense of *our* future. Leaving immediate advantages out of consideration, I believe that no more opportune moment than the present one could be chosen for an alliance between Italy and Greece. The Turks have been defeated, the obstacles interposed by the concert of powers have been overcome, and the Balkan confederation must now seek the support of some great power to render its victories fruitful. Bulgaria and Servia have Russia behind them; Greece, however, stands alone. Surely far-away allies are less useful than those near at hand. Greece has Italy for her neighbor, the interests of the two states are not opposed, but rather complete each other, and it ought to be an easy matter to reach an agreement.

LORD ROBERTS ON THE LESSON OF THE BALKAN WAR

FOR years Field Marshal Lord Roberts, Britain's veteran soldier, and formerly commander-in-chief of all her land forces, has been urging upon the British government the necessity for a thorough reorganization and increase of its military establishment. Lord Roberts favors a system resembling what is known on the continent as conscription. He maintains that the Russo-Japanese war demonstrated that the British system would not prove adequate for the defense of the empire. Now he sees, in the Balkan war, additional evidence of the urgent necessity for a change.

Lord Roberts contributes to the *English Review* for March an admirably clear and succinct article on the lesson of the Balkan war for Great Britain. British statesmen cling to the "old heresy of the amateur soldier insufficiently armed and trained." The "true lessons," of the great struggle in Manchuria have gone unheeded.

The public conscience was calmed by the hypothetical assumption that, as we possessed a magnificent navy, the country would be immune from invasion for at least six months, and that within that period the civilian levy organized for home defense would have been drilled into a serviceable army. Those who knew something about the possibilities of modern steam power at sea shook their heads, and it then came to be admitted by the council of experts that, in spite of a powerful navy, such a contingency as a hostile raid was indeed a possibility. Until last summer this was grudgingly conceded. It is now an open secret that the last naval maneuvers, designed expressly to prove the impossibility of a successful descent upon these shores, demonstrated exactly the reverse.

At this moment, continues Lord Roberts, when the belief in the infallibility of the navy to prevent a sudden raid has been shaken, and when

all the hypothetical arguments upon which the Territorial Force has been based have tumbled to pieces, the struggle in the Balkans has brought fresh evidence to show the criminality of the suggestion that partially trained troops in any proportion can hope successfully to cross bayonets with a seasoned army.

Summing up the recent efforts at reorganizing the Ottoman army, and referring particularly to the system of mobilization used by the Turks, Lord Robert says:

Until quite recent years the Ottoman army was recruited exclusively from the Moslem element. To suit this practice the staff found it necessary to draw heavily upon the Asiatic provinces. This brought about the Redif system of organization. The advent of the Young Turk régime four years ago induced the new government to recruit from among Ottoman Christians. This was part of the Young Turks' policy of regeneration. This policy was so irritating to the various nationalities composing the Empire that from the moment the new scheme of army reorganization was instituted the Ottoman army found itself engaged in partisan warfare within its own frontiers. During the past four years the Turkish Government has been obliged continuously to employ a large moiety of its troops in dealing with insurrection. Military operations were almost continuous in Albania and the Yemen; there was trouble in Servia and Kurdistan, to say nothing of the concentration of troops that became necessary in view of the hostilities with Italy. This abnormal strain upon the regular troops necessitated an unceasing drain upon the first-class reservists and thoroughly disorganized the whole of the Redif system. At the outbreak of war with the Balkan Allies there was an

insufficient supply of first-class reservists either to complete the establishments of the first-line units, or to mobilize according to the book of the Divisions which should have been exclusively drawn from the first ban of Redif. When the Ottoman General Staff found itself opposed by the Balkan Federation, it had to face the problem of invasion by at least a million well-trained men.

In order that it should be able to mobilize armies to meet this menace, the Ottoman General Staff was "forced to go into the byways and hedgerows to find the necessary men."

Arms and equipment there were plenty, but of trained men equal to the requirements of the modern battle there were too few.

Eye-witnesses of the mobilization of the First Turkish Army Corps in Constantinople have given the "most pathetic description of the material with which the units of the Army Corps were brought up to strength."

Redifs from Anatolia came pouring into the capital. They comprised callow youths who had never yet handled a rifle, old men whose last experiences of war dated from the days of Osman Pasha. This material was hurriedly issued with coarse khaki uniform and cheap contract ammunition boots; it was given rifles and bandoliers and then sent to squad instruction on the War Office parade ground. At the most, three days were allowed for this instruction, and then the men were spirited away by night straight to the battlefield.

It may be gathered from the evidence of the fighting on both sides in the battles which decided the fate of Turkey in Europe that the struggle was as fierce as anything that took place in the Japanese war.

Both armies appear to have been actuated with a deadly racial hatred for each other; both armies were equipped with weapons of the most modern design; the Turks had the advantage in numbers; the weather was terrible, and hunger and disease had already seized upon the combatants. In these circumstances, all else being equal, the Ottoman troops, backed by the moral of five hundred years of conquest, should have driven the Bulgarians from the field. The Bulgarians possessed, however, the one asset that in modern battles will always decide the issue. The Bulgarian troops, though suffering the same chastisement and privations as their enemy, were the component parts of a well-officered and perfectly disciplined machine; the Turks, on the other hand, were neither disciplined nor intelligently led. The raw levies that filled the gaps in the ranks squirmed under the punishment, their nerves gave under the strain. They knew no force upon which to depend when their own courage failed them. They fled like driven sheep from the firing lines, obsessed with but one idea, which was to place as many miles between them and the battlefield that their trembling limbs could accomplish between dusk and dawn.

The cause of the *débâcle*, concludes Lord Roberts, may be traced primarily to the employment of partially trained and untrained troops in battle.

LORD ROBERTS, WHO WARNS ENGLAND TO HEED THE LESSONS OF THE BALKAN WAR

There were, of course, other contributory causes, to wit, maladministration and dearth of officers competent to lead. These, however, are one and all defects that we should find in our own Territorial Force if in case of home defence we were to attempt to place a mobile citizen army in the field.

The Turkish General Staff was not slow to appreciate the real cause of the disaster.

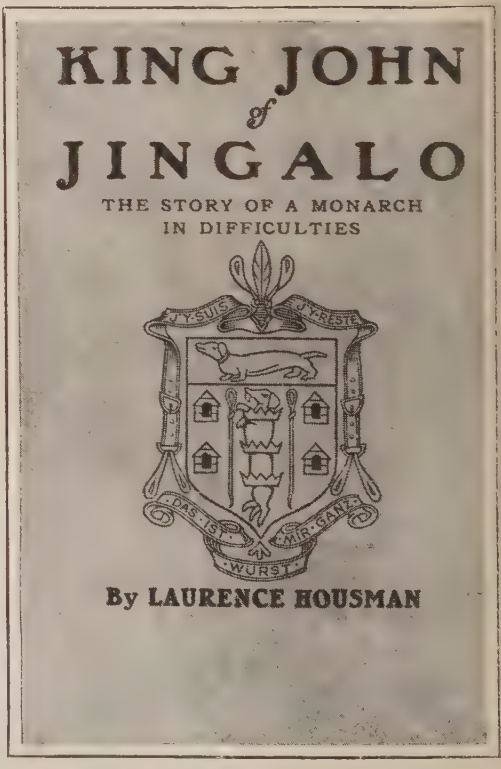
When the Bulgarians gave them the opportunity to reorganize after the retreat, their first action was to eliminate as far as possible the partially-trained element from their field army, and to man the lines at Chatalja with units composed of old soldiers. The miserable caricatures in khaki, who had fled from the battlefield, were collected in gangs to dig trenches and bury the cholera casualties. The wisdom of this change of policy by the Turkish General Staff was immediately and strikingly demonstated by the defence of the lines at Chatalja. Here the well-trained Turkish troops, snug in their trenches, not only gave pause to the Bulgarian advance, but handsomely defeated their attack, and in about the only close fighting that took place during the campaign, showed a great superiority to the Bulgarians.

It would seem that the lesson of this Thracian campaign, in which the military reputation of the Ottoman Empire came tumbling down like a castle built of cards, was "almost providentially sent to warn this country [England] against the folly of its existing military policy."

ANNOUNCEMENTS OF CONVENTIONS, CELEBRATIONS, AND EXPOSITIONS, 1913

CELEBRATIONS AND EXPOSITIONS	PLACE	DATE	SECRETARY
Centennial Exposition	Breslau, Germany	May 1-October 31	
International Building Exhibition	Leipzig, Germany	May-October	No. 1, Windmuehlenweg, Leipzig, Germany.
International Congress of Coöperative Alliances	Glasgow, Scotland	August	
International Congress on Housing	The Hague, Holland	September 8-13	
International Congress on Town Planning and Municipal Life	Ghent, Belgium	Summer	Paul Saintenoy, Brussels, Belgium.
International Exhibition	Ghent, Belgium	May —	
International Exposition	Liverpool, England	May —	
International Roads Congress	London, England	June 23-28	W. Rees Jeffreys, Queen Anne's Chambers, Broadway, Westminster, London, S. W., England.
Perry's Victory Centennial Celebration	Put-in-Bay, Lake Erie, N.Y. (and elsewhere)	July 4-Oct. 5	Webster P. Huntington, Cleveland, Ohio.
EDUCATIONAL GATHERINGS			
Catholic Educational Association	New Orleans, La.	June 30-July 3	Rev. F. W. Howard, 1651 East Main Street, Columbus, Ohio.
Catholic Summer School of America	Cliff Haven, N. Y.	July-September	Charles Murray, 7 East 42d Street, New York City.
Chautauqua Assembly	Chautauqua, N. Y.	June 26-Aug. 16	E. H. Blichfeldt, Chautauqua, N. Y.
International Congress of Students	Ithaca, N. Y.	Aug. 29-Sept. 13	
National Education Association	Salt Lake City, Utah	July 5-11	Durand W. Springer, Detroit, Mich.
Summer School of the South	Knoxville, Tenn.	June 24-Aug. 1	Dr. E. E. Rall, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn.
MEETINGS OF RELIGIOUS BODIES			
American Baptist Home Mission Society	Detroit, Mich.	May 26-27	H. L. Morehouse, D.D., 23 East 26th Street, New York City.
American Christian Missionary Society	Toronto, Canada	Sept. 30-Oct. 6	J. N. McCash, Carew Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
American Federation of Catholic Societies	Milwaukee, Wis.	August 10-13	Francis J. Matre (General Supervisor), Victoria Bldg., St. Louis, Mo.
American Unitarian Association	Boston, Mass.	May 19-23	Rev. Lewis G. Wilson, 25 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.
Association Workers With Boys, General Assembly	Culver, Ind.	May 17-30	Edgar M. Robinson, 124 East 28th Street, New York City.
Brotherhood of Andrew and Philip	Philadelphia, Pa.	May 4-9	Rev. R. Howard Taylor, 1328 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Brotherhood of St. Andrew	New York City	October 1-5	Hubert Carleton, Broad Exchange Building, Boston, Mass.
Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod of North America	Chicago, Ill.	June 11	John G. Dahlberg, 372 Logan Avenue, Winnipeg, Canada.
International Christian Endeavor Convention	Los Angeles, Cal.	July 9-14	William Shaw, Tremont Temple, Boston, Mass.
Missionary Education Movement	Blue Ridge, N. C. Silver Bay, N. Y. Lake Geneva, Wis.	June 27-July 6 July 11-20 August 1-10	Harry Wade Hicks, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City.
National Council of Congregational Churches	Kansas City, Mo.	October 22-31	Rev. Asher Anderson, Congregational House, Boston, Mass.
National Spiritualists' Association	Chicago, Ill.	September 23-27	George W. Kates, 600 Pennsylvania Avenue, S. E., Washington, D.C.
National Woman's Christian Temperance Union	Asbury Park, N. J.	Oct. 29-Nov. 6	Mrs. Frances P. Parks, Evanston, Ill.
Northern Baptist Convention	Detroit, Mich.	May 21-28	Rev. W. C. Bitting, 5109 Waterman Avenue, St. Louis, Mo.
Northfield Conferences and Summer Schools	Northfield, Mass.	June 7-Sept. 28	A. G. Moody, East Northfield, Mass.
Presbyterian Church (North), U. S. A., General Assembly	Atlanta, Ga.	May 15	William H. Roberts, D. D., 1319 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Presbyterian Church (South), U. S. A., General Assembly	Atlanta, Ga.	May 15	Thomas H. Law, D.D., Spartanburg, S. C.
Protestant Episcopal General Convention	New York City	October 8	Rev. Samuel Hart, D.D., Middletown, Conn.
Reformed (Dutch) Church in America, General Synod	Asbury Park, N. J.	June 5	William H. De Hart, D.D., Plainfield, N. J.
Reformed Presbyterian Church, General Synod	Cincinnati, Ohio	May 21	James Y. Boice, D.D., 4020 Spruce Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America, General Synod	Winona Lake, Ind.	May 27	James S. Tibby, 411 Penn Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Seventh-Day Adventists Conference	Tacoma Park, Wash., D. C.	May 15-June 8	W. A. Spicer, Tacoma Park, Washington, D. C.
Southern Baptist Convention	St. Louis, Mo.	May 13-20	Rev. Lansing Burrows, D. D., First Baptist Church, Americus, Ga.
United Norwegian Lutheran Church of America	St. Paul, Minn.	June 12-19	Rev. Jens C. Roseland, 515 Holly Avenue, Crookston, Minn.
United Presbyterian Church of North America, General Assembly	Atlanta, Ga.	May14-22	D. F. McGill, D.D., 224 Ridge Avenue, Ben Avon, Pa.
Universalist General Convention	Chicago, Ill.	October 22-26	Rev. W. H. Skeels, 334 Genessee Street, Utica, N. Y.
Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society	Detroit, Mich.	May 21-28	Mrs. Katherine S. Westfall, 2969 Vernon Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
World Alliance of Presbyterian and Reformed Churches	Aberdeen, Scotland	June 17-27	
World Congress of Free Christianity and Religious Progress	Paris, France	July 16-22	
World's Christian Citizenship Conference	Portland, Ore.	June 29-July 6	
World's Sunday School Convention	Zurich, Switzerland	July 8-15	Marion Lawrence, 1415 Mallers Building, Chicago, Ill.
World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union	Brooklyn, N. Y.	October 23-28	Miss Anna A. Gordon, Evanston, Ill.
Young Men's Christian Associations, International Convention	Cincinnati, Ohio	May 15-18	Richard C. Morse, 124 East 28th Street, New York City.

SCIENTIFIC AND PROFESSIONAL GATHERINGS	PLACE	DATE	SECRETARY
American Academy of Medicine	Minneapolis, Minn.	June 13-15	Charles McIntire, M.D., 52 No. Fourth Street, Easton, Pa.
American Association for the Advancement of Science	Atlanta, Ga.	Dec. 29-Jan. 3, '14	L. O. Howard, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.
American Bar Association	Montreal, Canada	September 1-3	George Whitelock, 407 Continental Building,Baltimore, Md.
American Chemical Society	Rochester, N. Y.	September 7-10	Charles L. Parsons, Washington, D. C.
American Climatological Association	Washington, D. C.	May 6-8	Guy Hinsdale, M.D., Hot Springs, Va.
American Electrochemical Society	Denver, Colo.	September	Prof. Joseph W. Richards, Lehigh University, South Bethlehem. Pa.
American Historical Association	Charleston—Columbia, S. C.	December 27-31	W. G. Leland, 1140 Woodward Avenue, Washington, D. C.
American Institute of Electrical Engineers	Cooperstown, N. Y.	June 23-27	F. L. Hutchinson, 33 West 29th Street, New York City.
American Institute of Homeopathy	Denver, Colo.	July 6-12	J. Richey Horner, M.D., 659 Rose Building, Cleveland, Ohio.
American Institute of Mining Engineers	Butte, Mont.	August 18	Bradley Stoughton, 29 West 39th Street, New York City.
American Library Association	Kaaterskill, N. Y.	June 23-28	George B. Utley, 78 East Washington St., Chicago, Ill.
American Medical Association	Minneapolis, Minn.	June 17-20	Alexander R. Craig, 535 Dearborn Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
American Medico-Psychological Association	Niagara Falls, Canada	June 10-13	Charles G. Wagner, M.D., Binghamton, N. Y.
American Optical Association	Rochester, N. Y.	July 14-18	E. E. Arrington, 26 Clinton Avenue, S., Rochester, N. Y.
American Osteopathic Association	Kirksville, Mo.	August 4-8	H. L. Chiles, 446 Main Street, Orange, N. J.
American Pharmaceutical Association	Nashville, Tenn.	August 18-23	James H. Beal, Scio, Ohio.
American Nurses' Association	Atlantic City, N. J.	June 25-27	Agnes G. Deans, 858 Brush Street, Detroit, Mich.
American Society of Mechanical Engineers	New York City	December 2-5	Lester G. French, 29 West 39th Street, New York City.
American Therapeutic Society	Washington, D. C.	May 5-6	Lewis H. Taylor, The Cecil, Washington, D. C.
Association of American Physicians	Washington, D. C.	May 6-8	Dr. George Kober, 1819 Q Street, Washington, D. C.
Clinical Congress of Surgeons of North America	Chicago, Ill.	November 10-15	Franklin H. Martin, M.D., 31 No. State Street, Chicago, Ill.
International Congress of Medicine	London, England	August 5-12	
International Geological Congress	Toronto, Canada	August 7-14	R. W. Brock, F.R.S.C., Geological Survey, Ottawa, Canada.
National Eclectic Medical Association	Dallas, Texas	June 19-21	W. N. Mundy, M.D. (Chairman), Forest, Ohio.
Pan-American Medical Congress	Lima, Peru	August 3-10	Dr. Leonidas Avendaño, Lima, Peru.
South American Congress of Agricultural Science	Buenos Aires, Argentina	July	
Southern Medical Association	Lexington, Ky.	November 18-20	Dr. Seale Harris, Mobile, Ala.
POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SOCIAL CONFERENCES			
American Association for the Prevention of Infant Mortality	Kansas City, Mo.	October 23-25	Gertrude B. Knipp, 1211 Cathedral Street, Baltimore Md.
American Association of Officials of Charity and Correction	Springfield, Ill.	June 24-26	William T. Cross, Columbia, Mo.
American Conference on Social Insurance	Chicago, Ill.	June 6-7	John B. Andrews, 131 East 23rd Street, New York City.
American Economic Association	Minneapolis, Minn.	December 27-31	T. N. Carver, Cambridge, Mass.
American Home Economics Association	Ithaca, N. Y.	June 27-July 4	Isabel Ely Lord, Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y.
American Peace Congress	St. Louis, Mo.	May 1-4	B. F. Trueblood, Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.
American Political Science Association	Washington, D. C.	December 30	W. E. Dodd, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
American Prison Association	Indianapolis, Ind.	October 9-14	Joseph P. Byers, Trenton, N. J.
American Public Health Association	Colorado Springs, Colo.	September 9-13	Selskar M. Gunn, 755 Boylston St., Boston, Mass.
Atlantic Deeper Waterways Association	Jacksonville, Fla.	November 16-22	Wilfred H. Schoff, Crozer Building, Philadelphia, Pa.
International Conference on Infant Mortality	London, England	August 4-5	
International Congress against Alcoholism	Milan, Italy	September 22-28	
International Congress of Home Economy	Ghent, Belgium	June 15-17	Marguerite B. Lake, Forest Hill, Md.
International Congress on School Hygiene	Buffalo, N. Y.	August 25-30	Dr. Thomas A. Storey, College of the City of New York, N. Y. City
Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration	Mohonk Lake, N. Y.	May 14-16	H. C. Phillips, Mohonk Lake, N. Y.
National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis	Washington, D.C.	May 8-10	Livingston Farrand, M.D., 105 East 22nd Street, New York City.
National Conference of Charities and Correction	Seattle, Wash.	July 5-12	Alexander Johnson, Angola, Ind.
National Conference on City Planning	Chicago, Ill.	May 5-7	Flavel Shurtleff, 19 Congress Street, Boston, Mass.
National Conservation Congress	Washington, D. C.	December	Thomas R. Shipp, Indianapolis, Ind.
Playground Association of America	Richmond, Va.	May 6-10	H. S. Braucher, 1 Madison Avenue, New York City.
OTHER OCCASIONS			
American Bankers' Association	Boston, Mass.	October 6-10	Fred. E. Farnsworth, 5 Nassau Street, New York City.
American Federation of Labor	Seattle, Wash.	November 10	Frank Morrison, 801 G Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Esperanto Association of North America	Boston, Mass.	July 7	Edwin C. Reed, Esperanto Office, Washington, D. C.
Farmers' National Congress	Plano, Ill.	September 23-26	John H. Kimble, Port Deposit, Md.
International Congress of Women	Paris, France	June 2-7	
International Dry Farming Congress	Tulsa, Okla.	Oct. 22-Nov. 1	John T. Burns, Tulsa, Okla.
International Sunshine Society	New York City	May 14-17	Miss Florence M. Layton, 96 Fifth Avenue, New York City.
International Woman Suffrage Association	Budapest, Hungary	June 13	
National Association of Manufacturers	Detroit, Mich.	May 19-21	George S. Boudinot, 30 Church Street, New York City.
National Congress of Mothers	Boston, Mass.	May 15-20	Mrs. Arthur A. Birney, 806 Loan & Trust Bldg., Washington, D. C.
National Electric Light Association	Chicago, Ill.	June 3-7	T. C. Martin, 29 West 39th Street, New York City.
Sons of Confederate Veterans	Chattanooga, Tenn.	May 26-29	J. P. Norfleet (Adjutant-General), Memphis, Tenn.
Southern Commercial Congress	Mobile, Ala.	September —	Clarence J. Owens (Mng. Director), Southern Bldg., Washington, D.C.
United Confederate Veterans, National Reunion	Chattanooga, Tenn.	May 27-29	N. B. Forrest, 416 Central Bank Building, Memphis, Tenn.



THE COVERS OF FOUR OF THE SEASON'S NOVELS

SOME NOVELS OF MORALS AND MANNERS

IT used to be said that in her novels Mrs. Humphry Ward never failed to offer a gentle remedy for reforming the world along some special lines. Most of her stories have contained some justification for this statement. Her latest and seventeenth novel, however, "The Mating of Lydia,"[1] is not of this sort. It is a simple story, told in the spirited, human way that is Mrs. Ward's wont. There are four principal characters and a mystery. A struggling young barrister, Claude Faversham, who is in love with Lydia Penford, the heroine, has ambitious ideas for improving the conditions of the poor tenants on the estate of an old millionaire named Melrose. Lydia is an idealistic young woman of artistic sensibilities and she is courted by Faversham and an attractive, poetic nobleman, Lord Tatham. The millionaire, Melrose, who plays the part of the heavy villain, tries to "buy off" Faversham by promising to make him his heir. This, however, does not improve the young man's chances with Lydia. Just then the old man is discovered murdered, and there is the mystery to unravel, which Mrs. Ward proceeds to do with her usual skill. All these story people are real in Mrs. Ward's best style, and the movement of the novel is natural and smooth.

A Story by Mrs. Ward

Those who have long ago learned to love William J. Locke for his power to depict gentle, lovable human comedy may find a great deal of interest in his latest book, "Stella Maris,"[2] but they will not find much of Locke. Stella Maris is a young girl confined to her bed for years with an affection of the spine. Those who care for her have attempted to keep from her all her life the slightest knowledge of evil, and she lives in a dream world. When, however, she unexpectedly recovers and goes out into the real world the evil that is in life makes itself violently known. The story is fascinating and told with the delicate beauty that characterizes Mr. Locke's style, but there is too much tragedy and too little relief, too tense sadness. It is a beautiful story and constructed with Mr. Locke's inimitable skill, but it does not reflect the Locke of "The Beloved Vagabond" or "The Glory of Clementina."

Locke's Tragic Tale

A story of love, disillusionment, cruelty, hope and faith, in a London suburb, the sort of feelings and forces that have always been understood and which are old in fiction, with scarcely any plot, but with a good deal of excellent psychological analysis—such is Miss May Sinclair's latest book "The Combined Maze,"[3] a title taken from a sort of dance at an English high school. Fate was very cruel to the rather pathetic John Randall, the hero, to his wife who is unfortunate and dissipated, as well as to the beautiful and virtuous Winny Dymond. The author handles her theme with those clear, broad strokes which characterized "The Divine Fire," and those novels which have given her such high rank. There is in this book evident, however, a certain pessimism which is, to say the least, not satisfying to the moral or artistic sense.

May Sinclair's "Combined Maze"

There can be no doubt that Kathleen Norris understands thoroughly what has been called the great American middle class. She has shown this in her novels, and now she gives to us a collection of excellently told short stories on kindred themes. These stories, full of humor and pathetic practicability, are grouped under the rather vacuous title "Poor Dear Margaret Kirby."[4] There are eighteen stories averaging from ten to twenty pages each.

Two new novels of English public life are gentle, yet keen satires on parliamentary government. "King John of Jingalo,"[5] by Laurence Housman, is a mine of comedy and satire. The kingdom of John is quite plainly England of to-day, just as the Church of Jingalo is the revered Established Church. Both are treated with biting sarcasm. The reader, however, acquires a sort of affectionate regard for the kindly King John who comes to see through the farce of his kingship, for the Prince, who has socialistic ideas, and for the Princess, who escapes from the palace, only to be arrested as a suffragette. "An Affair of State,"[6] by J. C. Snaith, who has already given us a clever novel in "The Principal Girl," is a story of present-day England in the hands of the Liberal party. The action is carried along almost entirely by conversation, most of it very brilliant.

Latter-Day England

English radicalism is the burden of "The Story of Stephen Compton,"[7] by J. E. Patterson. How the Lloyd-Georges of modern Britain are climbing to the captain's bridge and seizing command of the ship of state is graphically told in this intensely realistic novel.

Two new breezy women characters, opposite as the poles in some things, yet with a certain kinship, are presented to us in Edna Ferber's "Roast Beef Medium,"[8] and Olive Higgins Prouty's "Bobbie, General Manager."[9] Emma McChesney, whom we know from Miss Ferber's other books, is a very self-possessed and genial person, a traveling saleswoman, and the book gives her career from beginning to end. "Bobbie," on the other hand, is a girl, brave, tender-hearted, exuberant, and she manages —without their knowing it—a large motherless family of brothers and sisters.

Types of Modern Women

[1] The Mating of Lydia. By Mrs. Humphry Ward. Doubleday, Page. $1.35.
[2] Stella Maris. By William J. Locke. John Lane Company. 357 pp., ill. $1.25.
[3] The Combined Maze. By May Sinclair. Harpers. 394 pp. $1.35.
[4] Poor Dear Margaret Kirby. By Kathleen Norris. Macmillan. 393 pp. $1.30.
[5] King John of Jingalo. By Laurence Housman. Henry Holt & Co. 377 pp. $1.35.
[6] An Affair of State. By J. C. Snaith. Doubleday, Page. 368 pp. $1.25.
[7] The Story of Stephen Compton. By J. E. Patterson Hodder & Stoughton. 367 pp. $1.25.
[8] Roast Beef Medium. By Edna Ferber. Stokes. 296 pp., ill. $1.20.
[9] Bobbie, General Manager. By Olive Higgins Prouty. Stokes. 354 pp. $1.25.

Cora Madison must have been a very modern but very unpleasant young woman. At least so Booth Tarkington makes her out to be in his story about her as "The Flirt."[1] He makes her very lifelike, and by the contrasts of his other characters with her, really points out a social lesson. Therefore, despite the generally depressing character of the book, "The Flirt" is worth while.

Richard Pryce has given us two thoroughly human lovable women in his new novels "The Burden of A Woman"[2] and "Jezebel."[3] Mary Redwing, who bore the burden, was an Englishwoman who has an unfortunate past, but who retains the bloom of her moral as well as her physical youth. Some fine shadings in the meaning of morality are worked out by the author in the analysis of Mary's character and that of Peter Davidson, who loves her, but finally marries another. "Jezebel" is a fascinating young woman, also an English girl, spirited and lovable, who finally, by her charm and character, lives down her name.

Several of the important novels of the season have for their dominant theme the woman problem of our day in its various phases. One of these stories,—"My Little Sister,"[4] by Elizabeth Robins,—stands out in dramatic interest before the others. It is an intensely vivid portrayal of the White Slave evil,—a tale of horrors unspeakable. The scene of the catastrophe is in London, but the incidents have an international background.

Feminism in Fiction

"Comrade Yetta,"[5] by Albert Edwards, gives a good picture of a Jewish girl's career in New York's East Side. It is a story that could not have been written twenty or even ten years ago, for it describes conditions that did not then exist. Woman's part in the labor wars of to-day,—the exploitation of the weaker sex by the stronger in the fierce struggle for existence,—is the central theme of the story, while the aspirations of the foreign-born who seek homes in America and fight their way up to places of leadership are clearly set forth. Altogether it is too human for a successful "problem novel."

Far more elaborate in plan and method is Robert Herrick's new book, "One Woman's Life."[6] This too is a story that brings us face to face with the sordid realities of our modern scheme of existence. Professor Herrick's careful analysis of character, and especially his delineation of the American woman, entitles him to rank with Mr. Howells as an interpreter of modern life. Indeed, what Howells was to the preceding generation Herrick is to this. The social note struck in books of the "Comrade Yetta" type, however, is obscured by the intense individualism of Herrick.

Mr. Howells himself comes forward with a story of American country life in the years following the Mexican War ("New Leaf Mills").[7] This straightforward narrative, suggesting the primitive conditions of frontier life in the mid-nineteenth century, is more agreeable reading, we confess, than Professor Herrick's merciless analysis of the twentieth-century American woman. Somehow the middle-western pioneers, with their corn-huskings, spelling-matches, and coon-hunts, were a vastly more entertaining folk than their descendants, — the occupants of Chicago sky-scrapers.

A New Howells Story

"The Eternal Maiden"[8] is a gripping story of Arctic life by T. Everett Harre. In Eskimo folk-tales, the sun "Sukh-eh-hukh," is the "Eternal Maiden," the beautiful, the much desired, forever pursued by the moon. In Mr. Harre's book this legend is interwoven with a love story and both glow like jewels in the shimmer of fascinating Arctic description. The chapter that recounts the hunt of two starving Eskimos for musk ox, "ahmingmah," in an inland valley of Greenland seems drawn from the scroll of living race memory, so actual is the experience to the reader. Best of all this book is a good book, one that may be safely recommended to youth. It brings exact knowledge of the frozen north and stimulates the imagination without destroying the most delicate illusion of life or robbing the reader of a cherished ideal. The experiences related, lead up to the closing paragraph of the book, in which the mind is lifted to hope of a time when "the highest hopes of men will find their realization in an undreamed of heaven, to which all who have lived without cowardice, ingratitude or taint of selfishness in their hearts, will be translated as the world's last aurora closes its mystic veils in the northern skies."

Life in the Arctic

In two new novels, Leonard Merrick gives us more of that mixture of cleverness, cynicism and sentiment, plus fine literary workmanship, that makes all his work so attractive. It cannot be said that the characters in "The Man Who Was Good"[9] and "Cynthia"[10] are particularly interesting or appealing. But they live, and are worthy of their author's reputation.

The last part of Romain Rolland's monumental novel "Jean-Christophe"[11]—504 pages—is divided into three parts: "Love and Friendship," "The Burning Bush," and "The New Dawn." "Jean-Christophe" is the life story with all its emotional and temperamental crises, of a gifted, but eccentric German musician. It is packed full of character and psychological study, and has been very highly commended by European critics. The preceding parts have already been noticed in these pages. This third volume, like the two which preceded it, has a fairly complete interest in itself, independent of that of the others. "Jean-Christophe" is elemental, powerful and fascinating.

[1] The Flirt. By Booth Tarkington. Doubleday, Page. 378 pp., ill. $1.25.
[2] The Burden of A Woman. By Richard Pryce. Houghton, Mifflin. 301 pp. $1.35.
[3] Jezebel. By Richard Pryce. Houghton, Mifflin. 378 pp. $1.35.
[4] My Little Sister. By Elizabeth Robins. Dodd, Mead. 344 pp. $1.25.
[5] Comrade Yetta. By Albert Edwards. Macmillan. 448 pp. $1.35.
[6] One Woman's Life. By Robert Herrick. Macmillan. 405 pp. $1.35.
[7] New Leaf Mills. By William D. Howells. Harpers. 154 pp. $1.50.
[8] The Eternal Maiden. By T. Everett Harre. Mitchell Kennerly. 279 pp. $1.20.
[9] The Man Who Was Good. By Leonard Merrick. New York: Desmond FitzGerald. 315 pp. $1.20.
[10] Cynthia, A Daughter of the Philistines. By Leonard Merrick. New York: Desmond FitzGerald. 300 pp. $1.20.
[11] Jean-Christophe. Journey's End: Love and Friendship, The Burning Bush, The New Dawn. By Romain Rolland. Translated by Gilbert Cannan. Henry Holt & Co. 504 pp. $1.50.

POETRY AND THE DRAMA

THE study of epic verse is a delight both to the student of literature and the general reader. Mr. W. Macneile Dixon, M.A., Professor of English Literature in the University of Glasgow, has written an exceptional study of "English Epic and Heroic Poetry"[1] that traces the influences racial, artistic, social and intellectual which fostered the development and decay of this type of literary expression. The tenth chapter, which deals with the classical epic, is especially deserving of praise. It is good that Mr. Dixon recalls the words of Coleridge: "I should not think of devoting less than twenty years to an epic poem, ten years to collect the materials and warm my mind with universal science—the next five in the composition of the poem and the five last in the correction of it. So would I write—haply not unhearing of that divine and nightly whispering voice which speaks to mighty minds of predestinal garlands, starry and unwithering."

English Epic Poetry

"Masterpieces of the Southern Poets"[2] have been collected and arranged by Walter Neale. Much care has been taken in the preparation of the book, which aims to include the lyric masterpieces of the Southern poets that have become a part of the living literature of the world. Mr. Neale's admirable preface is an illuminating introduction to the poets of the Southland, among whom Poe, Haynes, and Sidney Lanier shine as "bright, particular stars."

Poets of the South

It is an inspiring experience to meet a man "ninety years young" whose mind has still a keen grasp upon the facts of life and an undiminished interest in its phenomena. "Poems,"[3] by the Rev. Henry Losch, M.D., will introduce you to such a man; Mr. Losch was ninety years of age on the fifteenth of April. Mr. Losch's longer poem on Christ's religion and the church postulates "the ideal true and wholly successful Religion of the Future." This poem is keenly analytical and reveals the author as an evolutionist and a scientific thinker as well as a man of deeply religious conviction. The second half of the book is given up mainly to metrical translations of the German metaphysical poets, Herder, Lessing, Goethe, Schiller, and Klopstock. The illustrations are reproductions from photographs of the German poets and the frontispiece is a portrait of the author.

A Nonogenarian Poet

The popularity of certain poems causes them to have a literary life apart from any remembrace of authorship. How many persons know who wrote that classic of our school days—"Curfew Must Not Ring To-Night"? Her name is Rose Hartwick Thorpe and the Neale Publishing Company offer her complete poetical works[4] in a sumptuous binding of full morocco decorated in gold. Mrs. Thorpe's poetry is sympathetic, homely, and at times powerful in its human appeal.

Poems of Mrs. Thorpe

MRS. ROSE HARTWICK THORPE
(Author of "Curfew Must Not Ring To-Night")

The plays of August Strindberg have been freely commented upon in previous issues of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS. Four new volumes have been issued,—"Miss Julia" (the Countess Julie), "The Stronger,"[5] and "Creditors and Pariah"[6] translated by Edwin Björkman, and "Easter"[7] and "Lucky Pehr," translated by Velma Swanston Howard. "Lucky Pehr"[8] is said to be to Sweden what Rip Van Winkle is to America. In this play Strindberg is no longer the gloomy misanthrope, pouring his disillusionment upon the world, but a light-hearted teller of fairy tales. "Creditors" brings into bold relief the woman Strindberg has made—the woman who figures as a devouring monster of ideas and dreams—the Nietzschean female, the woman who has a devil in her and exists as an evil necessity to man. "Miss Julia" belongs to the class of pathological sex-drama. Masterly

Strindberg's Plays

[1] English Epic and Heroic Poetry. By W. MacNeile Dixon, M.A. E. P. Dutton Company. $1.50.
[2] Masterpieces of the Southern Poets. By Walter Neale, Neale Publishing Company.
[3] Poems and Translations. By Henry Losch. International Printing Company. Philadelphia. $1.50.
[4] The Poetical Works of Rose Hartwick Thorpe. Neale Publishing Company. Full morocco. $1.50 net.
[5] Miss Julia; The Stronger. By August Strindberg. Translated by Edwin Björkman. Scribner's. 90 pp. 75 cents.
[6] The Creditors; Pariah. By August Strindberg. Translated by Edwin Björkman. Scribner's. 89 pp. 75 cents.
[7] Easter. By August Strindberg. Translated by Velma Swanston Howard. Stewart & Kidd. 269 pp. $1.50.
[8] Lucky Pehr. By August Strindberg. Translated by Velma Swanston Howard. Stewart & Kidd. $1.50.

in construction and modern as to character drawing, there is little excuse for its existence as an acting play. Strindberg confesses in the preface that his characters are conglomerate scraps of humanity, "torn off pieces of Sunday clothing turned into rags—all patched together as the human soul itself." "Easter" is an entirely different kind of play—a work of tolerance and understanding and "poetic tenderness"—a play that is good to read and good to see acted.

A Russian Dramatist

The plays of Anton Tchekoff,[1] translated by Marion Fell, include such virile dramatic works as "Uncle Vanya," "Ivanoff," "The Sea Gull," and "The Swan Song." Taken as a whole, the reading of these plays quickens our interest in the leveling process that is slowly taking place in Russia between the hereditary nobility on the one side and on the other the lonely, poverty-ridden peasantry whose industry produces the wealth of the landowners. Taken separately, their dramatic interest supersedes their interest as social documents. Tchekoff has referred to the stage as "an evil disease of the towns" and "the gallows on which dramatists are hanged." Nevertheless, his plays are in all essentials acting plays.

Anton Tchekoff was born at Taganrog on the Black Sea in 1860. His immediate ancestors belonged to the mercantile class. At the age of seventeen he revealed his promise of literary talent by writing a long tragedy which was afterward destroyed. He was a student at the University of Moscow and in 1880 began writing for newspapers and periodicals, pouring forth a quantity of vivid sketches of Russian life and impressionistic short stories. As a dramatic genius he occupies a middle ground between Ibsen and Strindberg and the representatives of the modern French school, Maeterlinck and Brieux. His tendency to gloom, which concentrates in the tragedy, "Ivanoff," is in his other plays tempered by humor and a Shavian irony. In most instances we sense the ridiculous side of tragedy, its non-relation to the sanities of life; we feel that it is not the inevitable outcome of life, as Ibsen and Strindberg would have us believe, but rather a misfortune that arises from our errors, a preventable calamity, if our wisdom could but predict whither events are dragging our lives.

"The Sea Gull" is perhaps the greatest of the plays in this collection. The character of Trigorin seems a "cry from Tchekoff's own soul." Nina, the daughter of a rich landowner, is the "sea gull," a spirit longing for fullness of life and expression, loving only the impossible ideal, wandering hither and thither only, in the end, to be destroyed by Trigorin, wantonly out of idleness.

The acting of "The Swan Song" would test the dramatic resources of an Edwin Booth. It is a one-act play, a dialogue between an old comedian and an equally aged stage prompter. The comedian, once a famous actor in tragic rôles, essays fragments of his former triumphs, Hamlet, Ivan, Othello, Lear, on the deserted stage of the empty theater. His voice rolls sonorously through the swelling lines and re-echoes from the gloom of the vault above him. Once more he is young and famous, once more he hears the plaudits of the crowd and drinks the cup of glory. Then the sudden flare of life passes, he sinks down an old man again, nothing but a "squeezed lemon," a "crooked bottle," his companion an "old rat of the theater." Yet with fame dead and life outworn, he still triumphs; for he says: "Where there is art and genius there can never be such things as old age or loneliness or sickness."

[1] Plays. By Anton Tchekoff. Scribner's. 233 pp. $1.50.

Middleton's Plays

Six one-act plays of contemporary life are offered by George Middleton with the prefatory line from Meredith:

> ". . . . Our deeds are pregnant graves
> Blown rolling from the sunset to the dawn."

The first play, "Tradition,"[2] was given its first performance at the Berkeley Theater, New York City, on January 24, 1913. It is of the same order as "Milestones," a play that shows how the older generation is held in bondage by traditions from which the young must escape.

"Waiting" is an argument for the right of woman to speak first as to her desire for a mate. In "Mothers," the tragedy of a mother's disappointment in her son is matched against the love of a young girl who is willing to sacrifice all for the son's love. "The Cheat of Pity" exposes a weak woman's false logic with the unflinching directness of a surgeon's scalpel. These plays are concentrated drama, easy to read and visualize, thoughtful as to themes and powerful in suggestiveness.

Galsworthy's Dramatic Writings

The latest volume of plays by John Galsworthy[3] contains "The Eldest Son," "The Little Dream," and the well-known "Justice." "The Eldest Son" throws the question of caste as a factor in domestic life, in our face. Sir William Cheshire's groom has wronged a village girl. Can the moral law which compels the groom, Dunning, to marry the girl he has wronged, who is of his own caste, also compel Sir William Cheshire's eldest son to marry his mother's maid whom he has wronged? Galsworthy's conclusion seems to be that an illy assorted marriage is not the proper remedy for a moral wrong. Dunning can be made at pistol point if necessary, to marry the village girl, but the heir of the Cheshires need not marry (for obvious reasons), out of his class. Galsworthy gives the maid, Freda Studdenham, pluck enough to refuse to marry the "eldest son," which is the most satisfactory bit in the entire play.

"The Little Dream" is a fantasy, an allegory in six scenes, the dream of Seelchen (Little Soul), a peasant girl of the Alps. She has two admirers, Feldsman the Swiss guide and a stranger from London who desires to take her away to the city. In the dream the "Cow Horn" mountain impersonates the mountain lover, the "Wine Horn" the tourist, and the "Great Horn" has the voice of the great mystery of life that lures us beyond love and death into the unknown hills of silence. The "Great Horn" speaks in the dream to Seelchen:

> "Wandering flame, thou restless fever
> Burning all things regretting none,
> The wings of fate are stilled forever—
> Thy little generous life is done,
> And all its wistful wanderings cease,
> Thou traveler to the tideless sea,
> Where light and dark and change and peace,
> Are One—come little soul to Mystery."

"Justice" is the strongest of all the Galsworthy plays. It is a powerful arraignment of our

[2] Tradition, with On Bail, Waiting, Their Wife, Mothers, and The Cheat of Pity. Plays by George Middleton. 171 pp. Henry Holt Company. $1.35.

[3] Plays. By John Galsworthy. Scribner's. 109 pp. $1.25.

blundering attempts to "make the punishment fit the crime." Falder, a junior clerk, falls in love with Ruth Honeywell, a married woman, whose husband a drunken, vicious brute, continually threatens the lives of her children. After the husband has given the woman a terrible beating, she appeals to the clerk for protection. Dazed by her misfortunes and torn by his own love, he raises the figures on a check and secures the money to send her away. His crime is detected, he is arrested, convicted and sentenced to three years' penal servitude. Badly born, with a tubercular taint in his blood, morally weak in that his sympathies and emotions override his judgment and obscure his reason, Falder comes to utter ruin of mind and body in solitary confinement in prison under a stupid, undiscriminating penal code. Six months before his sentence expires, he is released on a ticket of leave. He forgets to report himself for four weeks and, unable to obtain employment with his criminal record, forges a reference to secure work. The Detective Sergeant discovers the fact and comes for him. He had planned to make a fresh start and marry the woman with whom he was in love when she had secured a divorce. Stunned by his re-arrest, hopeless of freeing himself from the stigma of penal servitude, he leaps from a window and breaks his neck. On this dramatic framework Galsworthy has hung every humane argument for the reconstruction of our penal system and for the rehabilitation of the ex-convict.

THE IRISH DRAMATIC RENAISSANCE

THE movement known first as the Irish Renaissance and later as the Celtic Renaissance began over two decades ago among a group of minor Irish poets who were inspired to open the ancient mounds of Irish memories and bring to light from the funeral cairns, the legends, the folk-songs, the history of Ireland. Mr. Cornelius Weygandt treats of this movement in his recent book, "Irish Plays and Playwrights."[1] Concerning the three dominant personalities of the Modern Irish drama,—Lady Gregory, W. B. Yeats, and John Millington Synge,—Mr. Weygandt has little to offer that is new, inasmuch as these pillars of Irish dramatic art have become popular personages. Of the younger Irish dramatists there is much said with which we are at least not wholly familiar. There is Lennox Robinson, the son of a clergyman, born in the Bandon valley, stage manager of the Abbey Theater, author of "The Clancy Name," "The Harvest," and "The Crossroads" (he is only twenty-five); there is T. C. Murray, one of those whom Mr. Yeats has given the name of "Cork Realists," Rutherford Mayne, Norrey Connell, St. John G. Ervine, Joseph Campbell, William Boyle, and Padraic Colum. More widely known is the Irish poet "A. E." (George W. Russell), Edward Martyn, and the forerunner of the Celtic Renaissance, William Sharp, and his twin literary entity, Fiona McLeod.

Plays and Playwrights

Dating from the production of "The Countess Cathleen," by Yeats, May 8th, 1899, at the Irish Literary Theater at the Antient Concert Rooms in Dublin, up to the time of the engagement of the Abbey players in this country this season, there have been produced over one hundred plays from the pens of Irish playwrights. While some of the legends upon which several plays have been based are a variant of legends common to other countries, the atmosphere, the delineation of character, the ideals, and the subtle, lureful spirit of the plays are as Irish as the soil of Galway. The structural forms and the symbolism used in the presentation of ideas show in many instances a borrowing from the classic, a quietness, a slow posturing, a sense of movement that is Greek in its geometric realization of the value to interpretation of pure form. The scenery used by the Abbey Players is exceedingly simple and in nowise does it detract attention from the action of the play. Many scenes are played against a plain back drop curtain. Screens, curtains, and lights are used to suggest rather than actually portray certain settings. This simplicity is necessary to the poetic character of most of the plays, particularly so when one realizes that the lines are written to be chanted or cadenced according to certain laws of rhythm, and in many cases sung, but not as we understand singing. It is more a regulated declamation, a relation of sound to word that arouses subjective states of consciousness in the listener, an approach to the old secrets of incantations.

To Mr. Yeats chiefly must be given thanks for this return to the old and beautiful musical utterance that had long been a forgotten art. After a patient survey of the entire Irish literary movement, the personality of W. B. Yeats looms large for a variety of reasons. He believes in Ireland—in the very soul of the country and in the nobleness of her upspringing art: He writes: "The end of art is the ecstasy awakened by the presence before an ever-changing mind of what is permanent in the world, or by the arousing of that mind itself into the very delicate and fastidious mood habitual with it when it is seeking these permanent and recurring things." Then he possesses the patience to re-write again and again his poems and plays, working into them the vocal rhythm, the balance, the pattern that shall express—Ireland. The material of "Cathleen ni-Houlihan" is meager,—an old woman who wanders to a peasant's cottage and rambles on about her dead lovers, her four beautiful fields, stolen away, of the strangers in her house. If we had not seen the label of the play which tell us (that the old woman is "Ireland,")—we should hardly know the fact from reading the lines. But how different with the added magic of a carefully considered stage presentation. a presentation gathered from intuition rather than the canons of dramatic art. By gesture, by the declamatory chant of the dead heroes, who have died for her but who "will be remembered forever," by the light on the hills that streams through the open door, by the sacrifice of the young man

The Work of Yeats

[1] Irish Plays and Playwrights. By Cornelius Weygandt. Macmillan. 303 pp. $2.

Michael Gillane who leaves home on his wedding eve to serve his country, by the cry at the last that the French are in the harbor, the fact that the old woman is indeed bereaved, sad Ireland still glorious in spite of her sorrow, is impressed upon you and "brings tears to the eyes and chokes the throat with sobs, so intimately physical is the appeal of its pathos."

Ireland's Lone Novelist

George Moore must be largely reckoned with as a part of the Irish Renaissance, not only for the fact that for the last ten years he has chosen to live in Ireland and interest himself in her art, literature, and politics, but also that he is the only living Irish novelist whose work lays claim to greatness. Moore's Trilogy, "Hail and Farewell" (of which "Ave" and "Salve" are published and "Vale" in preparation), when completed, will be an impressionistic picture of modern Ireland rising from the dews and damps of her long slumber to revive once more the glory of her ancient fame. When you perceive this plan of the Trilogy all Moore's wanderings afield and irrelevant bits of discussion in "Salve,"[1] fit together and become pertinent to a balanced whole. Necessarily the reader sees the Ireland that Moore sees, but he detaches himself intentionally now and then and endeavors to place us at a vantage point where we may look at Ireland through the eyes of Lady Gregory, Yeats, Edward Martyn, or the Irish poet "A. E." (George Russell.) The story of Moore's religious whifflings of faith and his controversy with the bishop is deliciously humorous and as "able as it is heterodox."

Lady Gregory publishes five sprightly, new comedies,[2] "The Bogie Men," "The Full Moon," "Coats," "Damer's Gold," and "McDonough's Wife." They are pleasant, piquant sketches of Irish life, written with Lady Gregory's own delightful humor and delicate mastery of the technique of the Irish folk-tongue. Their characterization is faultless and, in general, the interest is well sustained. As dramatic offerings, they lean toward a dialogue form; they are talky, but the splendid breadth of characterization saves them from dullness. As literary material, they have not the lure of the plays by Lady Gregory that deal with the Ireland of a thousand years ago; neither are they concerned with the potent interests of social, political and industrial Ireland of to-day.

"McDonough's Wife" is the strongest of the five plays, but it can hardly be classed as a comedy with its burying of Catherine McDonough and the eyrie screaming of McDonough's pipes following her corpse along the road.

"Coats" is a delicious trifle of a play. Two rival editors who are addicted to the amiable vice of writing things ahead of time in order to have them handy, write each other's obituaries. By accident they exchange coats in a restaurant where they are in the habit of dining and each finds his own obituary written by the other. A quarrel ensues but the editorial instinct prevails. They acknowledge each other's work to be well done in the main; the coats are exchanged again and the obituaries laid away for the time of need.

TRAVEL, EXPLORATION AND DESCRIPTION

MAJOR LIONEL JAMES, who calls himself a latter-day adventurer, and who was one of the four English journalists who saw fighting from the Turkish side in the Balkan War, has written a spirited account of his experience which he has entitled "With the Conquered Turk."[3] Major James was special correspondent of the *London Times* with the Turkish army. He has a good deal to say which goes to refute a number of the claims made by Bulgarian and Servian press agents. In short, he shows up the Turks in a much better light than we had heretofore regarded them. The volume is illustrated from drawings, photographs and maps. Oddly enough this more favorable opinion of the Turk, which the world had begun to discard since the Bulgarian victories in Thrace, is borne out by a pleasing new story of the Mohammedan world which Henry Otis Dwight (author of "Turkish Life in War Time") has entitled "A Muslim Sir Galahad."[4] Selim, son of Hassan Bey, is an attractive character living in the fastnesses of the Kurdish mountains. He yearns for a better religion than that of his fathers, and discovers in the missionary a helper in time of need. In his introduction, Dr. James S. Dennis, the missionary authority, says that Dr. Dwight's local coloring is "absolutely genuine."

Justice to the Turk

An absorbingly interesting account of "The Passing of the Turkish Empire in Europe"[5] has been written by Captain B. Granville Baker, of the British navy, author of "The Walls of Constantinople." It is a sort of combination travel book and history, very illuminating. There are some useful pictures. A pointed and illuminating account of what the writer, Francis McCullagh, calls "Italy's War For A Desert,"[6] is dedicated to "my colleagues and fellow correspondents who were not afraid to tell the truth about Tripoli." Mr. McCullagh tells of the actual fighting and relates what he asserts were only a few of the "atrocities" committed by the Italians in "purging the oasis."

By easy stages we get to Mesopotamia and Kurdistan,[7] although perhaps not in disguise as was Mr. E. B. Soane, who gives us a rather full account of a recent adventurous journey he took through the

[1] Salve. By George Moore. D. Appleton Co. 395 pp. $1.75.
[2] New Comedies. By Lady Gregory. Putnam's. 166 pp. $1.50.
[3] With the Conquered Turk. By Lionel James. Small, Maynard. 315 pp., ill. $2.
[4] A Muslim Sir Galahad. By Henry Otis Dwight. Fleming H. Revell. 188 pp., ill. $1.
[5] The Passing of the Turkish Empire in Europe. By B. Granville Baker. Lippincott. 335 pp., ill. $3.50.
[6] Italy's War For a Desert. By Francis McCullagh. Chicago: F. C. Browne & Co. 410 pp., ill. $2.75.
[7] To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise. By E. B. Soane. Small, Maynard. 421 pp., ill. $4.

southern part of Turkey and Asia. An interesting part of his narrative is that he speaks rather favorably of the Kurds who have heretofore been regarded as somewhat of an epitome of all that is savage and inhuman.

The Far East

In the "All Red Series" Sir J. Bampfylde Fuller, K. C. S. I. gives us the story of the Empire of India.[1] The author, who was for many years connected with the Indian government, has a wide and close acquaintance with the history, resources and peoples of the peninsuia.

Just at this time, when China and the Chinese are taking up so much space in periodical literature, the appearance of an outline history,[2] particularly of China, is exceedingly useful. Although there have been numerous books written on China from almost every conceivable point of view, and although the Chinese have a longer continuous history than any other people, a history of China in English is a new thing. The first volume of this work, which treats of the earliest times to the Manchu conquest in 1644, is by Mr. Herbert H. Gowen, lecturer on Oriental History at the University of Washington.

China is one of the few great nations concerned vitally with the future of the Pacific Ocean. Undoubtedly the supremacy of the world during the next few centuries will hinge upon the domination of this ocean. Whether such domination shall be under the flag of the white race, the British or the American; or the yellow race, China or Japan; or whether Russia shall come in for a share—this is the problem that is discussed suggestively and stimulatingly in Frank Fox's book "Problems of the Pacific."[3] Mr. Fox, who is one of the editors of the *Morning Post*, of London, and has already written a book on this general subject entitled "The Ramparts of Empire," finally concludes that friendly coöperation between Great Britain and the United States will give to the Anglo-Saxon race the mastery of the world's greatest ocean, but that "rivalry between these two kindred nations may cause the greatest evils and possibly irreparable disasters." Another highly interesting volume on this subject of the Pacific ("The New Pacific")[4] is a revised edition of Hubert Howe Bancroft's "Study of Pacific Problems." This has been thoroughly revised and brought down to date. It includes, moreover, not only the results—commerce, industry, wealth, and people—but the romance of the vast Pacific Ocean.

Particularly adapted for children, though having interest for older readers, is "Old China and Young America,"[5] by Mrs. S. P. Conger, who was the wife of a former Minister to Peking. Passing to Japan, we have a little volume in what the publishers call Our Neighbors Series, on "Our Neighbors: The Japanese,"[6] by Joseph King Goodrich formerly professor in the Imperial College, Kyoto. Dr. Goodrich writes a straightforward story of information.

Mr. Joseph K. Goodrich, author of the book on Japan already noted, and a traveler of particularly close acquaintance with Latin-American conditions, has great confidence in what he calls "The Coming Mexico."[7] In a little volume in what is known as the "World To-day Series," he sets forth frankly and briefly the salient characters of modern Mexico more from an industrial and economic than political standpoint and expresses great hope for the future of the country and people. The volume is illustrated. A useful, informational study of "Panama Past and Present"[8] has been written by Mr. Farnham Bishop, a well known lecturer, a son of Joseph B. Bishop, Secretary of the Isthmian Canal Commission.

Mexico and Panama

The English translation of Madam Claire de Pratz' "France From Within,"[9] on the other hand, is very stimulating in style and unusually illuminating in the choice of incidents and situations. Madam de Pratz, herself a French woman, is Professor in the Lycée Racine and a leader in educational work in France. She writes with a light touch, yet with keen knowledge and perception, about social and commercial, rather than political, France with particular reference to woman and the family.

A New View of France

In 841 pages of manly, direct, simple statement Captain Roald Amundsen has told the story of his conquest of the South Pole.[10] Captain Amundsen's narrative is modest and clear. Reading into it at almost any part in the two bulky volumes will show how the peaceful attainment of the South Pole was due to careful calculation, forethought, and good management. Amundsen gratefully acknowledges his debt to his predecessors in Antarctic exploration. He did not make any of their mistakes, but he did a good deal more than avoid mistakes. There was no guesswork under the Norwegian flag. Every detail, every probability one might almost say every possibility was considered and conquered before the march began. Amundsen never magnifies his difficulties, nor minimizes them. He just states facts without ever letting himself fall into mere rhetoric or moralizing. There are many illustrations, and a few maps and charts.

Polar Exploration and Adventure

A new book of northern polar exploration and adventure is "Lost in the Arctic: A Story of the Alabama Expedition of 1909–1912,"[11] by Ejnar Mikkelsen. The Mikkelsen Expedition, it will be remembered, explored the outline of Greenland and took relief to the survivors of the "Danmark's" Expedition of 1908. Captain Mikkelsen tells a straightforward story to the accompaniment of a number of excellent illustrations and a satisfactory map.

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[1] The Empire of India. By Sir Bampfylde Fuller. Little, Brown. 394 pp., ill. $3.

[2] An Outline History of China. By Herbert H. Gowen. Sherman, French. 208 pp., ill. $1.20.

[3] Problems of the Pacific. By Frank Fox. Small, Maynard. 294 pp. $2.

[4] The New Pacific. By Hubert Howe Bancroft. New York: The Bancroft Company. 549 pp. $2.

[5] Old China and Young America. By Sarah Pike Conger. Chicago: F. G. Browne & Co. 160 pp., ill. 75 cents.

[6] Our Neighbors: The Japanese. By Joseph King Goodrich. Chicago: F. G. Browne & Co. 253 pp., ill. $1.25.

[7] The Coming Mexico. By Joseph King Goodrich. McClurg. 280 pp., ill. $1.50.

[8] Panama Past and Present. By Farnham Bishop. The Century Company. 271 pp., ill. 75 cents.

[9] France From Within. By Madam Claire de Pratz. Hodder & Stoughton. 368 pp., ill. $3.

[10] The South Pole: An Account of the Norwegian Antarctic Expedition in the "Fram," 1910-1912. By Roald Amundsen. Translated by A. G. Chater. 2 vols. New York: Lee Keedick. 841 pp., ill. $10.

[11] Lost in the Arctic: The Story of the "Alabama" Expedition, 1909–1912. By Ejnar Mikkelsen. George H. Doran. 395 pp., ill. $5.

GERMAN DEVELOPMENT

THE evolution of modern Germany, its amazing progress during its short existence as a nation, and the designs of its statesmen for predominance in world politics are the subjects of an increasing number of volumes by authoritative and stimulating writers. The gradual transformation of the German state during the nineteenth century from an almost patriarchal, feudal country into an individualistic, capitalist one is a striking illustration of modern social, economic and political progress. This transformation is traced in a scholarly, comprehensive way in a little volume entitled "Germany and Its Evolution in Modern Times,"[1] by Henri Lichtenberger, who writes in French, and who has been for many years a lecturer at the Sorbonne. The present English version is by A. M. Ludovici. M. Lichtenberger endeavors to demonstrate conclusively that, while personal enterprise is very strong in Germany, it has never resulted in anarchic individualism. The German nation, therefore, "provides admirable human material wherewith to build up colossal organisms of all kinds which go to constitute the system of enterprise: national armies, great administrative bodies, vast financial and industrial enterprises." Moreover, German democracy does not "arrogate to herself the position of being the only mistress of the nation's destinies, but willingly shares its power with a supreme head it has not chosen, but whom tradition has provided."

This spirit of progressive scientific compromise is illustrated by the growth of what Elmer Roberts calls "Monarchical Socialism in Germany."[2] The monograph on this subject, which Mr. Roberts has just brought out through the Scribners, aims to show to what extent the associated monarchies forming the German Imperial State are engaged in profit-yielding undertakings that in other states are usually left to other individuals and companies. There are a number of different kinds of socialism in Germany, Mr. Roberts maintains,—the political, the doctrinaire, and the state variety. It is of the last that he treats particularly, discussing railroad, labor exchanges, general national insurance and taxation, and finishing with some reflections on the growth of the German navy, and an excellent chapter on the play instinct in the Fatherland. This subject of the functions of the state in its relation to governmental procedure is elaborated in great detail by Dr. Herman Gerlach James (Adjunct Professor of Government in the University of Texas) in an exhaustive monograph on "Principles of Prussian Administration."[3] Professor James also treats of the public enterprises of the government, but devotes more space than Mr. Roberts to the working out of their administrative functions.

One Phase of German Socialism

There are those who see in the dramatic emergency of the German Empire as a great world power and the German Kaiser's unceasing interference in the world's affairs, a deliberate German scheme for the dominance, if not conquest of the world. Professor Roland G. Usher, of the History Department of Washington University, is one of these. He believes that the vital factor in the modern international situation is "the aggression of Germany, her determination to expand her territories, and to increase her wealth and power." The Germans, says Professor Usher, "aim at nothing else than the domination of Europe and of the world by the Germanic race." This vast project, he further maintains, is already one-half accomplished. His book on "Pan-Germanism"[4] is an attempt to describe Europe and Germany as the Germans see them, supplemented by a statement of the progress that Germany has already made toward a realization of this scheme, and a description of the attempts of her "victims" to frustrate it. Speaking always from the German viewpoint, Dr. Usher considers "the myth of English preponderance," the "fatal weakness" of Imperial England, and the comparative impotence of France and Russia. England, says Professor Usher, Germany hates, disdains and despises; "for France and Russia she possesses a wholesome respect mingled with fear, but not with love." He shows us also the strength of Imperial Germany, sets forth the prerequisites of success in a grandiose scheme of this kind, points out the significant position of the United States, traces the evidence of the scheme in European politics of a decade, and sets forth what he regards as the justifiability and probability of the success of Pan-Germanism. Professor Usher writes with a brilliant, trenchant style that illuminates the entire international situation.

Aggressive Germany

An appreciation of "The Literature of Germany,"[5] by Dr. J. G. Robertson (Professor of German in the University of London) is one of the recent issues of the Home University Library, other numbers of which we have had occasion to notice in these pages. Dr. Robertson, while not attempting to "dispute the fact that German literary history presents a record of broken, and often unrealized endeavor, that its development is irregular as that of no other modern literature in Europe, and that its appeal in even its best works is frankly a national one rather than a cosmopolitan one," yet nevertheless claims, and asserts that he justifies the claim "that German literature is an essentially modern literature . . . in its entire range from early medieval times onwards it is in peculiarly close touch with the thinking and feeling of to-day." Dr. Robertson's volume is one of the best and most helpful of the recent English studies of German literature.

German Literature

[1] Germany and Its Evolution in Modern Times. By Henri Lichtenberger. Translated by A. M. Ludovici. Henry Holt & Co. 440 pp. $2.50.

[2] Monarchical Socialism in Germany. By Elmer Roberts. Scribner's. 200 pp. $1.25.

[3] Principles of Prussian Administration. By Herman Gerlach James. Macmillan. 309 pp. $1.50.

[4] Pan-Germanism. By Roland G. Usher. Houghton, Mifflin. 314 pp. $1.75.

[5] The Literature of Germany. By J. G. Robertson. Henry Holt & Co. 256 pp. 50 cents.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC WORKS

WITHIN a few weeks there appeared in this country three books devoted to the subject of Syndicalism. Considering the fact that the points of view of the several writers are wholly distinct from one another and that each work is addressed to a special constituency, as it were, the practically simultaneous publication of these books may be taken as an indication of the widespread interest in the subject. "Syndicalism and the General Strike,"[1] by Arthur D. Lewis, is an English work which is based on a reading of much French, German, and Italian literature hitherto inaccessible to English readers. Its value to American readers lies chiefly in its interpretation of the European Syndicalist movement. The author speaks almost contemptuously of American Syndicalism and pretends to no specific knowledge of the movement in this country.

Syndicalism Here and Abroad

"American Syndicalism,"[2] on the other hand, is the exclusive subject which concerns Mr. John Graham Brooks in his new book based upon lectures given at the University of California two years ago. He calls attention to the differences in the interpretation of principles between theoretical Syndicalists and the agitators of the "I. W. W." campaign in this country. In the new volume by John Spargo,—"Syndicalism, Industrial Unionism, and Socialism,"[3]—there is an exceedingly interesting discussion of the subject by a Socialist leader who is not himself a believer in Syndicalism. Like Mr. Lewis, Mr. Spargo devotes much attention to the question of the general strike and the relation of Syndicalism thereto. Whether one wholly sympathises with Mr. Spargo's point of view or not, he has done a useful thing in presenting the points of contact and of difference between Syndicalism as he conceives it, industrial unionism and socialsim.

A bit of out-and-out socialistic propaganda which is concerned with the elements of the subject and not with the refinements of the controversy that has arisen between the various camps of Socialists is Allan L. Benson's little book, "The Truth About Socialism."[4] In this volume one will find tersely and simply stated the principles on which Socialist leaders chiefly rely in their campaign to win American converts.

One of the best informed of the recent books dealing with the immigration problem is "The Immigrant Invasion,"[5] by Frank Julian Warne, formerly Secretary of the New York State Immigration Commission, and a special expert on foreign-born population for the last United States census. Unlike many of its predecessors, this book deals particularly with the distribution of the immigrants in this country, their adaptation to our institutions, and the probable future of immigration movements. The whole work is founded on copious and exact information derived from a series of investigations covering many years. Numerous diagrams, maps, charts and photographs aid in elucidating the writer's points.

Immigration

It is unfortunate that the two-volume work by James Harrington Boyd on "Workmen's Compensation and Industrial Insurance"[6] was delayed in publication until near the close of the legislative sessions of many of the States. This topic is one of the foremost in State legislation at the present time, and there had been no complete presentation of the matter before Mr. Boyd's work was written. It is the purpose of the book to point out and distinguish the characteristics of all the different remedial laws proposed for the relief of injured workmen, to show the effects of the operation of these various laws on both the employer and employee, and to discuss the fundamental principles upon which such laws must be based under our constitutional limitations. The author further describes in detail the schemes of procedure and administration employed in practical operation of compensation and industrial insurance laws in this country. He gives the full text of the statutes in force on January 1, 1913, in Germany, England, and the several States of the Union where such legislation has been enacted. Mr. Boyd has given close attention to this subject for the past twenty years, during which time he has spent two years in Europe familiarizing himself with the practical operation of compensation systems in the countries of their origin. As chairman of the Ohio Employers' Liability Commission, he has recently been in close touch with American legislation.

Workmen's Compensation

An extremely useful and suggestive little book on "The Social Center"[7] has been added to the National Municipal League series published by the Appletons. This work, which has been edited by Edward J. Ward, who as director of recreation facilities at Rochester, developed the social-center idea in a number of the Rochester schools, gives full information on the various phases of the social-center movement from many points of view. It is a significant fact that the active propaganda carried forward by Mr. Ward during the last few years resulted in the great national parties endorsing the idea during the Presidential campaign. Mr. Ward is now adviser of the University Extension Division of the University of Wisconsin, and in that position has been able to advance the idea with great success.

The Social Center

[1] Syndicalism and the General Strike. By Arthur D. Lewis. Small, Maynard. 320 pp. $2.50.
[2] American Syndicalism. By John Graham Brooks. Macmillan. 264 pp. $1.50.
[3] Syndicalism, Industrial Unionism and Socialism. By John Spargo. B. W. Huebsch. 243 pp. $1.25.
[4] The Truth About Socialism. By Allan L. Benson. B. W. Huebsch. 188 pp. $1.
[5] The Immigrant Invasion. By Frank Julian Warne. Dodd, Mead. 336 pp. $2.50.
[6] Workmen's Compensation. 2 vols. By James Harrington Boyd. Bobbs-Merrill. 1622 pp. $9.
[7] The Social Center. By Edward J. Ward. Appleton's. 359 pp. $1.50.

FINANCIAL NEWS FOR THE INVESTOR

OWNERS of stocks and bonds were naturally relieved to find that the death of J. Pierpont Morgan did not upset the prices of their securities. Even in the day-to-day stock market, whose movements are so responsive to psychological forces, the death of such men as Henry H. Rogers, Edward H. Harriman, and J. Pierpont Morgan failed to cause disturbance. Morgan and Harriman alike were influential in creating great masses of securities and giving value to them, but these values remain after the men have gone. Men are indispensable, but no one or two monopolize that quality.

Everyone knows that the least of Mr. Morgan's accomplishments was amassing of great fortune, and yet in nothing concerning him will there be greater curiosity than in the extent and make-up of his estate. Possibly years will pass before these facts become public property. Details of E. H. Harriman's holdings have just appeared, although the railroad monarch died nearly four years ago. An exact inventory of both these estates will enable him who runs to read the investment secrets of two men who were perhaps the country's two greatest constructive geniuses.

Most astounding is the fact that Harriman's estate of $69,694,654 was mainly accumulated in a period of eleven years. But of hardly less interest is the make-up of this property. Only 21 per cent. was invested in bonds. In many respects the holdings were speculative. Indeed, this wizard of railroads and finance left to his heirs $4,041,876 of absolutely worthless securities, and among his large speculations several have proved to be of little value. A careful reading of the list of securities further shows how generously Mr. Harriman supported enterprises of local or personal interest to him, and thus was often led into unprofitable investments.

But the reader does not need to be told how Harriman made up for losses by tremendous gains, rendered possible by his dogged perseverance in sticking to the one or two large enterprises which he created. Certainly disclosure of the Harriman investments should not lead persons of smaller means astray. Because he chose to place only 21 per cent. of his property in bonds argues nothing for those who have not the indomitable will and genius to bend continents to their bidding. Then too, Harriman gave up his life and health, long before the normal span of years, to the work that made possible such a fortune, accumulated as it was mainly through stock investments.

In the long run bonds, like stocks, are mainly influenced by prosperity or its reverse. That is, to state the fact simply and without resort to the terms and verbiage of economic science, men purchase bonds chiefly when profitable business has given them the funds to invest and when profitable business has made the earnings of corporations so large as to give to their bonds a great margin of safety. Of course bonds are affected by monetary conditions as well. Professor E. W. Kemmerer in his "Seasonal Variations In the Relative Demand For Money and Capital In the United States," published by the Monetary Commission, had established almost as a law that bonds move in accordance with the seasonal flow of money from one part of the country to another. But the influence of prosperity is probably a more fundamental one. Thus it is difficult to believe that the decline in high grade bonds will continue without some let or hindrance.

But the purchasers and owners of bonds do not act so largely upon considerations of price changes as do the prospective buyers or owners of stocks. Every financial editor is now besought with questions as to whether the time has come to buy stocks, a question which, if conscientious, he can only answer by saying that really good stocks, referring especially to railroad issues, are usually fairly cheap if purchased outright on a basis to yield 6 per cent. What comes perhaps most often these days to those who try to solve investment puzzles is the inevitable question regarding United States Steel preferred shares in case the great corporation is forced to dissolve. More or less sensational disclosures have sprung from evidence in the Government suit against this company, and stockholders who were unperturbed when first they knew such a suit was under way have gradually lost some of their equanimity.

It has always been a grave question whether

inexperienced investors should purchase preferred shares in the Steel Corporation. About these shares there has been a certain speculative quality. Yet today the question is not one of what should have been done. It is a question of what will happen to stock owned by tens of thousands of women and others who are in no position to follow or rightly measure such developments as may take place.

It is true that Steel preferred has fluctuated about 52 points in the course of six years, or 42 points if the panic of 1907 is not considered. Such figures show the rather speculative character of this stock. But extreme fluctuation within the last two years, or since the Government has brought suit, has been only ten points. Since the company was formed in 1901 it has never failed to pay dividends on its preferred stock at a regular rate of 7 per cent. and during these twelve years earnings have averaged about $41,000,000 a year after this dividend was paid. At the present time the common stock, which obviously is junior to the preferred, is priced at about $330,000,000, even at the present admittedly low level for stock quotations. These facts clearly show that only calamity of the most extreme and almost unprecedented nature could substantially destroy the value of Steel preferred. The stock may not be a wise one for inexperienced persons to purchase, but there is clearly no ground for panic upon the part of those who already own it.

Remarkable figures recently published by the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* showing the steady, regular increase from year to year in both gross and net earnings of 237 electric railways in all parts of the country afford striking testimony to the stability of an industry which is being developed technically and financially without the genius of any one man, and in which so many investors have a stake. In 1912 these 237 concerns reported gross earnings of $486,225,094, an increase of 6.36 per cent. following an increase of 6.33 per cent. in the 1911 figures over those of 1910. The per cent. of increase of net earnings was hardly less steady.

Net earnings of steam railroads in 1913 will probably be larger than in any year since 1907. It is true that financial conditions are by no means satisfactory or settled. Destruction of property by the Western floods will in time deplete the store of capital, and railroads have suffered along with others. But the really striking increase in railroad earnings in the last year is a more basic factor, and one that must make itself felt.

Investors fall into ruts, like other persons, and overlook whole classes of desirable securities. A recent offering by a great Canadian transcontinental railway system reminds the financial community that the investing public is still unappreciative of the merits of "equipment trust certificates." These are short term bonds, or notes, secured by cars or locomotives, or both. Such securities are paid off in series, and are thus free from the uncertainties of the distant future. In actual practice over a generation they have been found to be unusually safe. Authorities seem to disagree whether there have been no defaults in that time, or only two or three. Finally these certificates can be had to yield close to 5 per cent. A closer acquaintance with them is enough worth while to lead the investor to consult his banker on the subject.

TYPICAL INQUIRIES AND ANSWERS

No. 444. COMMENT ON MISCELLANEOUS SECURITIES.

How do you regard the following investments for a person of comfortable means dependent on income? Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé, Baltimore & Ohio, National Lead preferred, Wells Fargo, Adams Express, General Electric, Great Northern, Southern Pacific, Northern Pacific, Union Pacific, Southern Railway preferred, U. S. Realty & Improvement 5 per cent. bonds. Would you advise a person holding a considerable amount of United States Steel preferred, bought at 97, to hold on to it, or sell and reinvest the proceeds? In making my investments, I wish the largest yield consistent with safety, but do not care so much for convertibility. Can you suggest safe securities, which because of lack of convertibility, can be bought to give a particularly good yield? What do you think of the Standard Oil stocks for permanent investment, and which one of the subsidiaries do you think the most desirable? Would you think it well to put about one-half of my funds into the best of the stocks I have mentioned, and one-half into farm mortgages? Would you think it any better to put one-third into public utility securities? Do you think I would be likely to find it more satisfactory to go to New York to make my investments than to do it by mail?

Strictly for investment purposes, we think, if we were in your place, we should be inclined to eliminate the express companies' stocks from consideration, at least for the time being, or until it is possible to tell more accurately how the earning power of the various companies is going to be affected by the reduction of rates for service, ordered some time ago by the Interstate Commerce Commission, and perhaps less directly, what effect the establishment and growth of the Parcel Post is going to have upon their business. We should be inclined to eliminate National Lead, also, as one of the stocks, whose market position is not unlikely to be affected to some extent by tariff legislation. For the rest of the issues you name we might attempt an arbitrary ranking of them about as follows: Great Northern, General

Electric, Union Pacific, Northern Pacific, Atchison, Baltimore & Ohio, Southern Pacific and Southern Railway preferred. The bonds in your list we think might be given preference over almost any of the stocks.

Steel preferred might be found to show more or less wide market changes during the progress of tariff legislation, and during the progress of the Government's suit against the Corporation on the charge of its being a trust in violation of the Sherman Law, but we do not anticipate that either one of these developments will affect the income producing capacity of the shares, at least for some time to come. In your reference to farm mortgages, you, yourself, have suggested one of the most satisfactory forms of permanent investment for yield, suitable for one who does not need to pay any particular attention to convertibility. We do not see any reason why one-half of your money might not be employed in mortgages, provided you used enough care in their selection. We will gladly tell you just how to investigate the opportunities in this field of investment, if you so desire. On the other hand, you would be observing a pretty well established principle of distribution, if you were to put one-third of your funds, as you suggest, into public service corporation securities. The best seasoned bonds of this type yield 5 per cent. or a fraction more, and there are a number of first class stocks obtainable to yield around six.

We find it difficult, as we have pointed out on a number of different occasions, to discuss the stocks of the former Standard Oil subsidiaries at all in detail. So little is known about them that even the brokers who make it their business to keep in touch with the market all the time have come to refer to them as the "mystery stocks." In but few cases are the earnings of the companies known, and oftentimes there is no means of telling when dividends are declared, whether they are intended to be quarterly, semi-annual or annual dividends. These are fundamentals which it is necessary to know about any stock before its merits can be judged.

There is no doubt that, if you could find it convenient to call personally on the bankers of the investment center nearest to you, you would be better satisfied in the long run than if you were to try to do all the business by mail. We recommend this sort of personal investment in all cases where it is possible.

No. 445. ISSUED AND AUTHORIZED STOCK.

A local enterprise which was recently incorporated under the laws of the State with $20,000 capital is selling stock to the amount of $5000, this amount, as is claimed, being sufficient to carry on the business. I would like to know who would have control of the unsold shares, that is, as to selling and voting them. Would the ensuing dividends, if any, be declared on the whole $20,000 or just on the $5000 sold? I am inclined to think that the shares sold would be the only ones that could be voted or that dividends could be declared upon, but statements have been made to the contrary, and I want to be sure. I would like to know, also, what facts I should investigate before putting any money into this concern.

Your understanding that it is only the stock that has been issued and sold that will be entitled to share in the distribution of dividends, and that can be voted, is correct. The unissued stock, so far as standing as a liability against the company is concerned, is as though it were not in existence. It remains under the control of the directors; that is, they are the ones to determine when, and under what conditions it shall be issued and sold. In a general way, these things may be suggested as among the important ones for you to investigate, before putting any money into the enterprise in question: (1) the character, ability and responsibility of the people who are promoting it; (2) the purposes for which the proceeds of the sale of the stock are to be used; (3) the company's financial condition as revealed by its balance or statement of assets and liabilities as it begins business, paying particular attention to see how well provided it is with what is called "working capital," or funds available to meet current needs, as distinguished from the capital which is invested in the plant itself. Incidentally, your inquiry into these things should bring to light just what amount of tangible assets there is back of the stock. And, of course, you will want to satisfy yourself about there being a need for the company, and whether or not it will have strong competition to meet.

No. 446. FROM A PENNSYLVANIA INVESTOR.

Will you kindly recommend a bond investment for a resident of Pennsylvania. I prefer safety and a smaller rate of interest, to risk with a higher rate. My present investments are $6000 in each of two local public utility bonds and some savings bank stock, paying 20 per cent. on a market value of over 400. Would you suggest any changes in these?

We do not know of any reason why you should seek to make any changes in your present investments, unless perhaps, at favorable opportunities you took occasion to reduce your holdings of public utility issues somewhat, with a view to getting your funds distributed among a larger number of securities of different types, thus insuring a higher average degree of safety. For the present, we think we should be disposed to recommend some caution in making investment. With so many signs of uncertainty on the financial horizon we think you might do well to give consideration to short term securities. For a Pennsylvania investor some bond like the Pennsylvania convertible 3½'s of 1915, it seems to us, ought to prove attractive at present prices to yield about 4.90 per cent. You do not indicate how much you have available for investment just now, so we are at some loss to know how far to go with our suggestions. Perhaps, if your present surplus is only a thousand or so, it might all go into bonds like these for temporary employment at a satisfactory rate.

No. 447. A PLAN FOR DIVERSIFIED INVESTMENT TO YIELD MORE THAN 5 PER CENT.

Within a short time there will be $5000 available for investment. The conditions to be met are: first, safety of principal; second, a ready market unimportant; third, better than 5 per cent., if possible, with safety. Will you please specify the kind of securities suitable, and what amount of each. Would you include a few shares of Pennsylvania stock in the list?

Here is a general plan, which we think might appeal to you for the employment of this fund:

$2000	in a good farm mortgage to yield, say, about	7 per cent.
1000	in a municipal bond to yield a maximum of	5 per cent.
1000	in a well secured railroad bond to yield, say	4¾ per cent.
1000	in a high grade public utility bond to yield	5 per cent.
$5000	to yield an average of	5¾ per cent.

We do not see any particular objection to including a few shares of Pennsylvania stock in a list for an investment of this kind, for we believe it to represent the highest type of railroad stock, but for permanent investment, we think you would be as well, if not better satisfied, on the whole, to have the entire fund in fixed interest securities, which are not as susceptible to market fluctuations as stocks, no matter how high grade the latter may be.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

THE WORLD'S TEMPLE OF PEACE AND ARBITRATION, AT THE HAGUE, OPENED LAST MONTH

(Soon after the International Court of Arbitration, known as The Hague Tribunal, was established, in 1899, a number of the world's public spirited men, among them Mr. Andrew Carnegie, conceived the idea of erecting a building as the seat of the august tribunal, to mark forever at the Dutch capital the establishment of the world's court of fraternal good will. Mr. Carnegie contributed $1,500,000 toward its cost)

THE AMERICAN
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THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

Friendship of Japan and America

There is something wrong either with the intelligence or else with the motives of those who talk about war whenever a question comes up between nations that involves the interpretation of a treaty. The people of the United States have no differences with those of any other country that could possibly justify even harsh language. Much less, then, could they justify talk about the wholesale shedding of innocent blood in combat upon the international scale. There has never been the slightest reason to suppose that this country was on the verge of war with Japan. The Government and people of that marvelous island empire have always justly regarded the Government and people of the United States with the warmest attachment. And Japan should be strongly assured that the people of the United States take pride in her progress, rely upon her friendship, and fully believe that the welfare and prosperity of the one country must be of value to the other.

Some of Japan's Problems

Within the course of one short generation, Japan has had some very hard problems to face, and she has met them with great courage. For one thing, she was the victim of a set of commercial treaties that were perpetual upon their face, and that were to her disadvantage as she grew in economic power and in national self-consciousness. These treaties permitted the European powers and the United States to send their wares into Japan at a very low fixed rate of duty. As the country developed, the treasury needed to collect larger revenue from imports, and the new industries of Japan required protection. Japanese statesmanship resented the existence of treaties that permanently limited the sovereignty of the country in the matter of its own tariff rates and revenue system. But the treaties on their face were perpetual, and the European powers were not willing to consent to their abrogation. The Government of the United States, recognizing the inherent right of Japan to full sovereignty, was willing to terminate the objectionable parts of these conventions. The European countries showed no such generous feeling, however, and Japan was afraid to take decisive steps. Not less objectionable, furthermore, was the right of consular jurisdiction maintained under these treaties by the countries of Europe and America. A foreigner committing a crime in Japan could not be tried under Japanese law by Japanese judges, but could claim the right to have his case brought before a consular court, set up on Japanese soil by his own country.

The Long Diplomatic Struggle

Meanwhile, Japan had reorganized her law courts upon the best models, and as early as 1871 had sent an embassy to Europe and America to seek a treaty revision that would recover for her a full judicial autonomy and the control of her own tariffs. In 1878, the United States entered into a new treaty with Japan, conceding everything that was desired. It was at the request of Japan herself that this treaty was made conditional upon the signing of similar treaties by the European powers. In 1883 the Japanese felt that they were fully prepared to render justice to foreigners under their judicial system, and to open up the whole country to foreign travel and intercourse. But it was not until 1894 that the European powers yielded and consented to give Japan her full national rights upon her own soil. It should be remembered that 1894 was the year of the war between Japan and China, in which Japan exhibited

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A FAMOUS ADMIRAL AS JAPANESE PREMIER

(Admiral Gombei Yamamoto, who became Prime Minister of Japan a few weeks ago, is a famous naval officer, said to have been partly educated in our Academy at Annapolis, who as naval minister prepared the Japanese fleet for the war with Russia. He has a thorough knowledge of the United States, and is directing the policy of his government in negotiations carried on by the Japanese minister at Washington)

a wholly surprising naval and military power. This exhibition of strength impressed Europe, and one of the first consequences was the revision of the vexatious treaties. The new treaties went into effect in 1899. Foreigners in Japan were bitter in opposition, but the results were highly successful. It is well known that if the European powers had not at last given reluctant consent to the abrogation of the unjust treaties, Japan would have denounced them and repudiated them. Such treaties, if made at all, should always be made for a limited term of years. When they are not so drawn, the absence of a limiting date must be regarded as a mere inadvertence, and the objectionable treaty should be ended by due notice on the part of the dissatisfied nation.

Europe's Interference in 1895

At the end of the war with China, in 1895, a treaty had been made which, while securing the independence of Korea, accorded to Japan certain limited rights of territory in a portion of Manchuria, and other advantages of position and control pending the payment of an indemnity by China. It will be remembered that Russia, with the support of France and Germany, served notice upon Japan that this treaty must be altered and that the Japanese must withdraw from the mainland of Asia. But the very advantages which Japan had proposed to hold in a limited way, Russia soon afterwards undertook to appropriate for herself upon a much larger scale, and in a more menacing fashion. There followed the colossal war between Japan and Russia, in which Japan was completely victorious, and which was ended through the good offices of President Roosevelt by the Treaty of Portsmouth in 1905. As a result of the war with China, Japan had obtained the large island of Formosa. Following the war with Russia, Japan has changed her occupation of Korea into full annexation.

Japanese Sentiment and Ambition

The Japanese have shown a solidarity of racial and national feeling that is unsurpassed, and probably unequalled, in our modern world. They have aspired to a place of high rank among the great powers, and they have attained it in a surprisingly short time. They are impressing themselves in the fullest sense upon Korea and Formosa. Because Korea is theirs, they will not rest until they have made it Japanese in every aspect of its life. They wish to stand solely upon their own national character. They do not like to be regarded as of close kin to the Asiatic nations, either in civilization, race, or political and

THE SECRETARY OF STATE GOING TO CALIFORNIA AS AN ANGEL OF PEACE
From the *Inquirer* (Philadelphia)

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HON. WILLIAM J. BRYAN, AMERICAN SECRETARY OF STATE

(Mr. Bryan's visit to California was a noteworthy object lesson to al nations, because it showed that our highest officers of government would allow no matter of personal convenience to stand in the way of efforts to promote international good will. Mr. Bryan's proposals and important utterances in recent weeks have all shown him to be a sincere and courageous apostle of the doctrines of peace and international friendship and sympathy)

economic ideals. They ask recognition upon their own qualities as one of the great, responsible modern powers. It is no part of the policy of Japan to have her laborers come to the United States. Neither does she seek to have Japanese capital employed in California agriculture or industry. She would prefer to have Japanese energy applied to economic development in the home islands, in Korea, and in Formosa. She is a close observer of the progress of other nations, and she has noted the fact that more recent German industrial development keeps a fast-growing population employed at home, whereas the surplus a generation ago was emigrating in large numbers to build up the United States, Brazil, and Argentina.

California's Views Are Understood in Japan

Furthermore, Japanese statesmen understand very well the situation on the Pacific coast of the United States. They know that it is the aim of the people of California and adjacent States to build up a homogeneous American civilization, as free as possible from the difficulties that arise out of labor conflicts between races having wholly different standards. The great agitation against Chinese labor in California had come at a period, some forty years or more ago, when there was practically no Japanese labor in the foreign market. The problem of Chinese immigration was frankly settled by treaties, in which China acceded to the exclusion of her laborers. After the war with Russia, the industrial situation in Japan was difficult, and thousands of men, discharged from the volunteer armies, were out of work. The steamship companies were only too eager to transport them across the Pacific, and employers all along the western coast of America found them available by reason of their skill and reliability. Thus arose the new situation.

Labor's Over-Sea Movements

In these days of cheap ocean transportation, surplus labor readily moves to fields of profitable employment. Hundreds of thousands of laborers are constantly crossing the Atlantic to the eastern part of the United States, returning to Europe from time to time with their earnings. It is a widely cur-

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VISCOUNT SUTEMI CHINDA, JAPANESE AMBASSADOR AT WASHINGTON

(This distinguished diplomat came to the United States some months ago from the post of ambassador to Germany. He was graduated at one of our American universities thirty-two years ago. He has held important posts in the Foreign Office and has been his country's representative in several South American and European capitals)

rent opinion among those who have studied the question, that this vast migration from Europe ought to be checked. But the movement of Japanese to our Coast States, though relatively very small, differs not only in degree but somewhat in kind. Thus there is a wide difference between the poorer class of laborers from eastern Europe, and the average American population of our Middle West or South. The children of these people, however, wholly drop their native languages, lose every particle of interest in the country where their parents were born, and become as completely American, so far as their own national self-consciousness is concerned, as if their ancestors had settled at Jamestown or Plymouth in the early days. It may prove, in the future, that we shall also assimilate in like fashion some of the immigrants who have come to our shores from Japan. But nothing of this kind is in prospect at present. The exceptions are too few to be noted.

Japanese Are Distinct

The Japanese are intensely distinct and self-conscious as a race and nation. Those who come here, come as Japanese; they have no thought of becoming Americans. Much that pertains to their civilization is different from ours. Many intelligent Americans who have traveled in Japan say, indeed, that their civilization is decidedly better than ours. That, however, is merely a matter of opinion. The point is that the two civilizations will not readily assimilate when brought into close contact. American labor cannot compete with Japanese labor. Fully understanding this condition, the Japanese Government, without having the point raised in any treaty, assumed the responsibility, after conference with the Roosevelt administration some five or six years ago, of checking the movement of Japanese laborers to the United States.

As to Land-Holding

The question that has now come up in California and elsewhere on the Pacific Coast has to do with the ownership of lands devoted to agriculture and fruit-growing. In certain localities the owners of farms and orchards had become dependent upon Japanese labor. The Japanese, being both saving and ambitious, had begun to buy up some of the most advantageous land. It was alleged that their ownership of one tract made it the more easy for them to buy adjacent lands upon their own terms. However that may be, it is clear that the people of California

THESE ARE ANXIOUS MOMENTS

(Uncle Sam, riding with Japan around a turn on the mountain road of friendly feeling, warns the chauffeur [California] not to be in too great a hurry)
From the *Record-Herald* (Chicago)

had become convinced that alien land-holding, as respects the skilful and industrious people from the other side of the Pacific, ought not to be permitted. It is true that such land-holding had not gone very far, but the people of California thought it best to check the movement in its early stages. It was the intention of our treaty with Japan to secure to Japanese business men in this country the right to hold property for their commercial purposes and for residence. The matter of owning agricultural lands was not mentioned in the treaty.

GOVERNOR HIRAM JOHNSON, OF CALIFORNIA, WHO SIGNED THE ALIEN LAND BILL LAST MONTH

(Governor Johnson is in sympathy with the California view which opposes the ownership of agricultural land by the Japanese, but his attitude has been one of personal and official courtesy, and he has been skilful enough to transfer the issues from Sacramento to Washington)

The Essential Issue

Oceans are no longer barriers that prevent the movement of peoples. Water travel is cheaper and easier than land travel. It would be more simple and natural, in view of the development of steam navigation, to settle the western part of North America with colonists from Japan, China, and the teeming millions across the Pacific than it was to settle the eastern part of North America with the overflow from the smaller white populations of Europe. Even to-day the population of our Pacific States is small, and their development has only begun. It is by no means certain as yet that their future is to be in the hands of white inhabitants of European origin. They aspire intensely to be part and parcel of a homogeneous white American race of blended European stock, occupying the whole of North America without regard to the line between Canada and the United States. It is within their right to take the steps that they deem necessary in order to avoid the complications that arise from populations that do not readily blend. It is in no sense, as we have already said, an assertion of superiority against the Japanese. It might, indeed, be an admission of inferiority, because the Japanese seem capable of winning in an open competition.

A MODERN CASE OF FATHER AND SON

UNCLE SAM (to California): "You're not big enough to listen to reason, and you're too big to be spanked."

From the *News-Press* (St. Joseph, Mo.)

Fixed Views on the Coast

As respects the fundamental aspects of their policy, the people of the Pacific Coast have made up their minds. It would be useless to try to make it appear that the present legislature of California does not fairly represent the views of the people of the State. The legislature seems to have been composed of men of ability,

SECRETARY BRYAN ADDRESSING THE CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE ON THE LAND BILL

(Next to Mr. Bryan stands Governor Johnson, and next in order are Lieutenant-Governor Wallace and Speaker Young. The scene is in the Senate chamber at Sacramento)

and the three leading parties were well represented in it. The bills against alien landholding, after the most deliberate discussion, were passed by votes practically unanimous in both branches of the legislature. The scattering votes in opposition seem to have represented details or points of view, but not opposition to the fundamental policy. The alternatives, as regards labor and population on the Pacific Coast, may be stated in two or three brief sentences. (1) Future growth must depend upon the normal increase, by excess of births over deaths, of the people now living in our Coast States. Or (2) it must come in considerable part from Europe and the eastern portion of the United States. Or else (3) it must come from the coasts of Asia. But in view of those economic and social principles that now control the movements of labor and population, the third of these alternatives is the inevitable one unless artificial barriers are erected and maintained. Nobody knows whether or not such barriers can avail anything in the long run. It is said that the reason why Germany joined Russia and France in 1895, in forcing Japan off of the mainland of Asia, was because Emperor William dreaded what he called the "Yellow Peril." The Japanese had shown amazing military capacity, and the German Emperor feared that if they were established in Manchuria they might reorganize and modernize China and in due time send an army of several million Chinese across Russia to the very heart of Europe. But his solicitude availed very little. Ten years after he had joined in the diplomatic movement to thwart their ambitions, they had driven back the Russians, were headed for St. Petersburg without any help from China's millions, and they were on the mainland to stay. California's barriers, in like manner, may prove unavailing, and both shores of the Pacific may belong to the Asiatic peoples two hundred years hence, or even within a shorter time.

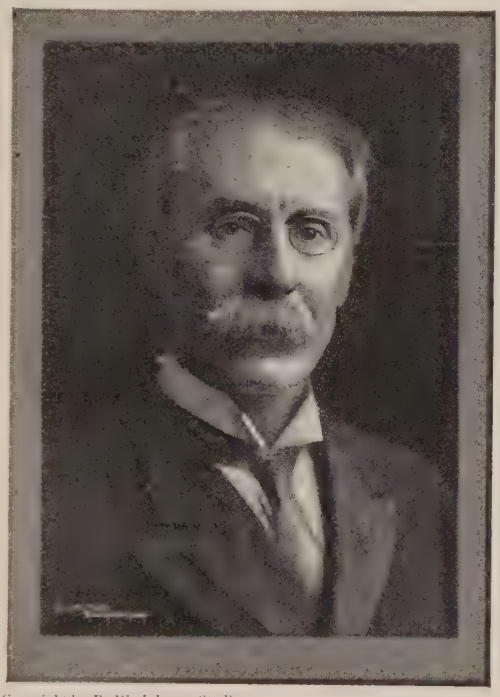
Present and Future Aspects

But just now the nations of Asia are fully occupied at home. China is trying to establish her republic, and she has virtually transferred Mongolia to Russia. She needs and greatly desires the friendship of the United States. Our Government has led the way in giving official recognition to the new republic, some of our citizens have been called to China as advisers in the work of constitutional government, and our opportunity for mutually beneficial and wholly friendly relations with China is greater than at any previous time. The peoples of Asia have no more conscious thought of colonizing and possessing California than of occupying France. Yet the fundamental problem of subsistence will determine the future of populations. And if Chinese, Japanese, and East Indians can flourish and maintain their

civilization where Europeans and Americans cannot compete, the future must bring some profound changes and some vast displacements.

The Citizenship Question

Such considerations, however, are speculative, not immediate. The Japanese desire to be treated without discrimination as a great people on the terms of the most favored nations. As a matter of fact, they are not so treated under the laws of the United States or those of the British Colonies. Under our laws as now construed, they are not eligible to citizenship. The new law of California against the alien ownership of agricultural land expressly recognizes the obligation of all existing treaties, and excludes from ownership such aliens as are not eligible to citizenship. Inasmuch as California does not propose to disregard existing treaties, the real question raised by Japan goes much farther and has to do with the question of American citizenship. The Japanese would not have the slightest objection to a law prohibiting alien ownership in general. And such a law might in the end be a desirable one in California and various other States. But at present it would work inconvenience. If, however, the treaty should be construed against the new California law, or if the national policy at Washington should be out of line with the views of the Pacific Coast, it would be quite possible to extend the law against land ownership to aliens of whatever nationality.



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HON. GEORGE W. GUTHRIE, OF PITTSBURGH
(Appointed last month as ambassador to Japan)

Mr. Bryan's Visit

It has not been easy to understand exactly why the Japanese Government has been so earnest and active in its protest against this California legislation. The best explanation, however, seems to be that sensational newspapers in Japan have stirred up a popular agitation that the Government feels obliged to recognize. The position of Viscount Chinda, the Japanese ambassador at Washington, when the matter first came up in April, rested solely upon Japanese rights under the existing treaty. The telegraphic correspondence of President Wilson and Governor Johnson raised the question of delay in order to make sure that international obligations were fully observed. The journey of Secretary Bryan to California, and his conferences with Governor Johnson and the legislature, would seem to have had as their chief object an exhibition of deference to Japanese feeling. As a result of Mr. Bryan's visit, the pending bill was changed in some particulars, and it does not appear to be in violation of the treaty. It was after Mr. Bryan's visit, and after these modifications, that the measure was passed by a vote in the Senate of 35 to 2 and in the Assembly of 72 to 3. The legislature adjourned and left the bill in the Governor's hands to veto or to sign. If it had remained in session, and he had vetoed the bill, the measure would have been passed over his veto. The request of the Administration that he should veto the bill—although he personally favored it—after the legislature had adjourned and could not repass it, was evidently for the sake of gaining time, in order to allow negotiations with Japan.

An Arbitration Treaty Involved

If the Governor had acceded to this request and vetoed the bill, the authorities at Washington would probably have attempted to deal with the matter in connection with renewing our arbitration treaty with Japan, which expires within a few weeks. Governor Johnson, in a long telegram to Secretary Bryan on May 14, set forth the reasons why he thought it his duty to sign the bill. The Japanese prefer to have it otherwise, and the Government at Washington is bound to do everything in its power, not only to secure the observance of

ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF PEACE

BRITISH LION: "I say, Jonathan, we haven't had a fight for a hundred years."
AMERICAN EAGLE: "Bully for both of us, John. Let's have a c-ntenary: By the by, mighty sorry to lose Bryce."
(Carruthers Gould in the *Westminster Gazette*, London)

treaties, but also to maintain friendly feeling among the peoples of all nations. Our new ambassador to Japan has now been appointed in the person of the Hon. George W. Guthrie of Pittsburgh. Mr. Guthrie has been mayor of his great city, is a lawyer of eminence, and is known throughout the country as a municipal and political reformer. Mr. Guthrie typifies what is best in our citizenship and in our social and public life, and in sending him to Japan President Wilson has selected a man who would have honored us at any capital. Mr. Guthrie will be able to do much in Japan to show the brilliant and loyal people of that empire how greatly their progress is admired by the people of the United States, and how genuine and unselfish is the friendliness of the American people for the people of Japan. The economic and social problems of California have no real relationship to the good will of the Americans for the Japanese. The Californians have certain aims and ideals in California, based upon their own civilization. The Japanese have certain aims and ideals having to do with their progress within their own empire and in relation to contiguous Asiatic territories.

A Peace Celebration

A number of distinguished Englishmen, together with representatives of Canada, Newfoundland, and Australia, spent the first half of May in the United States on a mission of interest and of real importance. They represented committees in the British Empire which were named a year or two ago, concurrently with committees in the United States, to prepare for celebrating the hundredth anniversary of the Treaty of Ghent. It is the belief of all thoughtful men that much good has come to the world through this experience of a century. Where great nations have little or nothing in common, and few points of contact, there is not much danger of difficulties arising which stir up passion and tempt them to resort to arms. The war of 1812, like the war of our Revolution, was in a large sense part of those profound European conflicts which followed the era of discovery and colonization and related to the permanent future of oversea domains. The Monroe Doctrine was a still further development of those struggles, and a joint device of the United States and Great Britain for allowing the Western Hemisphere a free and liberal development.

An Affair of Great Consequences

Peace between the British Empire and the United States for a hundred years is a world affair, and not merely a matter of mutual congratulation. It has been a great thing for the Dominion of Canada, because it has been due to this peace and nothing else that Canada has extended to the Pacific coast and has entered upon a great national life with the good will of her only neighbor and no clouds of any kind upon her horizon. But it is also true that the great South American states owe much to this hundred years of peace between England and the United States. If this peace had been broken, the Monroe Doctrine would have lost its sanction, and the South American states in their developing period would have faced the danger of European seizure and partition. Hopes and ideals in all that concerns the life of individuals and nations rest upon experience. Every time a dispute is settled, a crisis is averted, moral principles are respected, honor and truth are upheld, and good will overcomes distrust, it becomes by just so much the easier to meet the next crisis in a spirit of forbearance and to find just solutions.

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DISTINGUISHED LEADERS IN THE PEACE MOVEMENT
(The gentleman with Mr. Carnegie in this picture is Lord Weardale, better known through a long Parliamentary career as the Hon. Philip James Stanhope. He came to the United States last month as head of the British committee appointed to confer with Americans regarding plans for celebrating the Treaty of Ghent upon the one-hundredth anniversary of peace between Great Britain and the United States)

An Address to the World

Because we have avoided war with England for a hundred years we know that by diligent cultivation of right principles and relationships we may confidently hope to avoid war for another hundred years, and indeed for all time. The manifesto adopted by the conferees at New York, in asking the governments and peoples of all the world to take part in celebrating this centenary of peace, used the following language, which is a most notable summation of the kind of world progress, in the past century, upon which we must build our hopes of abiding peace and improving civilization for the times to come:

> We invite such coöperation to the end that it may be made clear and unmistakable to public opinion everywhere that the time has come when international rivalries and differences, though numerous and severe, may be settled without the carnage and horrors of war. Although it be unreasonable to disregard the possibility of conflict arising in the future, out of mutual or partial misunderstanding, yet we gratefully recognize that the chances of misunderstanding have been largely eliminated by the degree in which modern science has facilitated intercourse and accelerated communication.
>
> We are, therefore, encouraged to hope that the development of letters, science and the arts, of commerce, industry and finance, of mutual knowledge, trust and good feeling on the part of those who owe different allegiances and who speak different tongues, may profitably absorb the energy of mankind, as well as offer opportunity for the display of the noblest and finest traits of mind and of character.

Great Britain has been a colonizing nation, and the United States has drawn to its population various and powerful elements from different countries and from different flags. Therefore, a century of peace between Great Britain and her dominions beyond the seas on the one hand and the United States on the other hand touches directly both the interests and the imagination of every land to which Great Britain's sons have gone, as well as those of every nation from which the present day population of the United States has been drawn. Such a celebration will not only mark the close of a century of exceptional significance and importance, but it will call attention to an example and an ideal that we earnestly hope may be followed and pursued in the years to come. What nations have done nations can do.

A Fortunate Occasion

The Treaty of Ghent was signed on Christmas Eve in the year 1814. Our American peace commissioners were John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, James A. Bayard, Albert Gallatin, and Jonathan Russell. The purpose of the treaty was declared to be the establishment of "a firm and universal peace." A great number of matters have had to be decided by diplomatic negotiation and by reference to arbitrating boards in the century that has elapsed, but the firm and universal peace has been

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SIR CECIL ARTHUR SPRING-RICE
(Who succeeds Mr. Bryce as the British ambassador)

maintained. The joint committees, while in session at New York last month, went far in determining upon things that might well be done in 1914 and 1915 (the treaty was proclaimed and went into effect in February, 1815) to observe the anniversary in fitting and influential ways. In due time we shall devote a more extended article to the explanation of these plans. Secretary Bryan came to New York to express the approval of President Wilson, and subsequently the British delegation visited Washington, where the President in person gave assurance of the desire of our Government to do its part in making the celebration notable. Such movements do not indeed settle any specific question, but they have much to do with creating an atmosphere of friendliness and good understanding which greatly facilitates the settlement of any pending differences. Thus at a banquet in honor of the visiting British committee, presided over by Mr. Choate, the principal speaker was our Secretary of State, and there were present the newly arrived British ambassador, Sir Cecil Arthur Spring-Rice, and the ambassador-designate to Great Britain, Mr. Walter Page. In view of the peaceful settlement of really serious questions in the past, it would be absurd to suppose that differences of opinion about the right of the United States to remit tolls on her own coastwise ships passing through her own canal at Panama could not be adjusted upon most amicable terms with results in which everybody should acquiesce.

Bryan's Peace Proposals

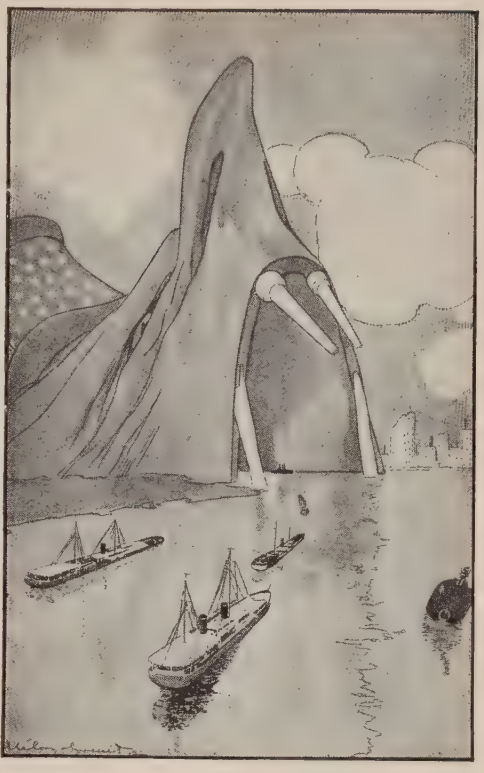
Mr. Bryan, as Secretary of State, is no less interested than his predecessors in plans for lessening the possibility of war. Several weeks ago he called together the diplomatic representatives at Washington, and laid before them, for transmission to their governments, certain proposals for securing deliberation before hostilities. His plan provides for international boards of inquiry, and pledges nations not to fight until such boards have made report upon the facts involved in the controversy. The scheme further embraces the proposal that during the weeks or months of such inquiry the nations in dispute must not increase their armaments or mobilize their troops. It is plain that such proposals involve serious difficulties. A highly developed military power, with troops advantageously placed, might be in aggressive mood towards a power of small military development, wholly unprepared for war. It might seem necessary for the very existence of the weaker state to put itself in some kind of preparation for defense. Even under such circumstances, however, it would be better off under Mr. Bryan's proposals, because of the likelihood that the work of a board of inquiry would result in the substitution of arbitration for war. The great trouble, of course, with all the proposals of the international lawyer lies in their reliance upon the legal fiction

UNCLE SAM RECOGNIZES GOOD BOYS FIRST
From the *Pioneer Press* (St. Paul, Minn.)

that the nations are a series of equal sovereigns, and that they are finished and permanent entities. As a matter of fact, the period of modern nationalism has given us a vast number of changes already, and many more must come through the shifting of populations, economic pressure, and the demand of localities and racial communities. International law and arbitration treaties cannot guarantee to an empire the permanent control of outlying possessions.

A Shop Full of Diplomatic Business

The State Department is now occupied with a large number of questions, most of which are technical and none of which can be regarded as of such a nature as to disturb peaceful and friendly relations with other countries. The Japanese question presents difficulties, but they can be adjusted in a friendly spirit. The new British ambassador will take part in the negotiations concerning Panama Canal tolls. No treaty has yet been negotiated with Russia to take the place of that which was abrogated a year ago because of that government's refusal to honor the passports of Russian Jews naturalized in the United States. We have questions on hand relating to Mexico, and we have not yet recognized the Huerta provisional government. It is expected that the claims of Colombia against Panama and the United States will be reopened for consideration. The policy of the last administration towards Nicaragua and Honduras, as embodied in treaties that remain unratified, will have to be studied afresh by the Department of State. There are several pending questions that relate to Cuba. Having recognized the Chinese republic, and having refused to act as one of the powers negotiating the Chinese loan, we are especially concerned with the course of affairs in that great and fast-changing country. A number of governments are impressing their views on the State Department regarding the administrative features of the Underwood tariff. It is evident that under Mr. Bryan's genial sway the State Department is going to approach every foreign question in the spirit of sympathy and optimism. But though sympathetic, Mr. Bryan is not what is known as an "easy mark;" and the Hon. John Bassett Moore will never consent to give away his own country through excessive altruism or the mere desire to get things settled and clear his desk. We shall have strict attention to business, and the upholding of American rights, along with



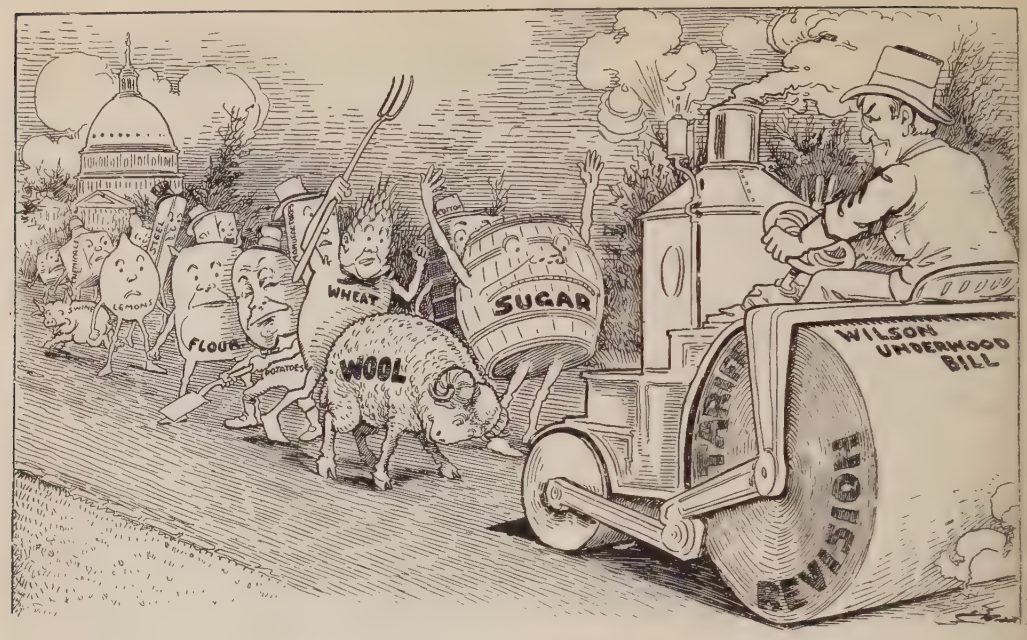
THE GREAT MOUTH OF THE PANAMA CANAL, AS SEEN FROM THE PACIFIC COAST

(Cartoons like the above, appearing in the South American papers, are in contrast with those word-pictures painted by Mr. Bryan, who thinks of the Canal Zone as a good place for a great university where boys from the United States may go to be taught by the learned professors of South America.)

From *Caras y Caretas* (Buenos Aires)

SECRETARY BRYAN'S WASHINGTON RESIDENCE

("Calumet Place" as this dwelling is called, was the former home of Senator and Mrs. John A. Logan)



THE NEW STEAM ROLLER
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis)

a willingness to understand the other side and to seek justice rather than diplomatic victory.

The Tariff in the Senate

After one month of the extra session, the House of Representatives ended consideration of the Underwood Tariff bill and passed the measure, including the income-tax provision, on May 8, by a vote of 281 to 139. All the Democratic members supported it except five. Four of these five were Louisiana members who objected to the sugar schedule under which, after three years, foreign sugar is admitted free of duty. Four Progressives, two Republicans, and one Independent joined the Democrats in voting for the bill. It has been no small undertaking to rewrite all the tariff rates, to transfer many articles hitherto protected to the free list, and to add a graduated income tax to a measure of radical tariff reduction. That a bill of such scope and character could be passed through the House of Representatives by more than two-thirds majority, after only a week of general debate and another week of specific talk upon two or three points, such as sugar, is a very remarkable episode in the long history of the American tariff as a party question. The Senate was not prepared to yield so submissively to the work of President Wilson and Mr. Underwood. It spent a week in deciding whether or not to allow open hearings, and this question was decided negatively on May 16 by a vote of 41 to 36. Open hearings would, of course, mean delay and a prolongation of the session. The measure as a whole seems likely to pass the Senate, although it will be well debated and there will be a stubborn effort made to change the sugar schedule.

How Will Wages be Affected?

It has always been customary for representatives of highly protected industries to raise great outcries and make dire predictions in the face of any proposed reduction of rates. The simple fact is that our tariff duties in general have been ridiculously high. American industries can bear sweeping reductions. It is not a very commendable thing for manufacturers to try to thrust their employees between themselves and the government at Washington. The way in which reduced tariff rates will affect profits and the ability to pay standard wages must be determined by experience. Chairman Underwood and Secretary Redfield of the Department of Commerce have declared that they will be ready to make official investigation into the facts if manufacturers carry out their threats to cut down the wages of their employees in case of the passage of the new tariff bill. Some of the newspapers

HON. JOSEPH E. RANSDELL, THE NEW SENATOR FROM LOUISIANA
(Who opposes free sugar in the interest of the cane-growers of the South)

HON. JOHN F. SHAFROTH, THE NEW SENATOR FROM COLORADO
(Whose opposition to free sugar is from the standpoint of the beet-sugar interests of the West)

have pretended that this involved a tyrannical and illegal threat on the part of the Secretary of Commerce. But there is no justification for that view. If there should be stoppage of factories, or heavy cuts in wages throughout whole industries, it will be well within the province of the Secretary of Commerce to inquire into the causes of industrial reaction, and to ascertain, if possible, whether reduced tariff rates are really the necessary cause of diminished wages.

Sentiment Supports the President

Undoubtedly the country would like to have the tariff bill passed promptly, in order to remove uncertainty and permit the necessary adjustments. But it is not possible at this stage, in spite of alarms raised in some quarters, to discover that there is any general sentiment against the pending tariff revision. Most people believe that it will help business more than it will hurt it to cut the tariff rates down; and that overwhelming majority of citizens, made up of people whose income is less than $4000 a year, look forward to the graduated income tax with entire complacency, if not with strong conviction and enthusiasm. Public opinion is with the President in demanding the passage of the pending measure without much change.

The Debate upon Sugar

It does not follow, however, that this great revenue measure is in all respects the embodiment of wise views upon sources and methods of national taxation. It has always been our opinion that sugar ought not to be put upon the free list, but should be taxed moderately for purposes of revenue. A great many considerations are involved, but the revenue question is the one that should weigh most at Washington. It is hardly likely that the removal of the duty would make any very appreciable difference in the price per pound that the ordinary family would pay for its current supply of sugar as an article of food. That a permanent tax should be kept upon sugar solely for the sake of assuring prosperity to the cane-sugar growers of Louisiana and the beet-sugar interests of our Western States, is indeed a proposition that could not be defended if it were found that the domestic industry was kept alive at the cost of a heavy burden to consumers. It would seem, however, in the case of sugar, that the tax now operates mainly as a convenient way to raise

THE GREAT NEW BUILDING OF THE BUREAU OF ENGRAVING AND PRINTING, NOW ALMOST READY FOR USE, ON THE EDGE OF THE NEW POTOMAC PARK, AND ITS LOCATION IS INDICATED BY THE WHITE SHAFT OF THE WASHINGTON MONUMENT, VISIBLE AT THE LEFT OF THE PICTURE

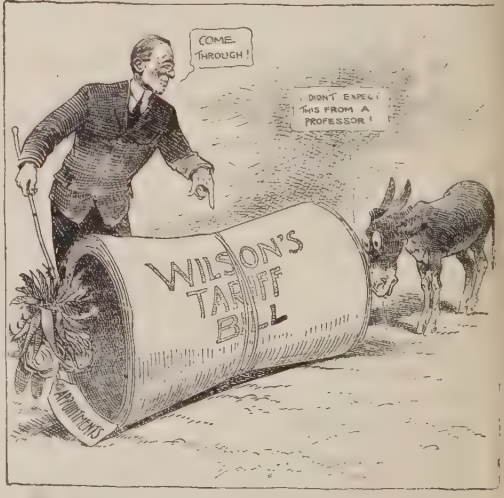
revenue, and that the protection of Louisiana and the West is incidental. Senator Ransdell, of Louisiana, is making a determined effort to secure retention of the sugar duty, and he is supported by several Western Democratic Senators, whose constituents are concerned about the beet-sugar industry. The debating of this sugar question, more than any other tariff point, will tend to prolong the present session.

The Next Great Topic

The disposal of the tariff question having left the House of Representatives free for other work, it was expected that decided progress would be made upon the subject of banking and currency reform. The business conditions of the country are not as favorable as could be desired. If by some fortunate gift of leadership President Wilson could bring the currency and banking question to a focus, and could persuade Congress in a non-partisan spirit to enact at once a measure to protect depositors, to strengthen credits, and to give our currency system the necessary freedom of expansion and contraction, we should start upon a new and healthy business period that would surpass anything in our history. With the tariff and money questions settled, it would only remain to reform the method of dealing with corporations and to give stability to labor conditions by limiting immigration.

The Census Chief

The President has not been in haste to make appointments, and some anxious members of the Democratic party are beginning to take the view expressed in the cartoon at the bottom of this page. Those selections that have been made thus far are meeting with general approval. The only marked exception is that of the appointment of Mr. William J. Harris, of Georgia, as Director of the Census. Mr. Harris is chairman of the Georgia State Democratic Committee, and his selection is credited to the urgency of Senator Hoke Smith. Dr. E. Dana Durand, the retiring chief of the Census Bureau, is an economist and statistican of the highest rank and is regarded as one of the most efficient men ever in charge of census work. Senator La Follette has led in the opposition to Mr. Harris' confirmation on the ground that the office should be filled by a trained statistician.



THE PRESIDENT TO THE PARTY: "PERFORM FIRST!"
From the *Evening Dispatch* (Columbus, Ohio)

President Wilson's view is that the head of the Census Bureau should be an administrator, with statisticians under his direction.

The New York Collector

After many weeks of anxious waiting on the part of New York politicians, a successor was found to Mr. Loeb as Collector of the Port of New York. This position is a highly responsible one, and Mr. Loeb's marked success in its administration has lifted it to a higher plane of dignity and authority than it had ever attained before. Mr. John Purroy Mitchel, the new Collector, has for some years been one of the most aggressive leaders of the cause of municipal reform in New York City. He is a man of marked courage and large capacity. The appointment was entirely agreeable to Senator O'Gorman, though it was regarded as a direct blow at Tammany Hall. It is to be remarked, however, that Tammany would much rather have Mitchel sidetracked as Collector of the Port than chosen as the fusion candidate for Mayor. New York City is soon to enter upon another of its critical municipal campaigns, and Mr. Mitchel has been regarded as one of the three or four most desirable men to head the citizen's ticket. It is claimed that he remains at liberty to resign the collectorship if nominated for Mayor. But it is hardly possible that he should use the one office as a political stepping-stone to the other.

HON. JOHN PURROY MITCHEL

(Who has been nominated by the President as Collector of the Port of New York. Although still in his early thirties, Mr. Mitchel has won distinction for efficiency in public office. For nearly four years he has been President of the Board of Alderman of New York City)

New York's Health Laws

Although the New York legislature failed to enact a satisfactory primary law, and was derelict in other important matters, there should be placed to its credit a considerable body of sound and useful legislation most of which has now become law by the signature of Governor Sulzer. Among these beneficent measures is a new Public Health law which had been recommended by the Governor's special Public Health Commission. In the opinion of experts, both physicians and laymen, this law gives the State Department of Health the authority and machinery for the prevention of disease, which should result in a considerably reduced death rate. It is well understood that health conditions in New York City have been vastly improved within recent years, and the death rate lowered from 34 per 1000 in 1866 to 14.11 per 1000 in 1912. If such results can be shown as the fruitage of New York's earlier and imperfect health legislation, there is surely good reason to hope for still greater advancement as the outcome of these newer and more carefully considered enactments. The State Department of Health is to have three new bureaus,—Child Hygiene, Public Health Nursing, and Tuberculosis,—each in charge of a director.

Labor Legislation

Another bill signed by Governor Sulzer, which had the endorsement of the best authorities, including the Municipal Government Association, was a measure greatly increasing home rule for cities. The effect of this new law will be to make it unnecessary for cities hereafter to come to Albany to obtain power to do things that are strictly within the scope of municipal governments. A secondary effect will be to release the legislature from the necessity of occupying itself with a vast number of local bills, and so to enable it to give more attention to general State matters. Even more important were the bills recommended by the factory investigating commission, which had its inception soon after the Asch building fire in New York City two years ago. These bills regulate child labor and labor in tenement houses, labor of women, and condi-

GOVERNOR SULZER OF NEW YORK
(From a painting by Leo Mielziner)

tions of health in various employments. In the matter of workmen's compensation the bill that was passed by the legislature was one advocated by the State Insurance Department and opposed by the labor unions. It was vetoed by Governor Sulzer on May 16, on the ground that it failed to eliminate the waste of litigation. It is the Governor's belief that a bill providing automatic compensation can be enacted next year.

Governor Sulzer's Appointments

The factory laws were supported by members of the legislature without regard to party, and their enactment was undoubtedly in response to a popular demand. Since the effectiveness of such laws depends altogether on the way in which they are administered, it was a surprise to the people of New York that so admirable an appointment as that of Mr. John Mitchell to fill the office of State Labor Commissioner should have failed of confirmation in the State Senate. Nobody denies that Mr. Mitchell would administer the factory laws impartially, and without fear or favor. The sole reason for his rejection by the politicians seemed to lie in the fact that he was not in favor at Tammany Hall. Governor Sulzer appointed Mr. Mitchell, after the adjournment of the legislature, to hold the office until the regular session of the legislature in January next. All of the Governor's appointments to important State offices seem to have been made with scant regard to partisan politics. His naming of the Hon. John N. Carlisle as Commissioner of Highways met with general approval from Republicans and Progressives as well as Democrats. The same thing is true regarding the appointment of Mr. John H. Delaney as State Commissioner of Efficiency and Economy.

Progressive Legislation

It is too early to generalize about the vast volume of State legislation for the current year. Several legislatures are still in session and late in May were debating important bills. The legislatures of New Jersey, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Kansas and Oregon were among those which had completed their labors and adjourned. In nearly all the States of the Middle West laws of a distinctly Progressive type were passed by the legislatures and signed by the Governors (Democrats, by the way, in most instances). Ohio secured one of the best workmen's compensation laws in the Union and through the efforts of Governor Cox many other advanced measures were put on the statute-books,—a law limiting the hours of work for women, a model city-charter law complying with the new home-rule provisions of the State constitution, a comprehensive primary law, and provision for a State school survey. Indiana did not fare as well, but a good public utilities law was secured there and the legislature also provided a system of vocational education. Michigan adopts the initiative and referendum and the recall for all officers except judges, reforms her primary system, and entrusts to a commission the task of drafting a minimum-wage law. In Minnesota constitutional amendments for the initiative, referendum, and recall will be

submitted to popular vote. The legislature enacted workmen's compensation and minimum-wage laws, and a widows' pension measure, an innovation that has been vigorously debated in twenty States and has been adopted by such representative commonwealths as New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and South Dakota.

"Commission" Government for a State

From Kansas comes the most radical suggestion of all in the form of a proposal by Governor Hodges for an entirely new legislative system. The Governor, in common with a growing number of students and publicists throughout the country, has become convinced that our two-chamber legislative system, a part of our heritage as English colonists, is antiquated and inefficient. He believes that the times demand a system for legislating "that will give us more efficiency and quicker response to the demands of our economic and social conditions and to the will of the people." As a substitute for the present State legislature of two houses, Governor Hodges advocates nothing less than the adoption of a "commission" plan of government for the State similar to the commission plan of city government now so generally adopted in all parts of the country. In other words, Governor Hodges proposes that a legislative assembly be established to consist of one, or at most two, members elected from each Congressional district of the State. In his judgment, the Governor should be ex-officio the presiding officer of this assembly, which should be permitted to meet whenever the exigencies of the public business may demand. He suggests that the terms of members be for four or six years, and that the salaries paid be sufficient to justify members in devoting their entire time to public business. Such a body could give ample time to the consideration of every measure and would be in position, in any emergency, to deal with conditions as they arise and to provide relief if necessary. This proposition to apply the so-called commission plan to State government has met with very general approval, not only in Kansas, but in other communities east and west. It is even believed that the people of Kansas may realize the ideal of Governor Hodges before the end of the year 1915.

GOVERNOR JAMES M. COX OF OHIO

(An article by Governor Cox on Ohio's rehabilitation after the floods appears on page 699)

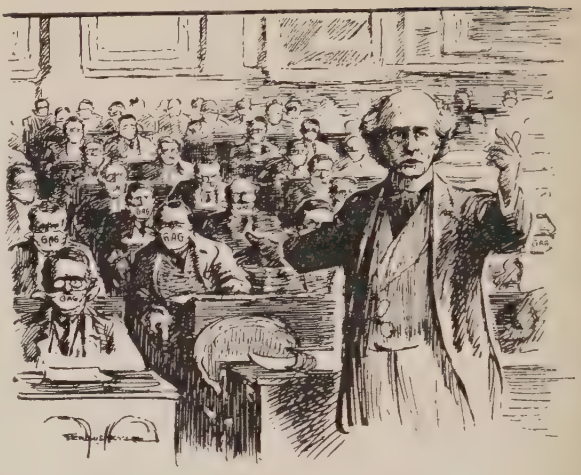
HE SAID HE WANTED THEM— AND HE GOES TO IT!
GOSH! IT NEVER HAPPENED BEFORE!
FROM THE GOVERNOR'S OFFICE
COMPLETE LOT OF PLATFORM PROMISES
OHIO

"HE DELIVERS THE GOODS"

(Governor Cox compelled the Ohio Legislature to redeem the Democratic party's pledges to the people)
From the *Evening Dispatch* (Columbus)

At Odds Over Canada's Naval Policy

For five months the parliament at Ottawa has been wrestling with Mr. Borden's naval bill. We have already set forth in these pages the program of the present Canadian government. This is in substance the contribution to the imperial navy of Great Britain of three dreadnoughts of the latest type at a total cost of $35,000,000. Soon after the Premier's declaration of policy (on December 5), the ministry brought in a bill providing the funds for the construction of these powerful warships. Strong opposition at once developed in parliament, led by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the brilliant ex-premier. Sir Wilfrid, by his public addresses, his hold upon his party in parliament, and the active support of the Liberal press throughout the country, has been able so to delay the consideration of the bill that up to the middle of last month it had not advanced beyond the committee stage in the lower house.



"IS THIS TO BE THE FATE OF THE LAST FREE PARLIAMENT IN THE WORLD?"
(Sir Wilfrid Laurier's question to Premier Borden when the latter forced the adoption of the closure rule in the House of Commons at Ottawa last month)
From the *Globe* (Toronto)

"Jamming Through" the Borden Bill

In order to carry the measure through, Premier Borden finally resorted to a newly adopted closure rule. Heretofore the Canadian parliament has been one of the few national legislatures of the world that has not had a closure measure or forcible method of shutting off debate. Mr. Laurier, veteran leader of the opposition, directed all his guns against the idea of applying closure in the "freest parliament of the world." He insisted upon a referendum to the people on this policy. It will be remembered that some months ago one of Mr. Borden's ministers, Mr. F. D. Monks, resigned from the cabinet because of a failure to submit this question to a popular vote, although the Premier had promised to do so, if parliament did not fully approve the ministerial policy. A careful consideration of the constituencies throughout the entire Dominion, Sir Wilfrid Laurier maintained, has convinced him that the Canadian electorate is not only opposed to the application of any "gag rule" in parliament, but is not in favor of the Borden naval proposals themselves, at least not until a popular expression of opinion has been given. Sir Wilfrid and his party demand dissolution and appeal to the country, claiming that Mr. Borden has no mandate for this method of support to the naval establishment of the British Empire

Europe Recognizing Huerta

The Huerta administration in Mexico has announced a general election for the choice of a constitutional president of the Republic for the full term, to be held on October 26. General Huerta, provisional president, moreover, in a politely worded statement sent to Washington, on May 8, through Ambassador Henry Lane Wilson, informed President Wilson that henceforth the American ambassador would be "considered a friend of Mexico and also a welcome guest, but not recognized as an ambassador." . . . Furthermore, "questions pending between the United States and Mexico will hereafter be accepted in the spirit of Washington's terms, but receive no further consideration until Mexico is in position to take up the questions on an equal basis dealing with a friendly and equally sovereign, if not equally powerful, nation." The Huerta government having been formally recognized by Great Britain and France, and having received promises of early recognition by the governments of Germany, Italy, Austria, and Spain, "and, moreover, continuing to give protection to American interests, it is only fair that American recognition should be immediately forthcoming." The real reason back of the Huerta demand is that, without American recognition, the government of Mexico cannot negotiate a foreign loan to raise funds which it sorely needs. Preparations for the general elections are proceeding quietly, although mutterings are heard now and then of differences of opinion between Huerta and Felix Diaz.

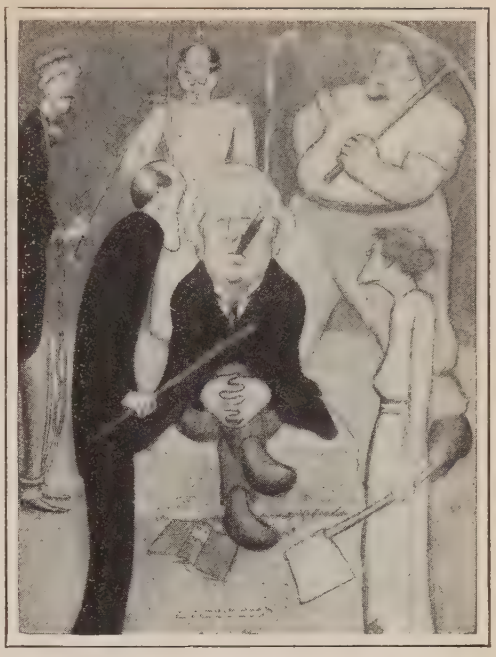
Meanwhile, disorder on a more or less extended scale continues throughout the republic.

Menocal New President of Cuba

General Mario Menocal, who was inaugurated President of Cuba on May 20, was the third chief magistrate of that republic. His predecessors were General Tomas Estrada Palma and General José Miguel Gomez. Cuba is predominantly Liberal. The Menocal ministry, however, represents the triumph of the Conservative party, which won at the elections held last November. In another part of this magazine this month we print the portraits of the men who will assist General Menocal to govern Cuba. From what is known of the new president, it may confidently be predicted that his term will be marked by political ability and progressive legislation. The good wishes of the United States Government and the American people have always been extended to the Cubans in their governmental problems. Our good will was emphasized, last month, by a bill introduced, on May 7, in the Senate at Washington, by Senator Bacon, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. This measure distinctly defines the authority of the President of the United States for any interference in the affairs of Cuba, providing that intervention in the future shall be to sustain the authorities rather than displace them.

The Wonderful Lloyd-George Budget

Britain's eager enemies and anxious friends have become so accustomed to reading in the news despatches that the British government and the English people are sore beset by German naval menace and American commercial rivalry, by the haunting spectre of Irish Home Rule, the prodding of labor troubles and the harrowing reality of the militant suffragettes, that the "right little, tight little island" has come to be regarded as in a rather desperate situation economically, as well as politically. But now comes Chancellor Lloyd-George with his budget for 1913–14. This shows that without the imposition of any new taxes John Bull expects to pay his way during the present fiscal year on £195,640,000 (approximately $975,000,000) and to have a small surplus of $925,000. In explaining the budget, in his address on April 22, the Chancellor made the interesting announcement that in spite of great obstacles, the coal strike, the bad harvest and the war in the Near East, the fiscal year ending June 30, 1912, had seen the most prosperous British trade



PREMIER ASQUITH REFUSES TO BUDGE.
"COME ONE, COME ALL, THIS ROCK SHALL FLY FROM ITS BASE AS SOON AS I"

(One of Max Beerbohm's famous cartoons exhibited in London last month. The steadfast premier is shown harried by figures representing Germany, Labor, the House of Lords, Irish Home Rule and the Militant Suffragettes)

in history. There had been, moreover, a marked decrease in the consumption of alcoholic spirits and a diversion of vast sums to national insurance and other benefit schemes of the government. The income tax yield was over £3,000,000. Commenting on the budget, the London *Daily Chronicle* says:

> In view of the great navy expansion, the cost of old age pensions, and the expected cost of National Insurance, a large and expanding new revenue was needed. If sought where he [the Chancellor] sought it, mainly in the pockets of the rich, it could, without any blow to the country's trade and prosperity, be found. The Budget of 1909, about which so much ink was slung and breath wasted, has proved in its practical working the most gigantic success known to modern political history.

The Commons Vote Against Woman Suffrage

In the midst of the most strenuous activities of the militant suffragettes, while the women were attacking public places, burning railroad stations, and raiding newspaper offices, the British Parliament officially expressed its stand on two phases of the "Votes for Women" campaign. On May 7, the Dickinson bill, which would have enfranchised more than 6,000,000 women, was defeated in the House of Com-

Photograph by Paul Thompson, New York
HEADQUARTERS OF THE BELGIAN STRIKERS IN BRUSSELS

mons by a majority of 47 votes. The Premier and Ministers McKenna, Samuels, Churchill, Harcourt and Hobhouse voted against the bill, while Sir Edward Grey, Chancellor Lloyd-George, Secretary Birrell, Secretary Runciman, Mr. Buxton and Sir Rufus Isaacs voted for it. The Liberals generally supported it, while the Irish Nationalists generally voted against it. A week before, Home Secretary McKenna's bill, introduced on March 26, to prevent "hunger strikes," was passed. The bill provides for "a temporary conditional discharge of prisoners whose detention is undesirable on account of their condition of health." Prisoners discharged in this way "will have to return to prison on the expiration of the period specified in the order of release, or will be liable to arrest without a warrant." Much inconvenience to the women's campaign was caused by the raid on the headquarters of the Women's Social and Political Union by the police, the arrest of a number of leaders, and the confiscation of papers on April 20.

End of the Belgian Strike

The fourth great national labor movement in Belgium demanding electoral reform came to an end on April 24, when, at a plenary congress of the Socialist Labor party in Brussels, the general strike was declared off, and by a vote of four to one the strikers agreed to accept the compromise offered by the government. This result is believed to be largely due to the efforts of King Albert. The compromise plan provided for the appointment jointly by the Chamber and the King of a committee of public men outside of Parliament to "consider and report on the question of constitutional revision." This committee, composed of a few deputies, besides eminent scientists, jurists, political economists, and sociologists, will begin their work at once, and it is to be hoped that within a year a new electoral system will be ready for the voters. The demand of the Socialists and Radicals is for universal adult suffrage for all citizens over twenty-one years of age, regardless of sex.

Winning a Wider Franchise

The two great electoral reforms of modern Belgian history, those of 1893 and 1900, were obtained by means of a general strike. In the former year the franchise right was conferred on all male citizens over the age of twenty-five. In 1900 the suffrage was extended by the introduction of proportional representation. Plural voting, however, remained. In 1902 an unsuccessful general strike was inaugurated to get rid of plural voting. The movement of 1913 differed from its predecessors only in being more widespread, better disciplined, and absolutely free from riot or other disorder. For this credit must be given to the devotion and good sense of the Belgian Socialist leaders. There is a majority in the present Chamber of Deputies at Brussels in favor of a fairer method of voting, but it is split up among three parties. The work of the new commission it is expected will solidify the sentiment of one citizen, one vote idea, and work it out

THE PEACE OF EUROPE AND HER PROTECTORS
PEACE: "What, might I ask, are your intentions, gentlemen?
THE GENTLEMEN: "We but seek your welfare, dear lady"
From the *Graphic* (London)

into law. The strike, which involved approximately half a million workmen, is estimated to have cost industrial Belgium more than $20,000,000. A few days later (on April 27) King Albert formally opened the International Industrial Exposition at Ghent.

"Armor Plate Patriotism" in Germany

A very painful impression has been made in Germany by the charges made in the Reichstag, on April 19, by the Socialist leader, Dr. Liebknecht. In a sweeping denunciation of the Krupp gun works and the Deutsche Munitions-und-Waffenfabrik, of Berlin, Dr. Liebknecht charged that these vast industrial enterprises making war material "have bribed officials at the War Office in Berlin in order to obtain information regarding the German army increases and the tenders of rival firms," and further, "have resorted to illicit methods of inducing leading French newspapers to create an anti-German feeling in France, and so facilitate the German army increases." The Socialist journal of Berlin, the *Vorwärts*, at the same time published the text of the instructions sent by the Deutsche Munitions-und-Waffenfabrik to its Paris agent directing him to "leave no stone unturned" to persuade some popular French newspaper to announce that France intended to double her order for machine guns. The object of this was to persuade the German government to give machine gun orders to the Waffenfabrik. The Socialist journal charged further that the Minister of War had assisted in the compilation of advertising for armament firms and invited other such advertisements for the war number of the *Illustrirte Zeitung*, of April 10, with the object of stirring up public feeling on behalf of the army bill. It published also an official memorandum of the War Ministry to these firms, urging them to advertise in the *Illustrirte Zeitung*. These revelations included accusations against the German Minister of War, General von Heeringen, by name.

Photograph by the American Press Association, New York
THE GERMAN KAISER AS HE LOOKED LAST MONTH
(On June 15 the Kaiser celebrates the 25th anniversary of his accession to the throne)

"BUSINESS IS BUSINESS"
From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn)

The Krupps vs. the German People

Dr. Liebknecht, further, held up for popular disapproval, the Crown Prince, Frederick William, who recently signed a preface to a jingoistic book entitled "Germany in Arms," as the real leader of a secret organization of army officers engaged in war baiting. In his impassioned peroration Dr. Liebknecht referred to the present scandal as worse than the French corruption at Panama.

When I am asked how much Germany owes to the Krupps, I ask, in return, how much the Krupps owe to the German people, and whether the hundreds of millions now possessed by this firm did not come out of the pockets of the poorest of the poor. Are not these armament makers the same people who have absorbed the millions that

DR. LIEBKNECHT THE SOCIALIST LEADER IN THE GERMAN REICHSTAG WHO ARRAIGNED THE KRUPPS FOR "ARMOR PLATE PATRIOTISM"

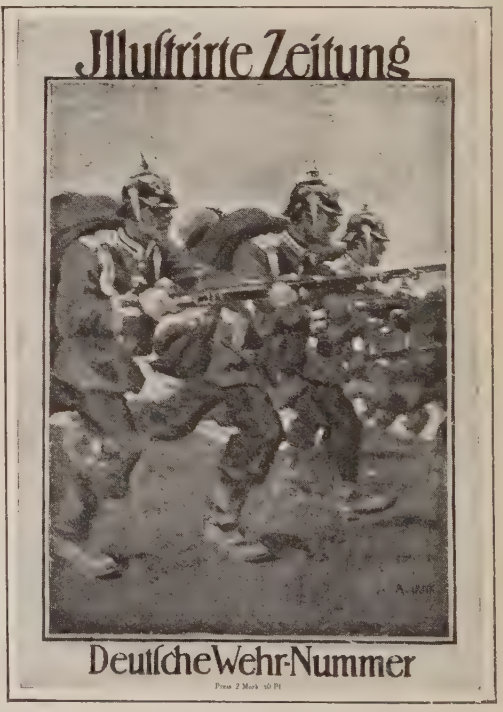
were taken out of the pockets of the populace? Are not they the same who have clamored for the oppression of the masses, for the enactment of exceptional laws against the Socialists, at the same time charging the Socialist democracy with being anti-patriotic?

This disgraceful state of affairs—stirring up hatred between nations that the manufacturers of war materials may profit—exists in other countries besides Germany, Dr. Liebknecht declared. It was "the Vicars-Armstrong firm in England that originated the Boer war." The French armament interests "particularly Schneider and Creuzot, in conjunction with certain banks have carried on criminal commercial politics in the Balkans," and, finally, "German cannon and arms industries sell German arms and weapons to every one all over the world so that German soldiers may be murdered by them."

The Reckoning and Some Results

The truth of these astounding statements has been practically admitted by the War Minister, General Josias von Heeringen, who, it is expected, will shortly be requested to resign his portfolio. All parties in the Reichstag strongly denounce the corruption thus revealed and even the most conservative section of the German press is loudly demanding a searching investigation. The Socialists have been exploiting these revelations as an argument in support of their constant cry that "capitalism is at the root of all wars and war scares." They comment freely on this "shame of the Fatherland." One of the results of the revelations has been the action of the Reichstag in voting to cut down some of the appropriations asked for the government in the new army bill. Surprising as it may seem, moreover, these revelations had the effect of hastening the projected meeting of the French and German parliamentary commission to consider how Franco-German relations might be improved. Members of both parliaments, to the number of 218, under the presidency of Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, met at Berne, Switzerland, on May 11. A resolution was unanimously adopted repudiating "patriotic excitability" and demanding the decrease of armaments "no matter what trade may be hurt." The resolution concluded:

> The conference warmly supports the proposal of the American Secretary of State, Mr. Bryan, relating to arbitration treaties, and demands that disputes between France and Germany shall be submitted to the Hague Tribunal.



COVER OF THE SPECIAL MILITARY NUMBER OF THE "ILLUSTRIRTE ZEITUNG,"
(Which, Dr. Liebknecht charges, was "edited" by the German War Office for the benefit of the armament makers)

If France and Germany could come to an agreement to live on cordial terms, says the *Scotsman*, of Edinburgh, "the cloud that is now being lifted from the Balkans would be lifted from Europe and the world."

The Popular Spanish King

King Alfonso, of Spain, visited Paris last month. The cordiality with which he was received, together with the admitted political importance of the interview between the Spanish monarch and President Poincaré and Premier Barthou, have tended to confirm in the mind of the European press the persistent report that a Franco-Spanish alliance is almost completed, and that Spain's entrance into that grouping of European powers known as the *Triple Entente* has become an accomplished fact. The governments of Madrid and Paris have already come to a complete understanding about their respective interests in Morocco, and the rehabilitation of Spanish prestige and interests in Africa. A few days before leaving for Paris, King Alfonso was attacked by an anarchist in Madrid and narrowly escaped death. This escape has been made the occasion of a great many articles in the Spanish press on the personal popularity of the King and his family. There are now two princes and two princesses in the royal household at Madrid. The heir apparent, Prince Alfonso, who was six years last month, is a sunny, attractive lad, whose temperament strongly resembles that of his very popular mother.

Montenegro's Triumph at Scutari

The capture of Scutari by the Montenegrins, on April 23, after more than six months' siege, closed the active operations of the Balkan war against Turkey. The Turkish garrison, under command of Essad Pasha, marched out with the honors of war, and the troops of King Nicholas, who had sworn to capture Scutari or die in the attempt, then took possession. As we have made it clear in these pages more than once, Austria would regard the possession of Scutari by the Montenegrins as a menace to her interests in the Balkans. She has always insisted that the town be included in autonomous Albania. Such a principality so situated would be as much earmarked for Austrian absorption as were Bosnia and Herzegovina. During the first part of April a combined fleet of British, French, German, Austrian and Italian warships blockaded the little strip of coast Montenegro has on the Adriatic. This the government of King Nicholas regarded as a violation of the neutrality which had been agreed upon at the beginning of the war by the great powers.

Austria's Hostile Move

Although his Servian allies yielded to the powers, and the Russian government withheld any moral support, Nicholas continued to beleaguer Scutari. Immediately after the town fell, the Foreign Offices of the continent announced that this fact would not alter their decision to incorporate Scutari in the new state of Albania. As an offset for this they agreed to give other territory to the little mountain kingdom. Then the great powers, failing through mutual jealousy or other reasons, to compel the evacuation of Scutari, the Austrian government announced that it would move. An expeditionary army of Austrian troops, variously estimated at from forty to a hundred thousand, was mobilized in Bosnia, and a large force in transports for landing on the Montenegrin coast. During the last days of April the world looked for a descent upon Cettinje. The Pan-Slav feeling in Russia and Austria itself ran high. The government at Vienna began to realize what difficulties might follow an attack on the little mountain kingdom, and Europe was on edge feeling that any move of Austria's army would precipitate the general struggle.

HOW ALBANIA EXISTS AND HAS ITS BEING
(A Polish cartoon illustrating the Slav contention that Albania is the creation of German and Austrian intrigue)
From *Mucha* (Warsaw)

Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF SCUTARI, WHICH THE MONTENEGRINS TOOK IN DEFIANCE OF THE GREAT POWERS

Montenegro Yields to the Powers

Then, suddenly, at a council (held on May 6) in Cettinje, at which were present King Nicholas, the cabinet, and all the generals of the Montenegrin army, it was decided by a majority of two votes to yield to the powers and evacuate Scutari—"with the understanding of obtaining compensation elsewhere." Nicholas announced that he placed the future of Scutari in the hands of the European powers. At the same time Essad Pasha, the Turkish commander who had withstood the siege so long, marched into the wild country south of Scutari and proclaimed himself king of Albania. Following closely upon this news came the report that there had been serious differences between Bulgaria, Servia and Greece, and that these allied powers were almost on the point of open conflict over the division of the spoils. Greece, indeed, had fortified Salonica, and turned her guns against Bulgarian as well as Turk. It was felt in the European capitals, however, that with the yielding of Montenegro in the matter of Scutari the danger of a real clash over the results of the war had passed.

General Terms of the Balkan Peace

On May 15 an international naval force occupied Scutari and the Montenegrins began their evacuation. On the same day there appeared in the press of Paris what was reported to be the full text of the treaty between Turkey and the Balkan States, drafted for the conference to be held at London this month. According to these reports the treaty will contain seven articles. The first is a promise of "perpetual friendship" between the Sultan of Turkey and the kings of Bulgaria, Servia, Greece and Montenegro. By the second Turkey agrees to abandon all territory on the European continent west of a line from Enos on the Egean Sea to Midia on the Black Sea—(our map published last month gives a generally correct idea of this new disposition of territory)—except Albania, over which the Sultan is still to be nominal suzerain. The third article provides that the exact frontier lines shall be determined by an international commission to be named by the German Kaiser, the Austrian Emperor, the Russian Czar, the English King and the French President. Article four provides for the cession of Crete to Greece.

In article five Turkey agrees to leave to the decision of the commission already mentioned the disposition of the Ottoman Islands in the Egean Sea. By article six the Sultan leaves to the allied sovereigns the settlement of all questions of finance. Article seven provides for the settlement by special conventions of all questions relating to prisoners of war.

The Future of Asiatic Turkey

Before the echoes of the Balkan war have had time to subside, the Turkish government is having its attention called sharply to troubles gathering in its northeastern Asiatic provinces. The Armenian population is again being harried by the Kurds, and emissaries of the revolutionary pro-Russian Armenians of the Caucasus, are reported as trying to excite them against the government at Constantinople. It is rumored further, that the Russian government is about to demand the execution of the reforms called for in the Treaty of Berlin of 1878. The question of the outstanding balance of the indemnity due Russia from the war of 1877 has also been brought up, and a protest has been entered against the concession to any but Russians, for the building of railways from points along the coast of that part of the Ottoman Empire or toward the Russian frontier.

Harrying the Turk

It is not difficult to catch the meaning of all this. The Turk is to be given no time to recover from the shock of the blow he has received in Europe. More, the confusion into which everything in his Asiatic domain has fallen is to be made worse until it has reached the point where the Russian Government will find the opportunity to intervene for the "restoration of order." Exciting the Kurds against the Armenians, who are practically defenceless, is one part of a scheme that can always be worked in the country lying between the Persian frontier and the Black Sea with advantage to Russian trade, as disorder in the country through which the caravan route from Tabriz to Trebizond by way of Erzeroum passes, turns that traffic into the Russian Caucasus once the highway from Jaffa on the Persian frontier to Batoum on the Black Sea. This external revolutionary activity in what is commonly known as Armenia—though officially called Kurdistan—has given rise to dissensions among the Armenians of Turkey who, since the proclamation of the constitution, have not only waited patiently for the amelioration of their condition which they believed it would bring, but have helped fight Turkey's battles during the war just ended. The more conservative hold that the future of their race lies in a regenerated Turkey, while the impatient and radical ones are disposed to listen to the propaganda directed from the Russian Caucasus with a view to promoting disorder and atrocities that will serve as a pretext for Russian intervention, which the disposition of the Russian troops in the Southern Caucasus shows to be already in contemplation. The autocratic government evidently seeks some compensating advantages for its diplomatic defeat in Europe.

Russian and German Railroad Rivalry

The railway question seems likely to come to a head at an early date, a concession for one in the area claimed by Russia as her sphere having been accorded to some Germans. The object of the new line is to bring the northeastern part of Asia Minor into direct and early connection with the Anatolian Railway system as soon as possible from the west, whereas Russia wishes to bring it about by the extension of her Caucasus line from the east. This would produce a commercial and military result the very opposite of that at which the Turkish government aims. It is on this point that Russia and Germany may come into conflict over Turkey. This may be said to have already begun, the matter being now the subject of indirect discussion between the two governments in the diplomatic dispute going on between St. Petersburgh and Constantinople as to the right of the Turkish government to grant such concessions without the consent of Russia. On another page we show some striking photographs of Bagdad, the terminal of the German built line, and explain its aims. Intimately connected with this railway question is that of the unpaid balance of the War Indemnity of 1878, which can be made to play a decisive part in the pending dispute, according as Russia is disposed to insist upon her ascendancy in that part of Asiatic Turkey or to assist the Turks to reorganize and reform their administration in Asia.

Turkey's Disordered Finances

There are many other political and racial sores, but the real source of danger for the stability of the Ottoman Empire lies in its ever increasing debt and its diminishing territorial resources. How long it can continue to support its burdens depends on the forbearance of its neighbors and creditors, and the ability of its friends to see it through its troubles.

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MISS LILY CHANG MRS. CHANG MISS ALICE CHANG

THE CHARMING WIFE AND DAUGHTERS OF THE CHINESE MINISTER AT WASHINGTON

Should they fail it and dissensions break out, as threatened, among the Turks themselves, the day of its partition, as in the case of Persia, into spheres of influence, will not be far off, and the City of Constantine will afford but a temporary sojourn to the Sultan of Turkey and the Caliph of Islam.

Recognizing the Chinese Republic

The formal recognition of the Chinese Republic by the United States government was communicated to Yuan Shih-kai, on May 2, by the American Charge d'Affaires at Peking. In thanking President Wilson, President Yuan Shih-kai cabled to Washington that such recognition "at once testifies to the American spirit of mutual helpfulness and adds another brilliant page to the history of seventy years' uninterrupted friendly intercourse between China and the United States." A few days before (on April 29) the Chinese Foreign Office formally notified the legations of the five power group (Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia and Japan) that the Chinese Government had accepted responsibility for the $125,000,000 loan, which had been signed two days before. As we noted last month, President Wilson, on March 18, made a statement of the Chinese policy of his administration, which was, in effect, a withdrawal of the United States from participation in the so-called Six Power loan. For details of recent financial Chinese history, see Mr. Rosenthal's article on page 726 of this month. The National Assembly, however, at its meeting the following week, refused to endorse the loan, its terms being regarded as permitting, if not actually providing for European interference in Chinese political and economic affairs. A resolution to the effect that the signing of this loan without the express authorization of parliament was unlawful, was adopted by a large majority on May 5, and demand was made for the impeachment of the three ministers who had signed the contract.

Cabinet Making and Opium Suppression

The differences between President Yuan Shih-kai and the National Assembly on other matters besides the loan threaten to cause serious trouble for the new republic. Yuan Shih-kai, it is reported, wants the constitution, which is about to be drafted, to give him the power of naming his cabinet in the American fashion, while the majority of the Assembly apparently desire a cabinet responsible to the national legislature, as is the case in Great Britain and France. Dr. Sun Yat-sen is said to favor the latter method. It was reported, last month, that he had carried his opposition to Yuan Shih-kai to the point of beginning the organization of open rebellion. The campaign against opium still continues. Great Britain's reluctance to give up the advantages to her Indian Empire of the opium trade has incurred the deep resentment of the Chinese. General Chang, President of the Chinese National Opium Prohibition Commission, who

paid a visit to England last month, is reported to have said that from almost every point of view British influence in China is decreasing, while that of the United States is increasing. He said:

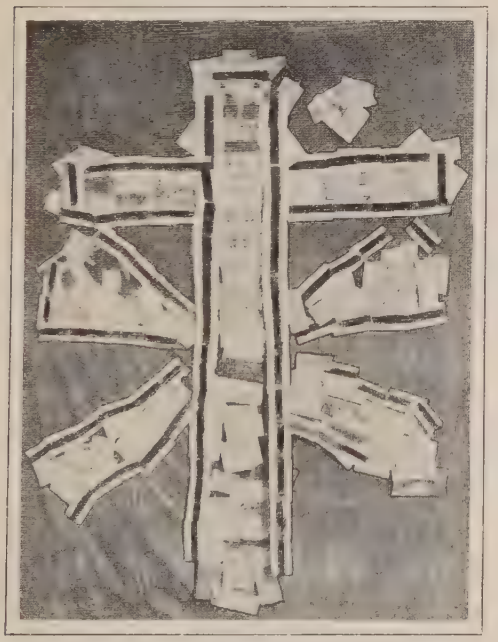
> America gave us back her share of the Boxer indemnity. She withdrew from the nefarious Six Power loan group, and now she has given us recognition. Great Britain has given us only opium. Can you wonder that America gains in our developing markets what Great Britain loses?

Progressive Young Australia

The Commonwealth of Australia has a vigorous, Progressive party in the Young Australia movement. Mr. Grant Hervey, who is one of the organizers and directors of the movement, contributes an article on the aim and program of its organization to this magazine (page 721), and we commend our readers to it as an excellent exposition of the progressive young democracy of Australia. The foundation stone of the new Federal capital at Canberra was laid by Lord Denham, Governor-General of the Commonwealth, on March 12. Canberra, which is about 200 miles from Sydney and 90 miles from the sea, is in ideal natural surroundings, and is to be a modern capital in every sense of the word. The Commonwealth itself owns all the land upon which the city is to be built, and the government will exercise strict artistic supervision of the building of the city and the life and conduct of its inhabitants. The city was designed by a young American architect. Hon. John Scaddan, Premier of Western Australia, who paid a visit to New York in April, maintains that Australia is becoming more and more socialistic in the widest sense of the word. The working class of almost all the states enjoys many substantial advantages because, says Mr. Scaddan, it goes into politics for itself and refuses to let politics control it. Australian labor, in consequence, is prosperous and contented. The *Mid-Pacific*, the illustrated monthly magazine published in Honolulu, which devotes a good deal of attention to Australia and its problems, in a recent issue has a comprehensive article on "Across Australia by Rail." Western Australia, says the writer (H. Deane), has a future as a fruit-producing country which cannot be equalled in the world.

GRANT HERVEY, ONE OF THE LEADERS OF THE "YOUNG AUSTRALIA" MOVEMENT

(See article on page 721)



A CHINESE APPEAL AGAINST THE OPIUM CURSE

(The Chinese character "Appeal," made from some of the hundreds of letters sent in from all over China asking that the opium trade come to a speedy end. 150,000 Chinese signed their names to the petition sent in 1910 to Great Britain asking that the opium trade be ended)

Reproduced from the *Far Eastern Review* (Manila)

Photograph by Paul Thompson, New York

THE THIRD ATTEMPT TO KILL THE PLUCKY LITTLE KING OF SPAIN

Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

THE VETERAN ENGLISH STATESMAN, "JOE" CHAMBERLAIN, AND HIS WIFE

Some World Events in Picture

Photography, as well as news reporting, is journalism now-a-days. Multitudes read pictures and their captions and scarcely any further in the illustrated press of to-day. On these two pages the reader may rapidly "glimpse" six interesting and significant happenings of the past month. Three picturesque world figures, a great social and political world movement, and a phase of philanthropy in the service of humanity are the subjects. Early in May an anarchist tried to shoot Alfonso, King of Spain, in Madrid. In southern

Photograph by Paul Thompson, New York

A MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT'S HOUSE BURNED BY THE ENGLISH SUFFRAGETTES

Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, New York

A SECTION OF THE IMPRESSIVE "VOTES FOR WOMEN" PARADE IN NEW YORK, ON MAY 3

France, at Cannes, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, the veteran English political leader, and his wife, were sojourning. At the same time the militant suffragettes in London were burning houses, among them the mansion of a member of parliament. However the English methods may be regarded, the parade of the woman suffrage advocates in New York, on May 3, was a splendid appeal to reason. The scientific study of insanity will be carried on at the Phipps Institute, Baltimore, opened on April 16. Finally, we show the unveiling of the memorial to the German-American statesman, Carl Schurz, on Morningside Drive, New York City, on May 10.

Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

THE PHIPPS PSYCHIATRIC INSTITUTE AT JOHNS HOPKINS

Copyright by the American Press Association, New York

UNVEILING THE KARL BITTER STATUE OF CARL SCHURZ

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From April 15 to May 16, 1913)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

April 21.—In the Senate, Mr. Chamberlain (Dem., Ore.) introduces a resolution abrogating the Hay-Pauncefote and Clayton-Bulwer treaties relating to the Panama Canal. . . . In the House, the Tariff bill, as revised and approved by the Democratic caucus, is reintroduced and referred back to the Ways and Means Committee.

April 22.—In the House, the Tariff bill is favorably reported from the Ways and Means Committee; the Sundry Civil and Indian appropriation bills, which failed to pass the Sixty-second Congress, are approved.

April 23.—The House begins discussion of the Tariff bill, Mr. Underwood (Dem., Ala.) speaking for the measure and Mr. Gardner (Rep., Mass.) against it.

April 24.—The House continues the debate upon the Tariff bill, Mr. Hammond (Dem., Minn.) defending the wheat and flour sections.

April 25.—In the House, Mr. Palmer (Dem., Pa.) speaks for the Tariff bill.

April 26.—In the House, Mr. Hull (Dem., Tenn.), the author of the income-tax measure, explains its provisions.

April 28.—The House concludes general debate upon the Tariff bill, speeches denouncing it being made by Mr. Payne (Rep., N. Y.), author of the present tariff law, and Mr. Murdock, of Kansas, the Progressive leader.

April 29.—In the House, the consideration of amendments to the Tariff bill is begun.

May 1.—The House, by vote of 186 to 88, rejects the Republican proposal to strike from the Tariff bill the provision placing sugar on the free list in three years.

May 2.—The House considers the cotton schedule and rejects all amendments.

May 3.—The House, by vote of 193 to 74, rejects the Republican substitute for the wool schedule of the Tariff bill.

May 5.—The Senate debates the Sundry Civil appropriation bill, Mr. Borah (Rep., Id.) denouncing the provision exempting labor unions and farmers' organizations from prosecution for restraint of trade.

May 6.—The House, by a viva voce vote, sustains the placing of raw wool on the free list in the Underwood Tariff bill.

May 7.—The Senate passes the Sundry Civil appropriation bill substantially as vetoed by President Taft, Mr. Root (Rep., N. Y.) making a strong speech against it. . . . In the House, consideration of the Tariff bill is ended.

May 8.—The House, by vote of 281 to 139, passes the Underwood Tariff bill, including the income tax provision; five Democrats vote against the measure, and two Republicans, four Progressives, and one Independent vote for it.

May 9.—The Senate receives the Underwood Tariff bill from the House.

May 13–16.—The Senate debates the Republican contention that the Tariff bill shall be referred to the Finance Committee with instructions to hold public hearings.

May 14.—In the Senate, Mr. Kern (Dem., Ind.) demands a federal investigation of labor conditions in the West Virginia coal mines.

May 16.—The Senate refers the Tariff bill to the Finance Committee; the motion to instruct the committee to hold public hearings is rejected.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN

April 15.—The Pennsylvania House passes the Senate bill granting monthly pensions to indigent mothers. . . . The California Assembly passes the measure prohibiting alien ownership of land, against which Japan had protested. . . . The voters of Jersey City adopt a commission form of government. . . . President Wilson nominates Walter H. Page as ambassador to England, John A. Osborne, of Wyoming, as Assistant Secretary of State, and William H. Osborn, of North Carolina, as Commissioner of Internal Revenue. . . . John J. Mitchell (Dem.) is elected Representative in Congress from the Thirteenth Massachusetts district, succeeding John W. Weeks (Rep.).

April 16.—The Democrats of the House of Representatives, in caucus, approve the free-wool provision of the Underwood tariff bill by vote of 190 to 42. . . . Willis L. Moore, Chief of the Weather Bureau, is dismissed for alleged irregularities in the conduct of his office.

April 17.—The President nominates William C. Harris, of Georgia, to be Director of the Census, and Henry S. Breckenridge, of Kentucky, as Assistant Secretary of War.

April 19.—President Wilson, through Secretary of State Bryan, urges the California legislature to amend the land-ownership bill so that it will apply to all aliens and not particularly to Japanese.

April 22.—President Wilson renews his appeal to the California legislature not to enact legislation discriminating against Japanese. . . . The Illinois Senate adopts the House resolution amending the State constitution to permit women to vote.

April 23.—President Wilson directs Mr. Bryan, the Secretary of State, to go to California for the purpose of conferring with Governor Johnson and the legislature regarding anti-Japanese legislation.

April 24.—President Wilson visits the Capitol to discuss appointments with Senators and Representatives. . . . Governor Sulzer vetoes the New York State Democratic organization's primary bill, on the ground that it fails to fulfill party pledges.

April 25.—The Commerce Court upholds the Interstate Commerce Commission in the Shreveport-Texas rate case, prohibiting discrimination against interstate traffic.

April 28.—Secretary of State Bryan begins a series of conferences with Governor Johnson and

the California legislature regarding proposed anti-alien laws.

April 30–May 1.—The New York legislature rejects Governor Sulzer's direct primary bill.

May 1–2.—President Wilson speaks at Newark, Elizabeth, and Jersey City in support of the proposition for a reform of the jury-drafting system to be considered at the special session of the New Jersey legislature.

May 2.—Governor Ferris of Michigan signs the "blue sky" law, aimed to prevent the sale of fraudulent stocks and securities.

May 3.—Both houses of the California legislature, with only five votes in opposition, pass a revised alien-land bill which is objectionable to Japan and to the Administration. . . . The New York legislature comes to an end, failing to pass a direct primary measure satisfactory to Governor Sulzer (see page 682).

May 5.—The lower house of the Arizona legislature passes a bill prohibiting alien ownership of land. . . . The Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia upholds the conviction of Samuel Gompers, John Mitchell, and Frank Morrison (the labor leaders) for contempt of court in 1907, but modifies their sentences.

May 6.—Four former inspectors of the New York police force—the highest uniformed grade—are convicted of conspiring to prevent a witness from testifying against the police graft system

May 7.—President Wilson nominates George W. Guthrie, of Pennsylvania, as ambassador to Japan; Gaylord M. Saltzgaber, of Ohio, as Commissioner of Pensions; and John Purroy Mitchel as Collector of the Port of New York. . . . The Illinois Senate passes a measure giving women all voting rights.

May 10.—Representative H. Olin Young (Rep., Mich.) announces that he will resign his seat because he was elected by a technicality which deprived his Progressive opponent, William J. McDonald, of 458 votes.

May 11.—President Wilson urges Governor Johnson to withhold his approval of the alien land law enacted by the California legislature, so that the matter may be taken up diplomatically with Japan. . . . A conference of Republican leaders is held at Chicago for the purpose of reorganizing and reuniting the party.

May 12.—The New Jersey House, in special session, passes the jury-reform bill urged by President Wilson, amending it, however, so as to necessitate its ratification by the people. . . . The Arizona Senate approves the anti-alien land bill passed by the House.

May 13.—The New Jersey Senate rejects the jury reform bill.

May 14.—Governor Johnson of California announces that he will sign the anti-alien land bill, and states the Californian viewpoint. . . . Mr. Redfield, Secretary of Commerce, in an address at Washington warns manufacturers that the Government will investigate all reductions in wages alleged to be due to the new tariff. . . . The Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage orders a favorable report upon a resolution providing for woman suffrage by Constitutional amendment.

May 16.—Governor Sulzer vetoes the Workmen's Compensation bill passed by the New York legislature, holding that it does not fulfill the pledge of the Democratic platform. . . . Governor Hunt signs the Arizona anti-alien land bill.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN

April 21.—The Cuban Congress, ratifying the result of the November election, proclaims Gen. Mario Menocal President. . . . The budgetary committee of the German Reichstag votes to investigate the charges that manufacturers of arms and ammunition purposely stirred up ill-feeling against France in order to sell war material.

April 22.—The Belgian Premier accepts the compromise proposed by the Liberal leader, and the great strike for manhood suffrage, involving 500,000 workers, is ended.

April 24.—Delegates from sixty-seven Japanese chambers of commerce meet at Tokio to discuss the anti-Japanese legislation in California.

April 25.—Gen. Felix Diaz, the leader in the recent Mexican revolution, renounces his candidacy for the Presidency.

April 27.—The Duke of Montpensier announces that he will decline the throne of Albania; Essad Pasha, commander of the Turkish troops which surrendered Scutari to the Montenegrins, proclaims himself King of Albania.

April 30.—London police close the offices of the Women's Social and Political Union and arrest six of the suffragette leaders.

May 4.—Senator Michel Oreste is elected President of Haiti by the National Assembly, succeeding Tancrede Auguste, deceased. . . . Premier Barthou announces the program of his ministry, including the return to the three-year enlistment which was abandoned in 1905.

May 5.—The Chinese National Assembly declares that the signing of the five-power loan, without the authority of parliament, was unlawful.

May 6.—The British House of Commons rejects a woman-suffrage measure by vote of 266 to 219. . . . The lower house of the Netherlands parliament passes a bill for new coast defences.

May 7.—The Irish Home Rule bill and the Welsh Disestablishment bill, rejected by the House of Lords, are reintroduced in the House of Commons.

May 8.—Gen. Ismael Montes is elected President of Bolivia.

May 9.—A new Montenegrin cabinet is formed under the Premiership of General Vukotitch.

May 11.—It is learned that twenty-five officers of the Mexican army were executed after an engagement with Constitutionalists near Guaymas.

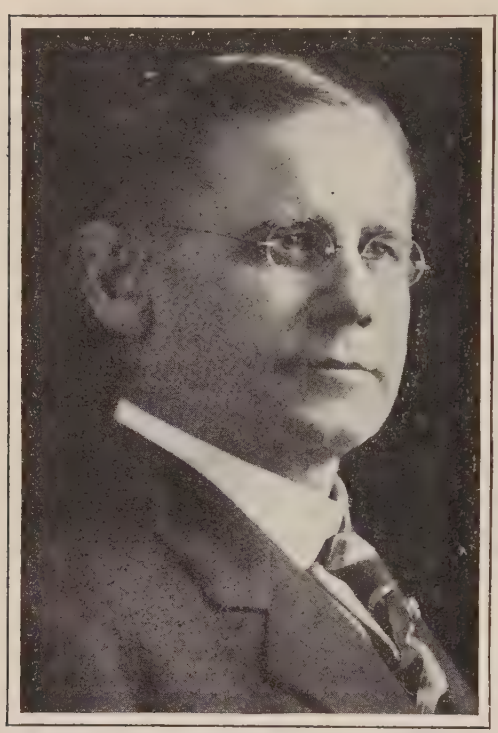
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

April 18.—Bulgaria, on behalf of the Balkan allies, accepts with minor modifications the revised proposals of the European powers for ending the war with Turkey.

April 19.—An armistice is signed by Turkey and all the Balkan allies except Montenegro. . . . President Wilson orders the release of Gen. Luis Mena, the Nicaraguan revolutionary leader, from confinement within the Panama Canal Zone.

April 21.—The commander of the international fleet blockading the Montenegrin coast threatens to land troops unless the siege of Scutari is abandoned immediately.

April 23.—Scutari surrenders to the Montenegrin troops after a siege lasting six months.



MR. W. S. CARTER, PRESIDENT OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF LOCOMOTIVE FIREMEN

(Who successfully conducted the case for the firemen of the East in the recent arbitration, under the Erdman Act, of their wage demands)

April 24.—Mr. Bryan, American Secretary of State, presents to the diplomats at Washington his plan for world peace, providing that all controversies shall be submitted for investigation to an international commission before war shall be declared.

April 26.—An agreement for a $125,000,000 loan to China, by bankers of five European nations, is signed at Peking.

April 27.—The European powers demand that the Montenegrin forces evacuate Scutari. . . . Sir Cecil Arthur Spring-Rice, the new British ambassador, arrives at New York on his way to Washington.

April 28.—Guatemala appeals to the United States following a demand from Great Britain for a settlement of $10,000,000 bond indebtedness.

May 1.—At a conference of ambassadors in London, Montenegro offers to evacuate Scutari if territorial compensation elsewhere is allowed.

May 2.—The United States Government recognizes the new Chinese republic upon the completion of the organization of the National Assembly.

May 5.—King Nicholas of Montenegro agrees to evacuate Scutari in compliance with the wishes of the powers.

May 6.—The Hague Court of Arbitration condemns Italy to pay $32,800 damages for seizing the French Steamers *Carthage* and *Manouba* during the Turkish-Italian war.

May 9.—The Japanese ambassador at Washington formally protests against the anti-alien land bill passed by the California legislature. . . . General Huerta, Provisional President of Mexico, informs the American ambassador that as the United States refuses to recognize the Mexican administration the latter cannot grant diplomatic standing to the ambassador.

May 11–12.—A conference of French and German Deputies is held at Berne, Switzerland, with the object of preventing increases in armaments and of bettering international relations.

May 13.—The international tribunal for the arbitration of pecuniary claims of Americans and Britons holds its first meeting at Washington, D. C. . . . The first advance is made to China by the European syndicate, under the terms of the $125,000,000 loan.

May 14.—The Montenegrin troops are withdrawn from Scutari, and the city is turned over to an international force. . . . Guatemala yields to the British demand for a resumption of interest payments on the foreign debt.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

April 17.—Four French military aeronauts and their pilot are killed in a balloon accident at Noisy le Grand.

April 21.—The Cunard liner *Aquitania*, 900 feet long, is launched at Clydebank, England.

April 23.—An explosion in a mine of the Pittsburgh Coal Company near Washington, Pa., causes the death of ninety-six miners. . . . The award of the arbitration board in the controversy between the Eastern railroads and their firemen grants increases in wages ranging from 10 to 12 per cent. . . . The one-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Stephen A. Douglas is commemorated in the Illinois legislature.

April 25.—The West Virginia coal miners vote to accept Governor Hatfield's proposition for the settlement of the strike, previously accepted by the operators.

April 26.—The international exposition at Ghent is opened by King Albert.

April 27.—Ernest F. Guillaux, a French aviator, flies from Biarritz, France, to Kollum, Holland (1000 miles), with two stops for fuel.

April 28.—Northern New York and eastern Canada experience a slight earth shock.

May 3.—Dr. Francis L. Patton resigns as president of Princeton Theological Seminary. . . . The international conference to arrange the celebration, in 1914, of 100 years of peace among English-speaking peoples, begins its first session in New York City.

May 6.—Twenty-five persons are wounded during rioting in connection with the strike of building laborers at Syracuse.

May 8.—The French aviator Frangeois carries six passengers in his biplane during a 75-minute flight.

May 9.—Lieut. Joseph D. Park, U. S. A., is killed in an accident to his aeroplane near Los Angeles.

May 10.—A memorial statue of Carl Schurz is unveiled at New York City. . . . Street-car traffic in Cincinnati is at a standstill following a strike of motormen and conductors.

May 12.—The International Agricultural Conference assembles at Rome.

May 14.—Edwin H. Anderson is chosen Director of the New York Public Library. . . . The Eastern railroads petition the Interstate Commerce Commission for permission to increase freight rates 5 per cent.

OBITUARY

April 15.—Bishop William B. Derrick, of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, 70.

April 16.—Eli D. Zaring, formerly managing editor of the Indianapolis *Sun*.

April 18.—Prof. Lester F. Ward, a noted sociologist and geologist, 71.

April 19.—Joseph Palmer, who made the death mask of Abraham Lincoln.

April 20.—Rev. Joel Paulian, president emeritus of the Christian Brothers' College at St. Louis, 82. . . . Sir Charles Day Rose, M.P., a prominent British sportsman, 65.

April 21.—John Dillon, the popular Chicago comedian, 81.

April 22.—William Albert Keener, ex-justice of the New York Supreme Court and former professor of law at Harvard and Columbia, 57. . . . John Gorell Barnes, Lord Gorell, an eminent British jurist, 64.

April 23.—Thaddeus Burr Wakeman, advocate of liberalism and free thought, 78. . . . Sir Richard Scott, member of the Canadian Senate for forty years and former cabinet member, 88.

April 24.—John T. Dye, the noted Indiana lawyer, 77.

April 25.—Moses Hallett, formerly United States District Judge in Colorado, 78.

April 27.—Dr. Andrew Sloan Draper, New York State Commissioner of Education, and former president of the University of Illinois, 64. . . . Brig.-Gen. Henry Clay Cochrane, U.S.A., retired, 71. . . . J. Gardiner Ramsdell, a pioneer piano merchant of Philadelphia, 71. . . . Prof. Francois Sigismond Jaccoud, permanent secretary of the French Academy of Medicine, 83.

April 29.—Dr. Charles H. Knight, of New York, a noted laryngologist, 63. . . . Mrs. Elsie Reasoner Ralph, sculptor and former newspaper correspondent.

April 30.—Prof. Erich Smith, formerly rector of Berlin University, 59.

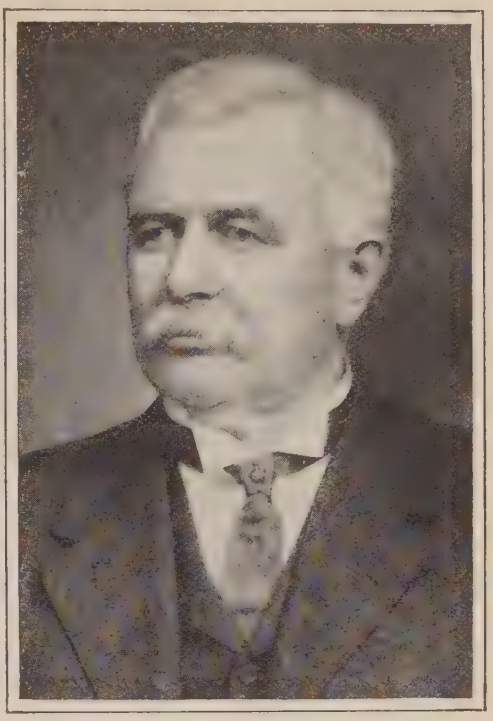
May 2.—Tancrede Auguste, President of Haiti. . . . Dr. Francis Parker Kinnicutt, a well-known New York physician, 67. . . . John R. Read, a prominent Philadelphia Democrat and former United States District Attorney, 70.

May 3.—Brig.-Gen. Charles W. Raymond, U.S.A., retired, 71.

May 5.—Dr. Benjamin Barr, of Philadelphia, a famous Civil War surgeon, 85. . . . Representative Lewis J. Martin, of the Sixth New Jersey District, 69. . . . Mrs. D'Oyly Carte, of London, noted for her productions of Gilbert and Sullivan operas.

May 6.—Rev. Dr. Charles Henry Mead, a widely known temperance lecturer and editor, 72.

May 7.—James Copper Bayles, former president of the Health Department of New York and an engineering editor of note, 68. . . . William F. C. Nindeman, a survivor of the Jeannette polar expedition, 62.



THE LATE DR. ANDREW S. DRAPER

(Dr. Draper was one of the foremost educators of the country. At the time of his death he was Commissioner of Education in New York State; and previously he had served with distinction as head of the public school system of Cleveland and as president of the University of Illinois)

May 8.—Frank O. Briggs, ex-United States Senator from New Jersey, 62. . . . Peter Baillie McLennan, presiding justice of the Appellate Division of the New York Supreme Court, 62. . . . Dr. Louis A. Duhring, professor emeritus of dermatology at the University of Pennsylvania, 68. . . . Sir Coutts Lindsay, a prominent London artist, 89. . . . Dowager Duchess of Newcastle, noted for her work among the London poor. . . . Clarence Deming, of New Haven, a well-known newspaper and magazine writer, 64.

May 9.—Rev. Leander Trowbridge Chamberlain, D.D., a noted Presbyterian preacher and author, 76.

May 11.—Francis Fisher Browne, editor of the *Dial*, 69 (further mention of Mr. Browne will be made in our July issue).

May 12.—John S. Wise, a noted New York lawyer and former Congressman-at-large from Virginia, 66.

May 13.—William Henry Larrabee, editor and writer on scientific and ecclesiastical subjects, 83.

May 14.—Alfred de Foville, a noted French economist, 70.

May 15.—John Hays Gardiner, formerly assistant professor of English at Harvard and author of works on English literature, 50. . . . William Edward Davis, passenger traffic manager of the Grand Trunk Railway, 62.

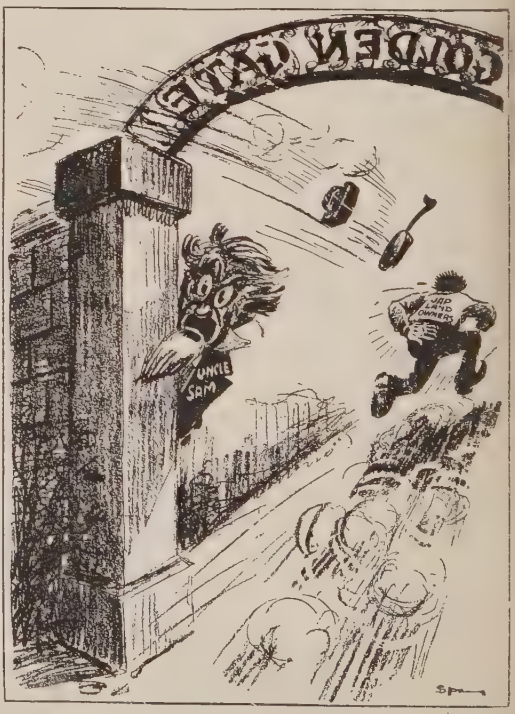
May 16.—Rt. Rev. William Croswell Doane, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Albany, 81.

CARTOONS ON SOME CURRENT TOPICS

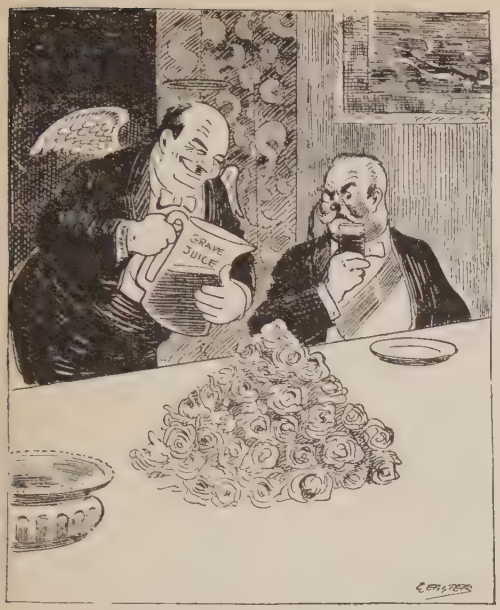
THE SEASON FOR TROUBLESOME INSECTS HAS ARRIVED
From the *Oregonian* (Portland, Oregon)

THE coming of the "season of troublesome insects" finds Uncle Sam not entirely immune from his own peculiar pests. The tariff will keep him pretty busy for another few weeks at least. Then there is John Bull pressing the Panama-tolls matter. Mexico also demands attention, while California and her Japanese question has given him another important diplomatic task.

WHEN THE INCOME TAX BECOMES A LAW
From the *News-Press* (St. Joseph, Mo.)

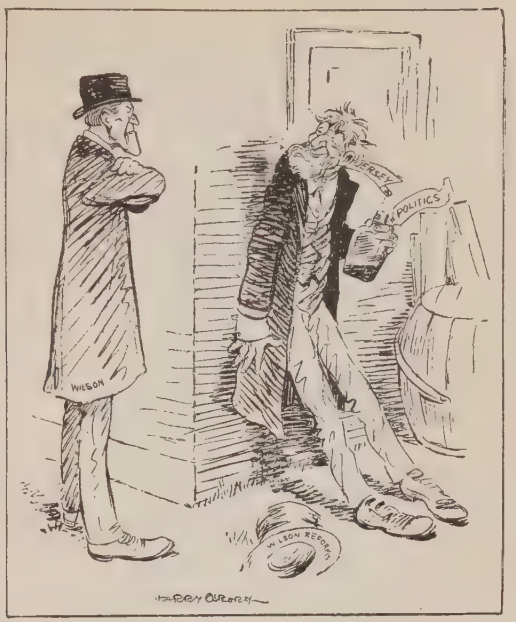


HI, THERE, CALIFORNIA, CUT IT OUT!
From the *Advertiser* (Montgomery, Alabama)



"And lately, by the tavern door agape,
Came shining through the dusk an angel shape,
Bearing a vessel on his shoulder; and
He bid me taste of it, and 'twas—the grape."
—OMAR KHAYYAM

From the *Globe* (New York)



THE BACKSLIDER

From the *News* (Baltimore)

Instead of an assortment of alcoholic beverages, grape juice appeared as the drink provided at Secretary Bryan's first formal dinner in Washington. An English newspaper promptly made some facetious allusion to "Wishy-Washington!" The cartoon showing New Jersey as a rather bibulous old gentleman who has backslid in the matter of reform legislation since Wilson left the governor's chair, refers to the President's special trip to Trenton last month to assist in the legislative situation.

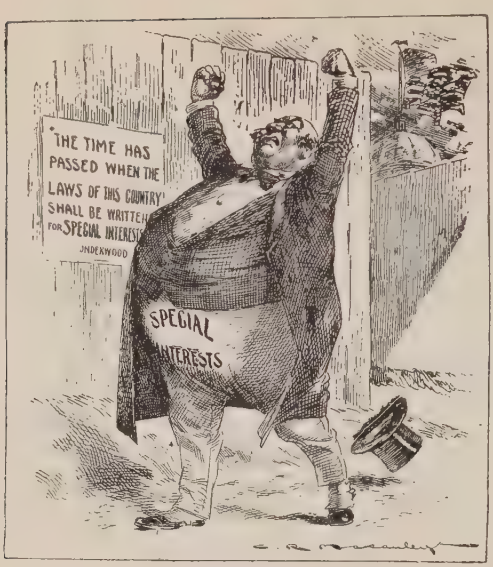
NOBODY WISHED THIS JOB ON HIM; HE APPLIED FOR IT!

From the *Ohio State Journal* (Columbus)

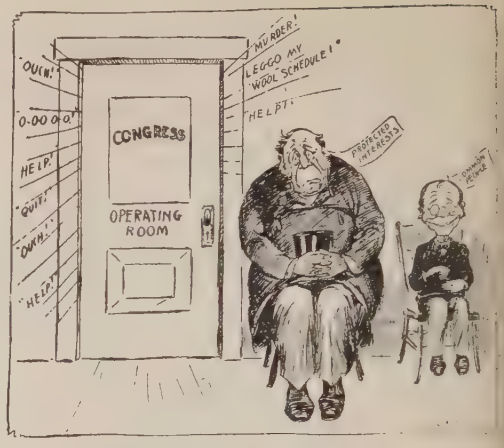
MARY'S LITTLE LAMB AND THE DEMOCRATIC DONKEY

(Mary, in this case, being the "Woolen Trust," and her lamb the high protective tariff)

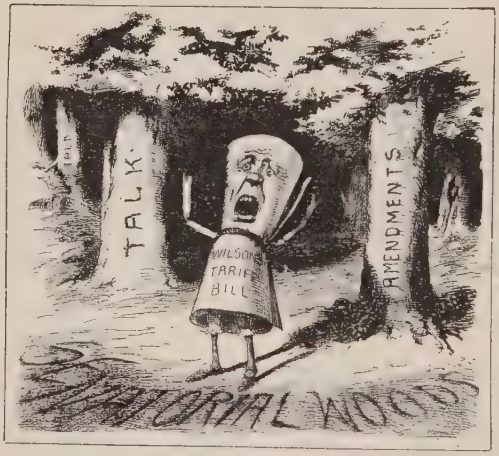
From the *Evening News* (Newark, N. J.)



"THE COUNTRY IS GOING TO THE DOGS"
From the *World* (New York)



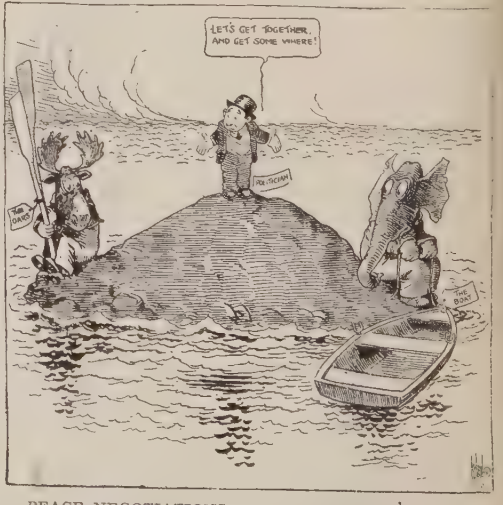
OPERATING ON THE TARIFF
From the *World-Herald* (Omaha)



NOT OUT OF THE WOODS YET
From the *Inquirer* (Philadelphia)

PATCHING THE REPUBLICAN ELEPHANT UP
(Prominent Republicans gathered at Chicago last month to confer on party reorganization)
From the *North American* (Philadelphia)

DELILAH DEMOCRACY AND SAMSON MONOPOLY
From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)



PEACE NEGOTIATIONS—THE POLITICIAN'S VIEW
From the *Evening Dispatch* (Columbus, Ohio)

IN THE CAPITOL

(The cartoonist likens the defeat of the New York direct primary bill in the state legislature to Cæsar's assassination in the Capitol. Governor Sulzer's fight for real direct primaries is commented on in an article on page 628.)

From the *Sun* (New York)

DEJECTION

(MURPHY: "Gee! Tige, ain't it fierce? Wilson in Washington, Sulzer in Albany, and fusion in New York!")

From the *Tribune* (New York)

THE ANNUAL BATH

(Chicago, New York, and many other cities, had a "clean-up week" last month.)

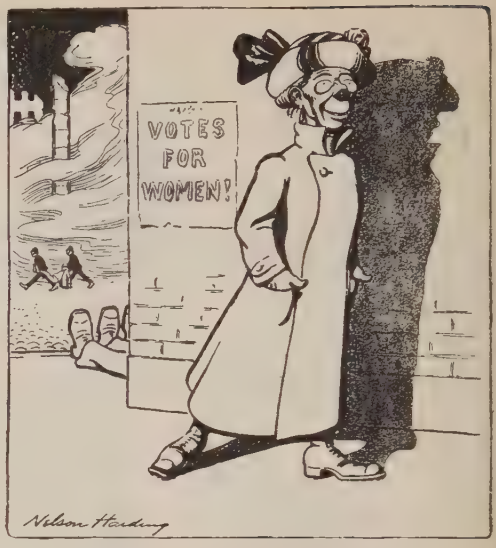
From the *Record-Herald* (Chicago)

THE BUSY TAILOR

(District Attorney Whitman of New York has been measuring a number of police officers for prison suits recently.)

From the *News* (Baltimore)

"Girls," said Sue, "one must confess
That awfter wrecking a fawst express
One hears the shrieks of maimed and dying.
One must confess—it's rawther trying."



"I think," said Belle, "I did my share
By blowing up Trafalgar Square,
For hardly more than four or five
Old fogies left the place alive!"

RUTHLESS RHYMES FOR MARTIAL MILITANTS
From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)

The newspapers during the past month have again reported many acts of violence by the militant suffragists of England, resulting in a heavy loss of property. Churches, railroad stations, and private residences have been destroyed, and newspaper offices raided. The police, in turn, also did a little raiding, the immediate object of attack being the headquarters of the Woman's Social and Political Union. The efforts of the militants did not, apparently, prevent the defeat in Parliament of a bill which would, if successful, have enfranchised over six million women. It is a much-discussed question now as to just how much sympathy is being lost for the cause by the actions of the militants in England.

"TIME, GENTLEMEN, PLEASE!"
(Music protesting against the present type of popular songs.)
From *Punch* (London)

THE LAST WORD
(John Bull still refuses to surrender.)
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis, Minnesota)

A FEATHER FOR HIS CAP

THE VICTOR OF SCUTARI (to Austria): "Of course, you can make me put your tail feather back again, but it'll never feel quite the same."

From *Punch* (London)

THE TRIPLE ENTENTE

(The possible combination of France, England, and Russia, is used as an argument by the German Militarists)

From *Wahre Jacob* (Stuttgart)

Austria, much chagrined over the capture of Scutari by King Nicholas, of Montenegro, demanded its surrender. Even though Nicholas has returned the prize, he retains the glory of the triumph. *Wahre Jacob* presents the Socialist view that the bogy of a Triple Alliance against Germany is being used in support of the expanded German military program.

LATEST PORTRAIT OF THE GERMAN EMPEROR

From *Pasquino* (Turin)

A PEACEFUL REVOLUTION

(Referring to the manhood suffrage strike in Belgium)

From the *Tribune* (New York)

THE GOVERNOR'S CHALLENGE TO THE TAMMANY TIGER

From the *World* (New York)

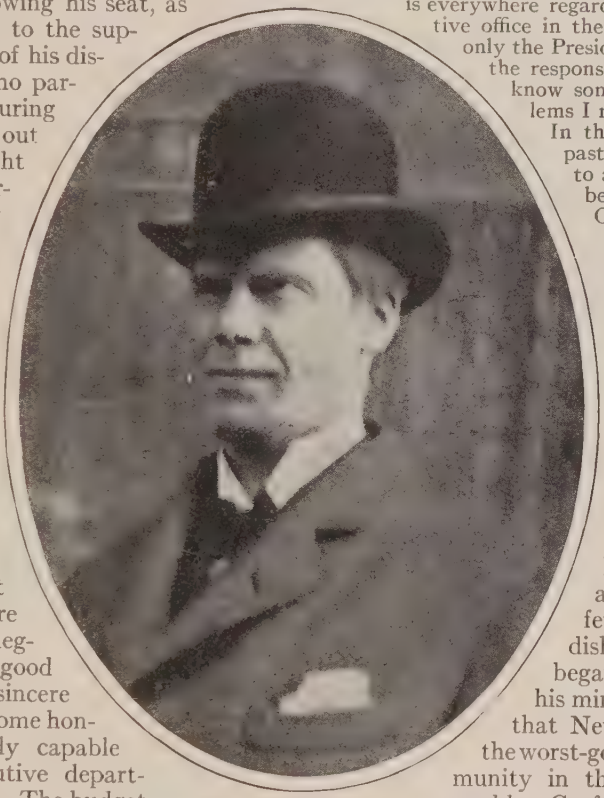
GOVERNOR SULZER AND THE FIGHT FOR DIRECT PRIMARIES

IT was just twenty years ago that the Hon. William Sulzer was Speaker of the Assembly at Albany. He was thirty years old, and had been in the legislature for three or four years. Grover Cleveland was entering upon his second term as President of the United States. David B. Hill and Roswell P. Flower were governors of New York during Mr. Sulzer's membership in the legislature. Their immediate predecessors had been Grover Cleveland, Alonzo B. Cornell, Lucius Robinson, and Samuel J. Tilden. The up-State Democratic party in New York had been a real power and had produced many strong men. The Republican party also had a host of men of intellect, character, and conviction. Party feeling was intense, and even among the politicians there was such a thing as genuine and sincere party allegiance.

Mr. Sulzer was elected to Congress in 1894, and served at Washington for eighteen consecutive years. He was elected Governor last November, and was inaugurated on the first day of January. He had been chiefly absorbed in his Congressional duties and in national and international questions for nearly twenty years. It is true that his home was in New York City, and that he could not have avoided knowing something of the politics of the metropolis and the State. He had been regarded as a fairly acquiescent member of the Tammany organization that controls the Democratic party in New York City. His nomination had come to him as a matter of course every two years. But the supposition that this had come as a favor from Tammany Hall or from Charles F. Murphy seems to have been erroneous. In the earlier part of his Congressional career, Tammany once deprived him of the nomination. He ran independently, and he carried the district.

After that there was no attempt to prevent his having the Democratic nomination in

the old Tenth District, which subsequently became the Eleventh. This was by no means a dead-sure Tammany district, or else Murphy would probably have taken possession of it for uses of his own a good while ago. Mr. Sulzer claims that the district is normally Republican, and that he has owed his nine elections to Congress to his popularity with the people of the East Side, among whom he has lived so long and who have much loyalty for him and an unwavering confidence in his fitness to represent them. Thus, as a member of Congress, owing his seat, as he holds, entirely to the support of the people of his district, he has had no particular occasion, during recent years, to go out of his way to fight the Democratic organization in New York.



HON. WILLIAM SULZER
Governor of New York

First impressions in public life are bound to be influential and tenacious. Sulzer had always remembered Albany and its political atmosphere as he first knew it, nearly a quarter of a century ago. At that time there were real parties in the legislature, and a good many strong and sincere men. There were some honest and reasonably capable men in the executive departments of the State. The budget was comparatively small, the State's total ordinary expenditures being not more than a quarter or a third what they are now. There was some indication of the bi-partisan machine system, but this was applied almost exclusively to the protection of a few corporations and private interests, and had to do principally with the affairs of New York City.

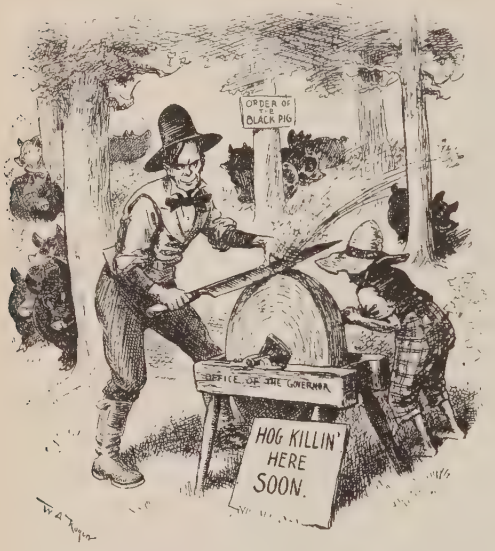
Remembering vividly the conditions that existed at Albany more than twenty years ago, it is not strange that Mr. Sulzer, during last year's campaign and at the time of his election, quite seriously underestimated the gravity of the situation that must confront an honest and intelligent Governor at this time. He seemed to believe that he could go to Albany with his good intentions, his capacity for hard work, and his talent for winning favor and popularity, and forthwith accomplish everything necessary to give the State of New York a good government.

In a brief message to the people of the country, through the medium of this REVIEW, Governor Sulzer made the following statement (see page 46, January number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS):

> The Governorship of the State of New York is everywhere regarded the highest elective office in the United States save only the Presidency. I realize fully the responsibility it entails and know something of the problems I must meet and solve. In the future, as in the past, I shall do my duty to all the people to the best of my ability as God gives me the light. My object is to do right, and I shall struggle as I never struggled before to make good.

Undoubtedly he meant all that he said, and yet he had only a faint idea of the nature of the struggle that lay before him. He had been in Albany as Governor only a few hours before the disheartening truth began to dawn upon his mind. He discovered that New York State was the worst-governed large community in the whole civilized world. Graft and inefficiency permeated the business of the State in almost every department. He appointed committees to make a quick, cursory survey, in order to bring to light some of the worst evils. The Tammany organization, not content to dominate Manhattan Island, had reached out for control of the Democratic party of the State. The bi-partisan system had been enormously stimulated, not merely by the doubling and quadrupling of ordinary State expenditures, but by the extraordinary opportunities that came with the spending of a hundred million dollars upon the State canals, fifty million dollars upon the good-roads scheme, and many millions besides upon public buildings and

other projects. Politics had become more commercialized at the hands of the two big party machines than at any previous time. Besides the opportunities for criminal graft, there were the countless chances for money-making through what goes at Albany by the term of "honest graft."



HURRY UP GOVERNOR, THEY'RE GETTING PRETTY FAT
(The black pigs represent the grafters in the State Government)
From the *Herald* (New York)

William Sulzer, Governor, found out in a very short time that his popular ways would avail nothing at Albany unless he were ready to blink at the current game or become a silent partner in it. Three courses were open to him: He could quit being an honest man and become a rogue; he could resign; he could fight. Fortunately he was not tempted to fall in with the game of the crooks and corruptionists. Being an honest man, he was limited to the alternatives of resigning or fighting. He decided, of course, that he must fight; and in this he was heartily supported by a very sensible and right-minded wife. Among other things that he speedily discovered was the fact that so far as results went there seemed to be just two members of the legislature, those being the two heads of the Democratic and Republican organizations of the State; and as regards every matter that involved vital reform these two forces were acting together.

When a man stands up in the State of New York to fight against the political machines that are held together by the cohesive power of plunder, he must not expect to be treated with courtesy or personal deference. Theodore Roosevelt, in making such fights, has braved every kind of slander and vilification. Charles E. Hughes was the target of unmeasured ridicule and abuse. William Sulzer could not expect to be exempt where Roosevelt and Hughes had to face the methods of desperate spoilsmen and corrupt conspirators.

One of the things that all parties had agreed upon last fall was the subject of direct primaries. The politicians had pretended to give the people of New York a popular system of making nominations, but it had proved in practice to be something worse than a farce. The ridiculous character of this law was demonstrated in the attempt to apply its terms to the election of delegates to the Republican national convention at Chicago a year ago. Honest members of all parties

THE ORDER OF THE "BLACK PIG"
(Worthy successor to the Black Horse Cavalry)
From the *Herald* (New York)

knew that the law was unworkable, and that it lent itself to the improper manipulation and control of the party machines. The present legislature was elected, therefore, by voters who expected the enactment of a law providing for State-wide primaries in the unqualified sense. It is perfectly well known that the Murphy machine and the Barnes machine are alike opposed to the abolition of the convention system, or to any methods whatsoever that would weaken their hold upon the political life of the State.

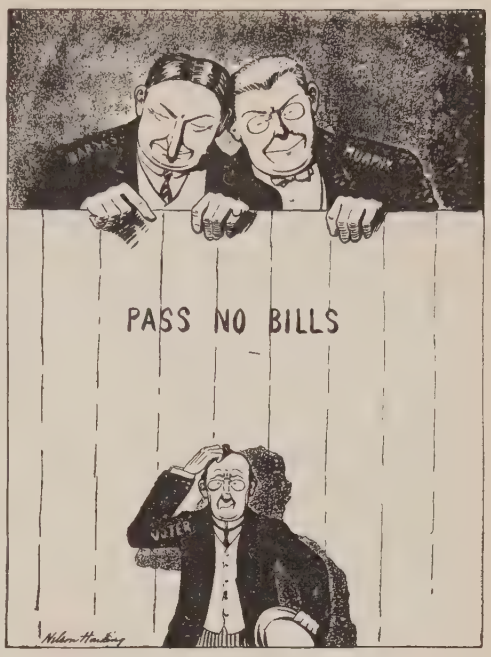
The present legislature, rejecting the Governor's views of a primary law, enacted

what was known as the Blauvelt bill. This was vetoed on April 24 by Governor Sulzer, who declared the bill to be a fraud and at the best a miserable makeshift. The veto message was a scathing attack upon the bosses and their tools in the legislature. "I indulge the hope," remarks the Governor, "that after the veto message is read and digested no one in the State, and especially in the legislature, will have any further doubt as to my mental sincerity on direct primaries." This message made it entirely plain that the Governor had no lingering expectation of being able to do business with the Murphy organization. The heart of the whole controversy lies in the following paragraphs from the message:

When we consider the waste, the extravagance, the inefficiency and the corruption which have recently been brought to light in connection with the administration of public affairs in our State and which are the cause of painful humiliation to every thoughtful and patriotic citizen, all due, in no small degree, to the fact that in recent years political power has been gradually slipping away from the people who should always control it and wield it, there can be no doubt as to the necessity of this legislation and as to our duty in this all-important matter.

Every intelligent citizen is aware that those who subvert the government to their personal advantage have found their greatest opportunities to do so through the adroit and skilful manipulation of our system of party caucuses and political conventions. We have been given leadership dishonorable to the various political parties of the State, and we have been given party tickets which reflect this dishonorable leadership in disgraceful secret alliances between big business interests and crooked and corrupt politics. It must cease or our free institutions are doomed.

"THE LEGISLATURE"
(The bosses deciding on what legislation shall be passed)
From the *World* (New York)



"TWO HEADS ARE BETTER THAN ONE"
(The two heads of the party bosses are more powerful than the single head of the voter in legislature affairs)
From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)

The honest citizens of our State for years have demanded an end to these shameful conditions. They now insist on primary reform, thoroughgoing, radical and direct and complete, and I would be unfaithful to these salutary demands of the people of this State and to the pledges of the political platforms of my own party if I were to give my official approval to this bill, which, while it might do something to improve our primary law, goes such a short distance in the right direction that it would seem like giving a stone to the voters when the people are asking for bread.

If we fail to make our system of direct primaries apply to State officers we have left off our work of primary reform where the people expected us to begin. The widespread demand for direct primaries in our State found its origin mainly in the dissatisfaction arising from the failure of our State conventions to faithfully reflect the sentiments of the party voters. Every student of our recent political history knows this, and no one knows it better than I do.

Is it necessary for me, or any other man, to say that in continuing the delegate system in nominating State officers electors are not allowed to nominate directly? In continuing the delegate system we are therefore ignoring and repudiating our platform pledges and betraying the people with false pretences. I shall not be a party to such repudiation; I shall not indorse such a betrayal of the people. No political party can make me a political hypocrite.

Before its adjournment, on May 3, the legislature amended the Blauvelt bill to

make it somewhat less vulnerable; but in its amended form it was in no way acceptable either to the Governor or to the great body of citizens of the State who favor direct primaries. The Republican organization had wished to avert the inevitable special session, or at least to put themselves in a favorable position, and Mr. Barnes had offered to accept the Governor's bill if the State conventions could be retained. But the Governor would not do business with Barnes, nor would he consider eliminating any of the essentials of his bill. Almost immediately upon the adjournment of the legislature he issued his call for an extra session, to meet on June 16, to deal with the question of direct primaries. The controlling elements in the legislature declared that the extra session would be fruitless, but the Governor had made up his mind to appeal directly to the people of the State, without regard to parties. In proportion as his honesty and his courage shone out clear through the fogs and mists of Albany politics, there was evidence of a rallying of public opinion to his support; and many newspapers regardless of previous party attitudes, espoused his cause.

Since all the party platforms last fall had declared for primary-election reform, Governor Sulzer determined to make his contest on non-partisan grounds. A campaign committee of one hundred members was appointed, in which the Progressives and the anti-Tammany Democrats were most conspicuous, but which also included many Republicans. As might have been expected, Colonel Roosevelt responded heartily to the call for his support, and the Progressive party stood with him to a man. In a letter to the members of his new party, on May 12, Colonel Roosevelt declared himself as follows:

> While I think the Progressive bill was the best bill introduced, I nevertheless most cordially back the bill urged by Governor Sulzer, for that bill means a substantial measure of positive gain, and the envenomed opposition of both the Murphy and Barnes machines to it is of itself sufficient proof that it is emphatically in the interest of the people as a whole. The alliance between the two machines and the legislature shows how absolutely correct was our characterization of them last fall. Really at present there are not three party organizations. There are but two—the party of progress and against it the party of privilege, the party of reaction.
>
> This party of reaction is organized in two divisions, called Republican and Democratic, the better to make effective the common opposition of both machines to the policy of genuine self-government. Nothing pleases the representatives of privilege so much as a mock fight between the two old parties, and that is all that the fighting between them is. Whether Mr. Barnes is on top or Mr. Murphy is on top makes no difference; in either case privilege is enthroned, and in both cases the people are deprived of real power. The bosses and the machines of the two old parties are engaged in the effort to keep the State government out of the hands of the people and under the bi-partisan control of the old party bosses. I have been glad to support Governor Sulzer in this fight, and I earnestly hope that the Progressives will take the lead in the battle for a thoroughgoing direct-primary measure.

There are many thoughtful men who find serious objections to the primary-election plan of nominating candidates. This new method certainly presents some serious difficulties. But it seems to be the only available means by which to take the control of the government of New York out of the hands of inner rings of professional politicians whose partisanship is only a blind for their promotion of improper private aims. The question before the people is not, in fact, one of theories about constitutional government or political mechanism. It is simply a fight between the bosses and their machines on the one hand, and the citizens of the State who desire good government on the other hand. When good government wins its fight, there will be plenty of time in which to study the merits of different kinds of nominating methods and electoral machinery. The present legislature of New York has been one of the most shamelessly subservient in the history of the United States. A good primary law ought to have the result of putting men of independent convictions, high intelligence, and upright character into the Assembly and Senate at Albany.

It is true that the present legislature has permitted a number of meritorious bills to become laws. Most members of this one, as of all legislative bodies, are well disposed towards many right things, whenever they are in a position that gives them freedom of action. Reform measures are almost invariably prepared outside of the legislature; and they are brought to a successful conclusion through the support of newspapers and public opinion. Obviously the bosses wish to curry favor whenever they can, and they try to obscure their own misdeeds by giving support to good things that do not greatly intrench upon their prerogatives. But the struggle for direct primaries is an attack upon their control of politics and government. They will do all that they can to confuse the issue and to discredit Governor Sulzer. But he has risen to the emergency, and he has a good chance to win a victory.

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BAGDAD'S TIME-HONORED MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION, THE DONKEY, SOON TO GIVE WAY TO THE MODERN RAILWAY

ANCIENT BAGDAD AND ITS MODERN RAILWAY

THE most interesting, picturesque and impressive railway terminal in the world will soon not be the Pennsylvania station in New York, nor the new Grand Central, nor any of the other marble palaces that mark the ends of western railway lines. It will be the new station, the site for which has only just been chosen, in Bagdad, the city of the *Arabian Nights*, and the terminus of the much contested, much discussed Bagdad railway. There is no more picturesque region in the world in richness of historical and traditional interest, in quaintness of life, building and costume, than that the traveler will see about him when, next year, he alights at the plain building on the eastern bank of the Tigris river only a few feet from the quay of Nebuchadnezzar.

Fourteen years ago several different Russian and British proposals for a railroad through the Euphrates valley were rejected by the Turkish government. Later the Deutsche Bank obtained a concession from the Porte and German capital, aided by German diplomacy, began the construction of this important trunk line through all the Near East to the Persian Gulf, with branches toward the Caucasus, to the eastern Mediterranean, to the holy cities of Islam, Medina and Mecca, with a land terminal at Bagdad and a port on the Red Sea. There was considerable discussion over placing the line under international control. The first section, under a concession to the Anatolian Railway company for ninety-nine years, was completed in 1904. The Turkish government guaranteed a certain fixed net receipt per kilometer and agreed to provide a certain fixed amount per kilometer for construction purposes. The British government, however,

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AN EVERY-DAY SCENE ON BAGDAD'S PRINCIPAL STREET

(To the right are the Governor's residence, the city building, and the police headquarters; to the left, the military barracks)

refused to be a party to the scheme, and withdrew, with the result that the railway came almost entirely under German control. Later, Britain, jealous of the security of her connections with India, finally brought about a financial arrangement according to which, while the Germans control the railway, French, Austrian, Italian and other capitalists have large holdings.

This line goes through the most ancient lands of the globe. It aims at being the outlet of the German speaking peoples of Europe to the political and commercial domination of the Orient. It is ever before the eyes of Austria, and it is with this railroad in mind that the government at Vienna now vetoes any Bulgarian, Servian, or Montenegrin acquisition that shall block her way to Constantinople. The first section from Constantinople to Sabanja in Asia Minor, as has been said, was opened in 1904, and the next year further extensions were made. Now the line is rapidly advancing through Mesopotamia. In the middle of last year the construction of the last section, which is to enter the city of Bagdad, was begun. Early next year it is hoped that passengers will disembark at Bagdad itself.

Bagdad, which is now a Moslem city of 150,000, situated on both banks of the Tigris river, was originally a Babylonian town dating back as far as 2,000 B. C. It suffered all the usual vicissitudes of Mesopotamian cities. The present town, it is claimed, was founded by the Caliph Mansur in A. D. 762. It grew rapidly and was for more than two centuries the great emporium of commerce for the surrounding countries. In the early part of the ninth century, under the famous Haroun-al-Rachid, it had a population of more than 2,000,000. In literature, art

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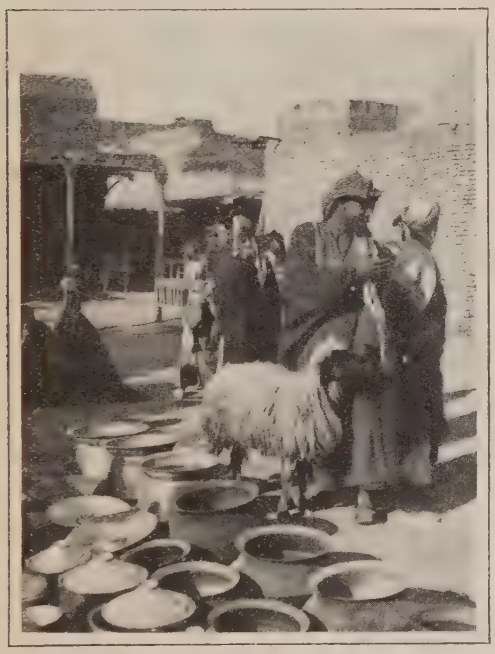
BAGDAD'S DOUBLE-DECKED HORSE CAR

(This, the single tram car of Bagdad, connects the city with the suburbs on the west bank of the Tigris)

and science it divided the supremacy of the world with Cordova, while in commerce and wealth it far surpassed its Spanish rival. It was the religious capital of all Islam and the political capital of the greater part of it at the flood-tide of Moslem greatness. Bagdad was built of bricks and tiles so magnificently that even to-day it is referred to in Turkish official documents as the "Glorious City." It was captured by the Mongols in 1258, and in 1620 it was taken by Suleiman the Magnificent. Since then it has been nominally part of the Turkish empire.



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BARGAINING IN A BAGDAD BAZAAR

(An Arab offering his woolly sheep for a brass pot)

Although Bagdad was one of the cradles of our civilization, it has remained an ancient sleepy town without any sign of progress until the decision to make it a terminal of the famous railway. One of the chief reasons for its decadence, of course, has been the deviation of the ancient trade routes to Persia. The province which includes ancient Babylon and Mesopotamia, still does a large business in exporting wool, gums, hides, carpets, rugs, and dates.

The ancient methods of transportation, which will go with the coming of the railway, the antiquated method of life, and the general picturesqueness of Bagdad, are shown graphically in the photographs we reproduce here, which were taken very recently and have not heretofore been published.

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CROSSING THE TIGRIS IN A BAGDAD BOAT

(This Kufa, or circular boat, resembling nothing so much as an enormous doughnut, is carrying soldiers and Arabs from the city to the east bank of the Tigris, upon which may be seen the military barracks)

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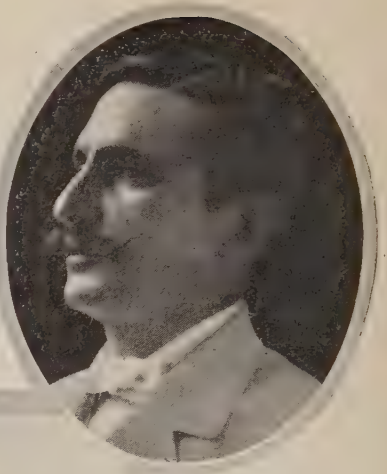
THE BRIDGE ACROSS THE ANCIENT TIGRIS

(Although the bridge is very shaky and in danger of collapse, thousands of pedestrians cross it daily. On Friday, the Mohammedan day of rest, multitudes of Arabs come into town to buy or sell, and then the bridge is taxed to its full capacity and as crowded as the Brooklyn bridge. In summer, after the heat of the day, Turks and Arabs cross and recross this bridge to refresh themselves in the cool breeze blowing down the river)

MEMBERS OF THE NEW CUBAN GOVERNMENT

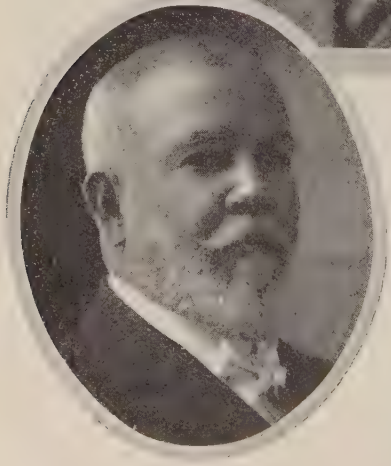
SEÑOR JOSÉ RAMON VILLALON, SECRETARY OF PUBLIC WORKS, PROFESSOR IN HAVANA UNIVERSITY, EMINENT MINING ENGINEER



SEÑOR AURELIO HEVIA, SECRETARY OF GOVERNMENT (INTERIOR), ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE UNDER PRESIDENT PALMA

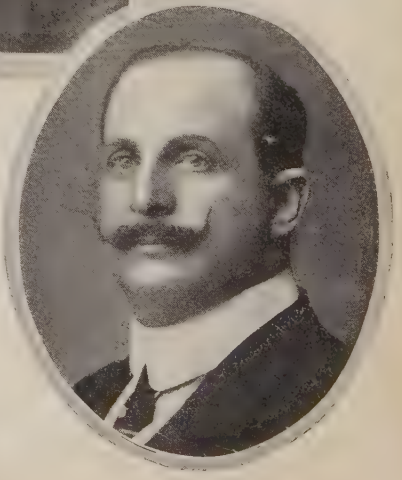
SEÑOR CRISTOBAL DE LA GUARDIA, SECRETARY OF JUSTICE, FORMER SENATOR AND A LAWYER OF WIDE REPUTE

SEÑOR EZEQUIEL GARCIA, SECRETARY OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION IN HAVANA UNIVERSITY, LECTURER AND ART CRITIC



GENERAL MARIO G. MENOCAL, CONSERVATIVE, THIRD PRESIDENT OF THE CUBAN REPUBLIC

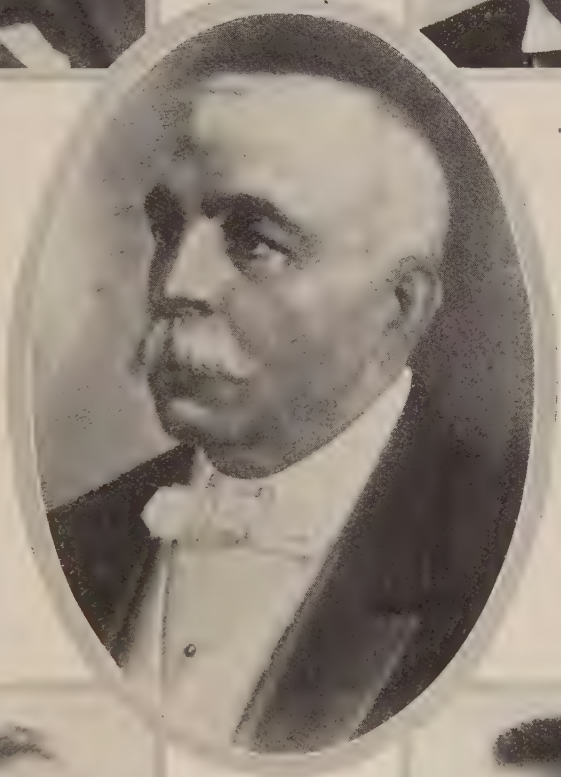
(INAUGURATED ON MAY 20)



MEMBERS OF THE NEW CUBAN GOVERNMENT

DR. ENRIQUE NUÑEZ, SECRETARY OF SANITATION. A SURGEON OF NOTE IN HAVANA AND A NEW FIGURE IN CUBAN POLITICS

GENERAL EMILIO NUÑEZ, SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE, COMMERCE AND LABOR, PRESIDENT OF THE VETERAN'S ASSOCIATION

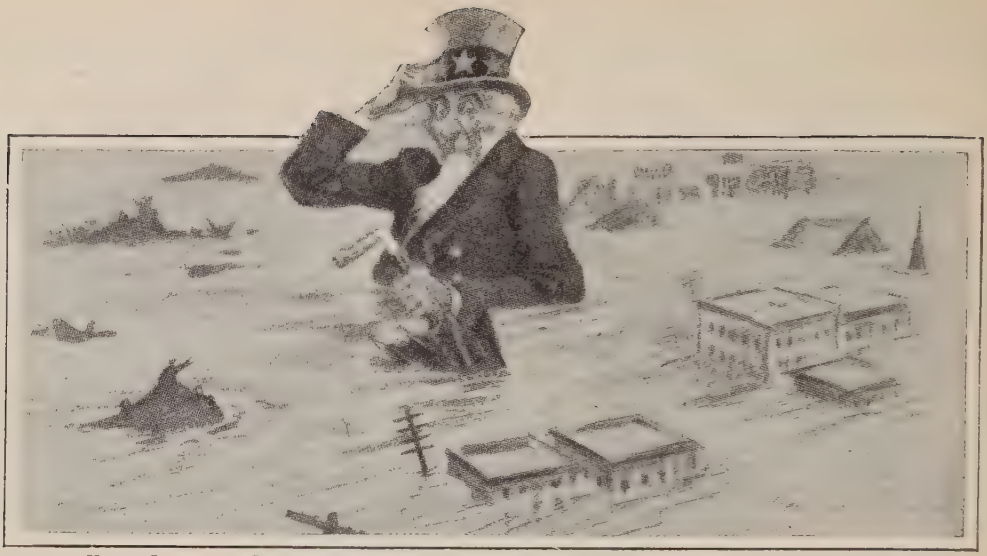


SEÑOR LEOPOLDO CANCIO, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY, LAWYER, PROFESSOR IN HAVANA UNIVERSITY

SEÑOR COSME DE LA TORRIENTE, SECRETARY OF STATE AND PREMIER OF THE INCOMING ADMINISTRATION

HON. ENRIQUE VARONA, VICE-PRESIDENT, SCHOLAR, AUTHOR, LAWYER, PROFESSOR, ORATOR

(INAUGURATED ON MAY 20)



UNCLE SAMUEL: "Seems almost as if something ought to be done about this—maybe next year."
From the *Saturday Evening Post* (Philadelphia)

THE FLOOD'S LESSONS

LAST month this magazine told the story of the great floods in the river valleys. In this number we are concerned with the various plans proposed for the control, if not the ultimate prevention, of such disasters. We are fortunately enabled to present the views and suggestions of four men who have given the subject much thought and are familiar with the practical problems involved. Both the levee and the reservoir systems are considered.

A LEAF FROM OHIO'S EXPERIENCE

BY THE HON. THEODORE E. BURTON

(United States Senator from Ohio)

AS the most serious damage resulting from swollen streams occurred in the cities and towns located along their banks, naturally most of the remedies suggested have related to local conditions. Most of these proposals contemplate the removal or remodeling of obstructive bridges and the enlarging and straightening of channels, and similar improvements. The purpose of nearly all these plans is that of facilitating the discharge of flood waters. The difficulty with all such methods is that while they may relieve a local danger they all tend to pass the water on with constantly increasing volume into the lower reaches of the stream.

There will be no satisfactory solution of the problem of flood prevention until a plan is devised for a comprehensive control and improvement of water courses in their entirety. One of the most troublesome phases of legislation relating to both navigable and non-navigable streams is the multiplicity of jurisdictions. As long as the federal, state and local governments all have certain jurisdiction, without any central directing authority, there are sure to be ill-advised, inconsistent and conflicting plans of improvement.

WANTED: AN ENGINEER COMMISSION

As the country develops and becomes more thickly populated the necessity of improving all natural water courses with a view to securing their maximum beneficial use for all purposes, including domestic uses, navigation, irrigation, water power, and for flood prevention, becomes more and more important and increasingly of national concern. It is therefore highly important that the control of these streams should pass wholly to the Federal Government or to the Federal Government with the coöperation of the States, under some plan that will result in a harmonious and comprehensive plan of improvement.

To meet the more pressing needs of flood prevention it would probably be advisable that, first of all, a competent commission of

engineers should make a thorough study of the problem, especially in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, where the most serious floods of recent years have occurred. It is manifestly impossible to formulate any intelligent scheme with the data now at hand. Some means should at once be provided for preventing any further obstruction of streams and as far as possible for removing obstructions already existing. For this purpose it might prove expedient not to allow the construction of bridges, levees, revetments, docks or any other structure in or along the channel of a stream without the consent of a board of government engineers.

RESERVOIRS AND FORESTS

The vast areas required, and the enormous cost of constructing storage reservoirs of sufficient capacity to prevent or materially mitigate floods has so far made such a plan appear impracticable, although it may prove feasible under certain favorable physical conditions to utilize this method.

Reforestation, especially along the upper reaches of streams, has not infrequently been urged as a means of flood prevention. It must however be said that so far as reliance can be placed upon data already secured the amount of benefit from this source is exceedingly limited. The theory that floods were less extensive and the precipitation greater during the period when the country was almost entirely covered with forest rests very largely on unreliable data. Scientific investigation fails to substantiate these contentions. It is perhaps true that the adoption of a system of farming which would retain the rain-fall on areas not in actual cultivation might to a limited extent reduce floods. In general, a plan which retains the run-off in the upper reaches of the streams and accelerates the movements of the water in the lower reaches, especially when adequate channels can be provided, are the two essential elements of an adequate and comprehensive system for preventing destructive floods.

WHAT WE MAY LEARN FROM THE OHIO FLOODS

An examination of the situation in Ohio leads to the following conclusions:

The flood was unprecedented because of the very widespread and unusual rain fall. In its destructive results it was in some localities as serious and unexpected as a cyclone or earthquake.

None of the methods which have been most earnestly advocated would have been sufficient for its prevention. Neither forestation nor the construction of reservoirs would have prevented the loss of life and damage to property which occurred. Probably neither of these methods would have appreciably diminished the disastrous effects. There is a wide difference of opinion in the State concerning the desirability of reservoirs. Some even advocate the abandonment of those already in existence. Others favor their retention and the construction of still new ones. To these subjects careful attention should be given, though it is probable that neither the growing of forests nor the building of reservoirs will afford any practicable solution.

OBSTRUCTIONS TO STREAMS

In localities where the disaster was most severe, the calamity was undoubtedly aggravated by local conditions. Most noticeable of these were the types of bridges in use and the resultant encroachments upon channels. The river channels were narrowed by bridges with stone abutments at the ends and by the location of piers in the middle of the streams. We saw many bridges built entirely of masonry with low arches of insufficient size properly to permit the passage of water even in time of moderate rain. Many of the bridges were so low and of such insufficient size that debris coming down the stream lodged against their framework so as to create a jam and thus add to the danger and loss. The bridges created dams which held back the raging waters and caused a surprising rise in the streams. Encroachments upon the stream channels also greatly increased the loss both of life and property. In some cases the offenders were local public-service corporations or even the cities themselves, with the consent or at the actual instance of the municipal authorities; in other cases it was done by railroads in the construction of main or branch tracks; in others by industrial establishments; still in others by the owners of farms or outlying property merely to enlarge the area of their holdings. The danger of these encroachments has been repeatedly pointed out, but municipal and county authorities have been either indifferent to them or inefficient in preventing them.

We must not only repair our losses, but we must adopt measures, if possible, which will prevent their repetition. The first thing

to be done is to prevent obstacles to the free discharge of water through its natural river channels. This must be accomplished by building bridges with adequate spans and a minimum of obstructive features, by forbidding encroachments on streams, and in many places by restoring channels to their former width and depth.

It is hardly necessary to call attention to the increased danger of floods arising from the growth of population and the increased utilization of agricultural lands. Swamps and marshes have been drained, ditches have been constructed through farms, and large areas have been furnished with tile drainage. In cities provision has been made for the ready run-off of water from streets and residence lots, and sewers hasten the flow of all this water into streams. All these means are necessary for the profitable and convenient occupation and use of land in growing communities, but they increase the tendency of floods and the possibility of loss therefrom.

Instead of providing larger channels to meet these changed conditions, the tendency, as I have said, has been in the opposite direction. Channels have been narrowed and in almost every city bridges present effective barriers to the free flow of water.

FLOOD CONTROL BY LEVEES

BY THE HON. JOSEPH E. RANSDELL

(United States Senator from Louisiana)

THE recent flood disasters in Indiana and Ohio were caused by unusually heavy rains over limited areas, and there may not be a repetition of them within a century. These rains fell in regions where the drainage is excellent, and the waters had little opportunity to sink into the soil or remain in flat places, but poured rapidly into the rivers.

I have had no opportunity as yet to examine official reports on the subject, but am reliably informed that the free flow of water in these streams was very much impeded by artificial obstructions, especially piers of bridges and extensions of solid embankments for bridges into the streams, which acted as dams and prevented the rapid passage of the water. Until there is more definite information, I would not like to suggest practical means of preventing such disasters in the future. Doubtless much may be done and I certainly hope so, but my impression is that these floods were to a large extent *Providential and beyond human control.*

EFFECTIVENESS OF THE MISSISSIPPI LEVEES

The situation is quite different along the Mississippi from Cairo to the Gulf. There we have a large area, about 29,000 square miles, of low land, which for years has been protected from overflow by levees or artificial banks built of earth, raising the natural banks of the river from ten to twenty-five feet, on practically the entire stretch from the head of the Passes to the mouth of the Ohio. The levee system began in 1718, when Bienville constructed the first levee in front of the village of New Orleans, and there has been a steady growth of levee-building for nearly two hundred years. In the main, these levees have afforded relief from floods, but occasionally, during high waters such as those of last year and this spring, they proved insufficient and a great deal of damage was done by overflow. Even in the big flood of last year, however, the greatest on record prior to that of this spring, the levees afforded a very great measure of protection and *not more than one-half of the cultivated area of the Delta was submerged*, the remainder being saved from water by the levees which held. The flood of this spring was much higher both at Cairo and at Memphis than that of last year and the crest of it is now in the vicinity of Natchez, Mississippi. So far, there have been only five serious breaks in the levees and only a small percentage of the valley is now under water, though I cannot say what may happen within the next few weeks.

THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER COMMISSION

Levees along the Mississippi have been built by the joint efforts of the States, through their local levee boards, their State Boards of Engineers, and the Mississippi River Commission, the local people having

contributed since 1865 about fifty-six million dollars and the national government about twenty-six millions. The Mississippi River Commission was created by Act of Congress in 1879. It is composed of three engineer officers of the army, usually with the rank of colonel, and not lower than lieutenant-colonel; one engineer of the Coast and Geodetic Survey; two engineers from civil life, one of the early civil engineers having been the famous James B. Eads; and one civilian. The first civilian was General Benjamin Harrison, afterwards President, who resigned to become United States Senator on March 4, 1881, and he was succeeded by Judge Robert S. Taylor, of Fort Wayne, Ind., who still holds the place. Judge Taylor has one of the brightest intellects in the nation and though not an engineer, he is master of all the problems connected with the Mississippi River. This commission, from its creation, has been composed of remarkably able men and has studied the flood question of the Mississippi River with the greatest care for more than thirty years. Moreover, in the various States of the valley we have had very distinguished and able civil engineers who have given their lives to the work of flood protection, and whose opinions are entitled to the greatest weight.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF ENGINEERS

These local engineers and the Mississippi River Commission all unite in believing that properly constructed and enlarged levees will protect the valley from overflow. The States and local communities have expended every dollar they could raise in levee-building and the commission has used all that Congress would give it, but the sums were entirely inadequate; the levees have not been constructed as strong as suggested by these various engineers owing to lack of funds, hence they have not afforded complete protection. The trouble has not been with the levee system but *with inadequate levees*, and also the rapidly caving banks of the river, which in many instances have caused fine levees to be destroyed by falling into the stream.

The consensus of opinion among the best minds of the valley, especially the greatest engineers in civil life and members of the Mississippi River Commission, is that the levees of the river below Cape Girardeau, Missouri, can be so enlarged and strengthened at an expenditure of about sixty million dollars that they will withstand any flood which may be expected to attack them, provided the banks of the river are prevented from caving by revetment and other suitable work so that the levees will remain permanent. In order to provide for this, a bill was introduced in the House by Representative Humphreys and in the Senate by myself on the seventh of May, proposing to appropriate twelve million dollars per annum for the next five years, of which nine millions a year shall be expended in levees and three millions in bank revetment and for purposes of navigation. The bill further provides that the local communities shall contribute for levees, not less than three million dollars per annum, making a total annual expenditure for levees of twelve millions, aggregating in the five years sixty millions, and the additional sum of three millions per annum for bank revetment will carry on that work properly during that period. All these sums are to be expended under the direction and control of the Mississippi River Commission.

I have devoted many years of study to this subject and my home is on the banks of the Mississippi. All of my property is located in the overflowed area and personally I have been a heavy sufferer from the floods. It is my earnest conviction that if Congress passes this bill at the next session, substantially in its present form, and continues after the lapse of the five-year period to make suitable provisions for extending the revetment work so that the levees when once constructed will not again cave into the river, the awful floods of the great Mississippi will have been conquered and placed in complete subjection.

The work is a national one, the floods being caused by the rainfall of nearly one-half the Union. The object to be attained—the permanent reclamation of nearly twenty million acres of the richest land on earth—is certainly worthy of the nation's best effort, and the expense is extremely small when compared with the benefits to be secured.

Other plans have been suggested, such as reforestation and control of floods in the head waters of streams by means of reservoirs, etc., etc., but they have not been worked out in detail and no estimate of cost has been made, hence I cannot venture an opinion as to these methods. There is possibly much merit in them, especially for the local protection they would furnish, such, for instance, as a thorough system of reservoirs at the head waters of the Monongahela and Allegheny to protect Pittsburgh and vicinity from the disastrous floods which for years

have poured down upon it and done untold damage. I hope a plan or plans may be evolved that will give relief to each community in the Union that suffers from too much water, and if so, I will gladly support it.

In the meantime, however, the one specific proposition before Congress for prompt relief from great floods in a very large and fertile section, which has been studied in every detail and reported upon favorably by a government commission, is that for the levee system on the lower Mississippi embodied in the Ransdell-Humphreys bill. That measure should be passed immediately by Congress and the work pushed to completion as rapidly as possible.

All other suggestions and plans for supplementing the Mississippi River levees, thereby making assurance against floods on that stream doubly sure, and for preventing any recurrence of the awful calamities at Dayton and other cities, should be studied by the best engineers of the world and the problems solved in some way.

THE LEVEE SYSTEM A NECESSITY

BY ALBERT S. CALDWELL

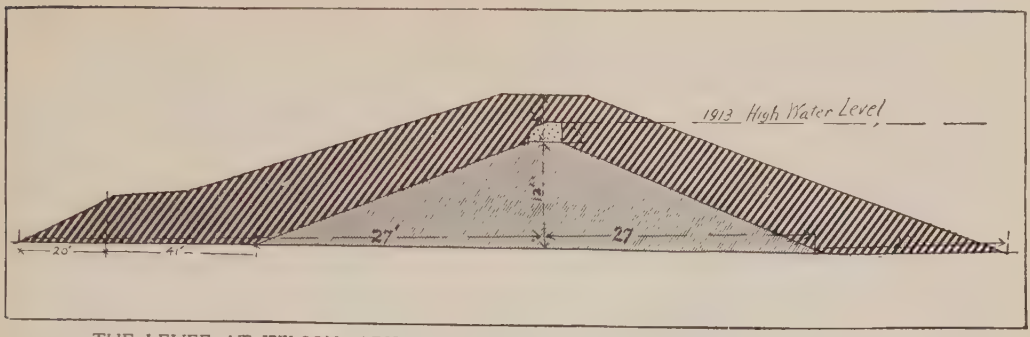
(President of the Mississippi River Levee Association)

EVERY proposed scheme for the protection of the alluvial lands of the Mississippi Delta from overflow includes a completed system of levees. There may be a difference of opinion among those who are advocating this work as a national duty, in the matter of reforestation, reservoirs, cut-offs, and so forth. But in all plans the levee is considered a necessity. The Mississippi River Commission and practically all members of the United States Corps of Engineers, as well as all civil engineers who have investigated the problem of the Mississippi River, agree that levees alone will protect the country from overflow, provided the same are built high enough and strong enough. It is not so much a question of height as of strength. This method of protection is also far and away the most economical one. The Mississippi River Commission has made a careful estimate of the cost of a complete levee system, and has placed it at $58,000,000.

The accompanying sketch shows the levee at Wilson, Ark., about forty miles north of Memphis, which broke this year. This levee was topped during high water about two feet, and it would have withstood a stage of forty-seven feet of water at Memphis provided there had not been a great storm, which drive the negroes from the protection work. The outside lines show a complete and perfect levee under the Mississippi River Commission's plan. The fact that there have been two or three breaks in the levees in 1913, is no argument that they will not prove effective when built high enough and strong enough. It seems to me, also, that a mere glance at this sketch will carry conviction that levees of the height, and especially of the strength of those proposed by the Mississippi River Commission will be effective, when it is considered that the smaller levee has done so well in the past.

I wish to emphasize some of the points brought out by Colonel Townsend, of the United States Army, Engineers' Corps, and president of the Mississippi River Commission, in his address before the National Drainage Congress at St. Louis on April 10. In the course of his address, Colonel Townsend said:

> The use of forests or reservoirs as a means of flood control is still in an experimental stage all over the world, whereas the employment of levees for this purpose has been tested for centuries. The Po, the Rhine, the Danube, the Rhone, and other rivers of Europe have been sucessfully leveed. The laws governing the flow of water in a confined stream have been carefully studied, and the height to which levees should be constructed is just as susceptible of determination as other engineering problems. There is no evidence that floods are increasing, due to the cutting off of forests, or that the beds of our main rivers are rising.
>
> While I am of the opinion that levees afford the only practicable method of controlling the floods of the Mississippi River, I desire to state that I am strongly in favor of both reforestation and reservoir construction. During the next decade there will be an enormous development of reservoirs, both for irrigation and for power purposes, which I hope will be utilized to correct man's folly and prevent many disasters similar to those which have recently occurred in Indiana and Ohio. Although the control of the lower Mississippi by reservoirs is impracticable, there are numerous smaller streams where they can be used with excellent results.



THE LEVEE AT WILSON, ARK., WHICH BROKE DURING THE HIGH WATER OF 1913

(The light-shaded pyramid is a cross-section of the existing levee, twelve feet in height; the dotted rectangle at the apex represents the topping of earth and boards put on during the flood of this year; the heavy shading shows the proposed levee, heightened by five feet)

The Mississippi River Levee Association, of which I am president, believes that as the levee system is a distinct unit in all schemes for flood prevention, and as it has met with the approval of the Mississippi River Commission and practically all engineers, and as it is the most economical method proposed and the one that can be completed most speedily, it ought to be adopted. And if, subsequently, reforestation, reservoirs, cut-offs, or any other method, presents itself as necessary or even as helping the cause, it also might be adopted. But the delta country should not be compelled to wait for the many years which it will require to reforest a large portion of the country, nor should its protection be dependent upon a system of reservoirs, which will require many years to build and involve an outlay of countless millions of dollars. The territory should be protected as speedily as possible, not only that portion which is productive and populated, but the vast area, embracing over fifteen million acres of the richest lands in the world, which awaits development as soon as flood protection is assured.

THE RESERVOIR METHOD OF FLOOD PREVENTION

BY JAMES J. HILL

THE complete control of floods on the Mississippi River and its tributaries would seem to be possible, given a right method and a sufficient amount of money. It presents a single problem, and not a series of disconnected ones. Because it has been regarded in the latter light, little has yet been done toward its solution.

Experience has shown that levees make no permanent improvement. As the current of the river slackens toward its mouth, a great mass of silt borne by it is deposited. This raises the level of the river bottom. Where levees confine the water within a narrower area, the deposit is deeper, and the river bed is lifted eventually above the level of the surrounding country. Therefore they must be built higher every few years. Each break in them is now a more serious affair. There comes a time when no ingenuity and no labor can save the valley from destructive inundation. China has followed this system for centuries, with results that show it a disastrous failure.

HOLD BACK THE HEAD WATERS!

There is, or should be, a scientific method of flood control. Its central idea is not to provide a channel on the lower course of a river able to carry off its flood volume, but to prevent any more water from reaching the lower channel, at any season, than it can carry to the sea without breaking or overflowing its banks. Engineering skill can settle the details; and if enough money is provided, they can be carried out.

Suppose the number of cubic feet per sec-

ond that the present channel of the Mississippi can carry safely on its lower reaches to be ascertained. Then suppose the number of feet to be ascertained that will come down during the greatest flood ever known. The difference, of so many cubic feet per second, is the surplus to be taken care of. This must not be allowed to reach the Mississippi until a time when it can do no harm. The excess of the flood season must be held, and released gradually during the period of average or low water in the channel.

Calculating the inflow from the tributaries of the Mississippi separately, so many cubic feet may be assigned to each of them as will produce the total fixed as the safe limit for the main stream. These amounts, of course, would be proportioned to the total flood flow of each tributary. Again, the difference between the flood discharge and the amount assigned as a safety maximum shows mathematically how much water must be held back on each to make sure that the Mississippi can never again reach the danger line.

Starting at the mouth of each tributary with its allotted maximum flow, the amount that should be held back somewhere on each of its branches may be found in the same way. This can be repeated until the head waters of every affluent large enough to be taken into account have been reached. Thus, by a process of elimination, it would be discovered exactly how much flood water must be impounded in each case; and the topography of the neighboring country would determine where it could be retained.

A map of the Mississippi and its branches after this process has been completed would resemble a great tree with a series of reservoirs of different capacity dotting its branches to the source of the remotest tributary. On each would be marked the capacity required to hold back its share. This is a work for which modern engineering science is competent. When it has been done, and only then, should or can construction begin. Anything less than this is mere hand-to-mouth work; throwing money into the flood each season, to be swept away the next, with an unceasing tribute of property and life.

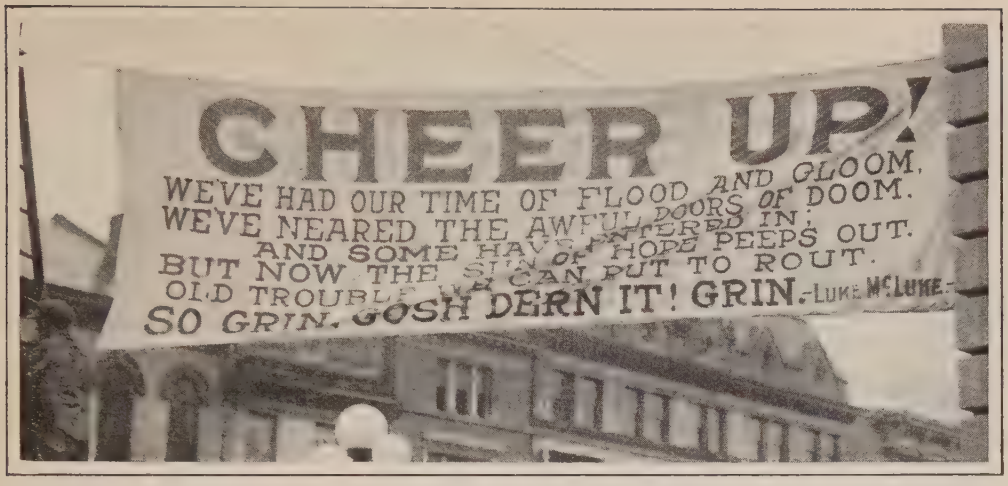
BEGIN AT THE SOURCES!

The place to begin, after the estimates and surveys have been made, is not the lower Mississippi or the navigable streams that flow into it, but the sources of all the tributary watercourses. The undertaking is so tremendous that only the federal government would be equal to it. Although much of this work would be on streams that have no navigable value, the States cannot and will not stand behind it; since, in many cases, those to benefit are not those in which it must be done. Therefore the general government must be relied on; and even for it the work would be greater than Panama.

Where dams are constructed across streams to make impounding reservoirs, power will be created which, if wisely and honestly used, would return an income on a considerable portion of the outlay. But the great and sufficient inducement must be the absolute prevention of flood disasters for all time to come. And if the total flood losses in the interior basin whose waters flow to the Mississippi were computed for the last fifty years, they might possibly justify the immense expenditure required.

The sums spent on farcical river improvement in the same time, for the alleged benefit of a non-existent commerce, would go a long way toward carrying out this beneficent work. When finished it would complete all practicable improvement of our streams for navigation as well as for flood protection. But the first essential is to adopt one comprehensive plan and work to it. If, when it was found that one trunk line between New York and Chicago could not carry the increasing business, a double-deck railroad had been built, with a new track hung on stilts above the old one, and if still another story had been added as fast as business grew, it would have been parallel, in theory and in costly failure, to the nation's work on the Mississippi. Since we cannot multiply channels, as we do railroad tracks, the only recourse in dealing with floods is to reduce the volume of water coming down.

That this could be done in the way suggested seems reasonably possible. It would be a stupendous engineering project, because each detail must be calculated and adjusted with reference to the whole plan. Experience has shown that a weak reservoir increases flood dangers. If one gives way, it may carry with it a whole series that would have stood but for the additional strain put upon them. And the damage wrought by a broken reservoir is often greater and more awful than the ravages of any flood not thus intensified in volume and violence. Therefore each dam would have to be built as solid as science can make it, with a large margin of safety above the limit of any strain to which flowage and flood statistics show it to be liable in the most unfavorable season.


CHEER UP!
WE'VE HAD OUR TIME OF FLOOD AND GLOOM.
WE'VE NEARED THE AWFUL DOORS OF DOOM.
AND SOME HAVE FLICKERED HOPE PEEPS OUT.
BUT NOW THE SUN CAN PUT TO ROUT.
OLD TROUBLE
SO GRIN. GOSH DERN IT! GRIN.-LUKE McLUKE-

ONE OF THE "CHEER-UP" SIGNS IN A FLOOD-STRICKEN CITY

OHIO AFTER THE FLOODS

BY THE HON. JAMES M. COX

(Governor of Ohio)

THERE were 1,250,000 persons affected by the recent flood in Ohio. That is, the population of the stricken cities and towns amounted to that number. The total number of houses absolutely destroyed was 20,200. Thirty-five thousand and five hundred other houses were more or less damaged by the water. After the flood had receded and the "bread line" in most instances had been abolished, it was found that 16,000 families would have to be assisted financially in returning to housekeeping.

Tens of thousands of acres of fertile farming land was seriously damaged by sand and gravel washing upon it or by the tearing away of the soil that had formerly furnished food for crops. Additional farm losses included the destruction of fences, out-buildings, hedges, roads, and so on.

There have been so far recovered 430 dead bodies. There are still missing 500 people.

The property loss may be safely estimated to be greater than $300,000,000. It would be impossible even roughly to estimate the consequential losses, such as loss of profits and the unusual expenses incurred on account of the high water.

As an illustration of these consequential losses, take the case of a dentist in the city of Dayton. His home was situated in a portion of the city that was not disturbed by the flood. His office was upon the sixth floor of a skyscraper. He had no property of any kind in any way involved in the flood. Yet this professional man's losses were so great as to render him practically a bankrupt. This came about from the fact that he spent several hundred dollars in taking care of flood sufferers. His household expenses, due to the temporary suspension of public utilities, were greatly increased. The people upon whom he depended in his practice lived in the flooded section of the city and he is now without practice and two or three thousand dollars in accounts that were deemed good before the flood are now uncollectible. This is only one instance of tens of thousands. But such losses do not appear in any estimates of the damages wrought by the flood, although they are as absolute as if tangible property had been destroyed.

In an early statement I remarked that the disaster in Ohio this year was greater than that of the San Francisco earthquake. The remark was referred to as an evidence of the wild statements that were coming out of Ohio, and yet, after these weeks of calm deliberation and actual statistics, it is easily seen that my early statement was absolutely correct. It should be borne in mind, too, that there was no insurance against losses occasioned by the flood, as is the case when fire ravages a city. Every dollar's worth of damages sustained by an individual or corporation in a flood must be borne by the owner.

A good many people base their idea of the extent of a catastrophe upon the number of lives lost. In fact, now that it is seen that the loss of life in the State was nothing like so great as at first predicted, many persons have come to the conclusion that we overestimated the scope of this disaster.

The truth is, while the loss of life was overestimated, the full meaning of the disaster is not understood by any one who has not traveled over the entire State. No reports so far sent out concerning the destruction of property, or concerning the problems of the flood, have magnified the facts.

And to those of us who were upon the scene at the time of the disaster, the exaggerated reports as to the loss of life can be understood. Indeed, we are still unable to tell why so few people were drowned.

MARVELOUS ESCAPES FROM DEATH

Take the city of Dayton, for example. When the flood was at its height, there were seventy-five thousand people in homes that were under water to the second story. They could be seen upon house-tops by those standing at the edge of the water. Houses were floating off their foundations. Wreckage was piling up in the streets. From the housetops outside of the flooded area persons with field-glasses could see thousands of people struggling to save themselves, with the chances against them. The current was too strong for boats. All that one could do was to stand there and wonder how many of the seventy-five thousand people would be saved.

Then, night came on, with total darkness falling over the city. Fires broke out in several sections. Persons could be seen jumping from windows. During the afternoon the roofs of the buildings where the fires seemed to be raging were covered with people. It was known that at least ten thousand people were in the region of the fire. It was natural to suppose that many would be burned up. In fact, it seemed at one time that the whole city would be destroyed by the flames. Was it any wonder that newspaper men, skilled in figuring upon the loss of life, should estimate that two or three or even ten thousand people would be destroyed under such circumstances?

And yet when the waters receded it was found that the loss of life in Dayton was less than two hundred—probably not over one hundred and fifty. There had been ten thousand narrow escapes from death.

These escapes had been effected in the most unusual ways. It grows tiresome to hear people tell about how they escaped destruction. No one could believe the stories had he not been present to verify them. The superhuman effort figures everywhere to account for the small loss of life.

IMMEDIATE RELIEF OF COMMUNITIES

In relieving flood distress, or, rather, in figuring upon its relief, several things have to be considered. First, the ability of the local community to take care of those afflicted must be taken into account.

One little village, for instance, was almost wiped off the map. Thirty or forty houses were entirely destroyed. Nearly two hundred people were involved. Yet the village was located in a prosperous farming community, with ample resources at hand. The mayor was advised he would have to look to the local community for relief; it was amply able to provide food and shelter for those rendered homeless by the flood.

Another village, in another part of the State, and about the same size, was similarly stricken. It was in a poor section of the country, with the surrounding territory sparsely populated. There were no resources upon which to draw. Food and clothing and tents had to be sent to this last-mentioned village to prevent suffering. The two cases are mentioned simply to show that no hard-and-fast rules can be laid down.

One of the unusually hard cases to solve comes from a poor county lying upon the Ohio River in the southeastern part of the State. There is a water-front of sixty miles within the county, measuring the meanderings of the Ohio River. The valley is very wide—from one to three miles. Practically every house in this sixty miles of valley was destroyed. All of the live stock perished. Not a barn-yard fowl escaped. The people escaped in boats to the hills, where they have ever since resided, some of them actually living in caves. Many of them have constructed temporary habitations in the woods, living with their families under crude brush shelters.

These people are isolated from towns or cities. There are no surplus houses of any kind for them to occupy. They are so impoverished that they cannot buy lumber and have new homes constructed. The relief committee cannot undertake to build homes for them; only fifty or seventy-five dollars can be allowed a family in rehabilitating a home, and this amount has been extended

to these unfortunate people. But it does not relieve them. It would require several hundred thousand dollars to properly take care of them, and with the great number of people in other parts of the State to be considered, that is out of the question.

But the dead are buried and the hungry have been fed. The property that was lost is gone forever. It is to-day and to-morrow we are now figuring upon; not yesterday.

FINANCIAL PROBLEMS OF REHABILITATION

The legislature was in session at the time the flood came. I asked for two hundred and fifty thousand dollars to relieve the distress as far as possible, and the legislature passed the bill under suspension of the rules. But that was not an end of the matter. A quarter of a million dollars was insignificant in comparison with the needs. Besides, the State could not undertake to appropriate money to rehabilitate business in the flooded districts. Money had to come from some other source, or the whole State would lie prostrate.

So a survey was made of what the people had left. We knew what they had lost. Credit was the thing now to be considered, and credit is based upon what one has left, not upon what he lost.

It was found that the banks and building associations in the flooded districts were in good shape so far as collateral was concerned. They had been doing a conservative business, and were solvent in every respect. But they did not have money on hand to take care of the demand that was sure to follow.

The legislature empowered the State Treasurer to place additional money in the banks out of the State treasury. This was of great advantage in many instances.

Then, a law was passed under suspension of the rules to allow the State to loan money to the building associations upon their collateral. The mere announcement of the passage of the law had a good effect.

The national banks in the stricken territory asked me to appeal to the Secretary of the Treasury at Washington, and the government sent money to its depositories. This gave further confidence and met a pressing need.

But all of this financing did not enable the towns and cities and counties in the flooded district to secure funds for rebuilding their roads and streets and sewers and levees. Something had to be done along that line.

An emergency bill, as it was called, was passed by the legislature, removing the limitations and enabling communities to borrow money at once for emergency work. In no other way could we have made such progress in so short a length of time.

THE HERO OF DAYTON, JOHN H. PATTERSON

THE STATE RELIEF COMMISSION

Another relief measure passed by the legislature is known as the Relief Commission bill. As soon as the magnitude of the disaster became evident, I appointed a State Relief Committee, but it was without statutory authority. That is, I named a commission of five men to be known as a State Relief Committee, and turned over to this committee all funds received. This commission at once began operating with the Red Cross Society and continued to do so throughout the days that followed.

The Relief Commission bill made statutory the relief commission. It placed it upon a legal footing, with certain powers. But the law went even further.

It developed at once that in several communities it would be more desirable if the local officials had some one or some body of citizens to coöperate with them. The disaster was so tremendous, and the work to be done by the communities so vast, it was believed that it would be better if some other authority than the regularly elected officials should take up the work.

So the Relief Commission bill made it possible for a city or county to select a relief commission of its own, to coöperate with, and to have concurrent powers with the regularly elected officials. These committees were to be appointed upon petition of 10 per cent. of the voters of a city or county. The mayor of a city or the probate judge of a county was required to name a committee if 10 per cent. of the voters asked for it. But the local authorities could only suggest the names of the committee; the State Relief Commission must approve the selection.

In a city, for instance, there are to be four commissioners. They are to act with the Director of Public Service, making a committee of five members. This committee has all of the authority and power vested in the Director of Public Service and will handle the funds and rebuild the streets and bridges, and repair the damages wrought by the flood.

A TYPICAL SCENE OF DESTRUCTION WHICH GREETED FLOOD REFUGEES ON RETURN TO THEIR HOMES

(The holes cut in the roof and upper walls had faci itated the exit of imprisoned victims of the flood)

The commission acting for the county is to be composed of four members, acting with the three County Commissioners, making a committee of seven members having the same powers and authority as the board of County Commissioners.

CREDIT UNIMPAIRED

Great as has been the property loss of the State, it is insignificant compared with the resources of this commonwealth. Business firms especially are finding it out. Manufacturers are learning, now that the gloom is dissipating, that there are other assets than raw material or plants. This calamity ought, in fact, to be a valuable lesson to all of the industries of this country.

The first thing noticed was, that credit was not impaired. The merchants were given to understand by the wholesale houses that they could obtain new stocks of goods. The manufacturers had offers of raw material in abundance. And the good reputation of a solidly-built business is always flood-proof.

UNPRECEDENTED DEMAND FOR LABOR

Only in the cases of a few smaller merchants have there been any failures due to the disaster. The factories are busier than ever before. Orders are coming in faster than for years. The only thing that is now impeding business is a shortage of labor. In every newspaper of every flood-stricken city there are advertisements for labor of every kind. Two pages of the Dayton papers are taken up with these advertisements for help, and there are included in the "wants" the most skilled men in every line.

The rebuilding of so many public works, and the reconstruction of so many homes, is giving employment at good wages to thousands and thousands of people. There is an indication in every community of the most intense activity. If Ohio does not witness this year the greatest prosperity in her history, it will be a surprise to those who read the signs of the times.

In construction work alone upon the railroads there will be many millions paid out in wages. Bridges will have to be built, embankments thrown up, and terminal facilities provided in many cities. All of this construction work, calling for skilled and unskilled labor, will, in the very nature of things, cause an industrial prosperity that would otherwise have been unknown.

STRAIGHTEN AND DEEPEN THE RIVER CHANNELS

Now, as for the cause of the flood and the prevention of similar disasters—a subject that is pertinent not only in Ohio but in other

States. For these disasters are not peculiar to the State of Ohio.

By referring to a relief map it will be seen that Ohio rises from the four corners to a plateau of 1400 feet in height in the center of the State, as if a handkerchief spread out upon a table had been lifted up a little by taking hold of the middle. This plateau is the headwaters of the river system of the State —as good a system of drainage as was ever supplied by nature. As a matter of fact, Ohio is one of the most perfectly drained States in the Union.

RAILROAD FLAT CARS, ASSISTED BY THE TROLLEY, HELPED TO CARRY AWAY DEBRIS FROM THE STREETS OF DAYTON

The larger rivers flowing to the south and emptying into the Ohio, are the Miami, the Scioto, and the Muskingum. Those flowing to the northward and emptying into Lake Erie are the Maumee and the Sandusky. All of them pick up the waters falling in the central portion of the State, and are able to accommodate the usual rainfalls of the seasons.

But the rainfall this season was unusual. In fact, it was never so great in the history of the State. The Weather Bureau reports that it was never known over so great an area of territory at any other time in the history of the Weather Bureau.

The heaviest rains fell over a territory some seventy-five miles wide extending across the State from southwest to northeast, with the heaviest fall in the central portion of the State, where it exceeded eleven inches in three days. It averaged seven inches over an area of some eight thousand square miles. In other words, the waterways had to accommodate a sea of water eight thousand square miles in extent and seven inches deep. Besides, there had been general rains several days previously, and the ground was well soaked, with the streams filled to the brink when the rains which caused the flood began falling.

It is not true that any damage was caused by the breaking of reservoirs. Levees broke in many places, and augmented the velocity of currents, but no damage was wrought on account of water that was stored behind dams, and in no instance did the breaking of a levee cause the water to rise upon a city. The water was far over the tops of the highest levees.

CLEANING THE STREETS AFTER THE FLOOD

But it is true that the watercourses in this State have been abused. Had we taken proper precaution in regard to the river channels we might have escaped some of the damage. The facility with which the water can escape regulates the height to which it rises, of course.

We had heretofore had so little trouble with water except along the Ohio River that we had grown

GENERAL WOOD, SECRETARY GARRISON, AND MR. JOHN H. PATTERSON AT DAYTON

careless in regard to the channels. We had permitted the railroads to throw up embankments in many places where they should not have been thrown up. We had constructed bridges that were wholly inadequate in height, and had permitted the construction of approaches to them to crowd streams. We had even allowed towns and cities to fill in the channels to reclaim building sites, and we had paid no attention to the free flow of the current.

In the correction of these things lies our safety from floods. We must straighten the channels, and deepen them. We must remove the encumbering embankments, and allow no more encroaching upon the streams.

So far from being a menace, a well constructed reservoir is unquestionably a means of safety in times of high water. The construction of proper reservoirs would be of tremendous benefit to the State in the way of water power as well as furnishing a means of holding back a great deal of water in the spring. They would also insure a greater amount of water in the streams during the summer.

But all of these are problems too big to be discussed in such an article as this. They are problems, however, with which the people of Ohio and the United States will have to deal. For it should be remembered that this is not an affair for the State of Ohio alone; the navigable rivers belong to the government and the government must at least help to take care of them.

PART OF OMAHA'S RESIDENCE DISTRICT JUST AFTER THE STORM. THE CITY'S RAPID REBUILDING WILL SOON OBLITERATE SUCH SCENES AS THIS

REPAIRING A TORNADO'S HAVOC

BY VICTOR ROSEWATER

(Editor of the Omaha *Bee*)

WHAT happens when a community suddenly undergoes a great public calamity? What happened, for example, in Omaha when a destructive tornado tore a wide path of desolation through the most thickly settled residence sections of the city?

What happens in the wake of a tornado in the way of physical phenomena is pretty well established. A frightful funnel-shaped storm cloud, revolving on its own axis and bounding up and down with an undulating movement sweeps resistlessly along at maniacal speed almost without warning. The twister seems to work its havoc as if by impelling blows, and by outward suction, these forces operating in opposite directions simultaneously or in quick succession.

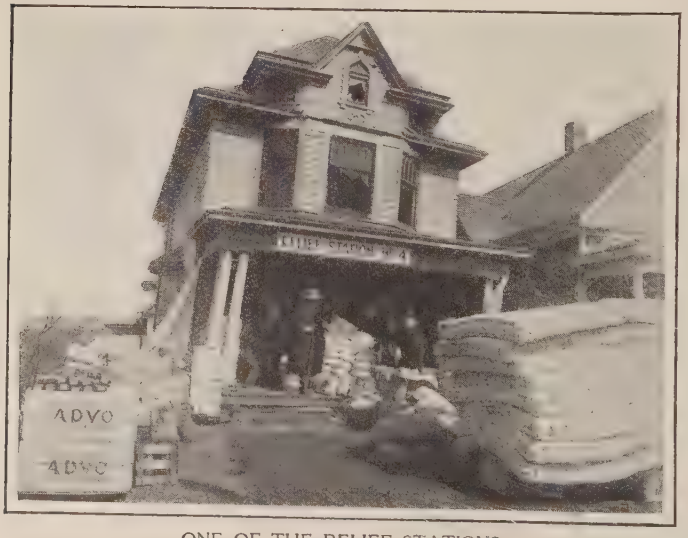
The storm is accompanied by an electrical display, probably frictional, balls of fire darting in all directions through the cloud, which also has a fluffy gray fringe, constantly shooting in and out. A luminous brass-yellow atmospheric glare is quickly followed by dense darkness and a heavy downpour of rain. The cloud carries along with it, objects it has picked up in its course—trees, sticks, bricks, planks, glass, tile, mud etc.—pelting as with missiles from a gun whatever blocks its path.

It is all over in a few seconds—people being often overtaken in their mad rush for the cellar before they can gain the stairways. Then when a survey is had of the results amazement is unbounded and the scene indescribable. Huge trees are found torn and splintered like underbrush; houses demolished, lifted from their footings, tilted wrong end up, clapped together as by a vise, ground to kindling wood or strewn about in heaps of brick and mortar. Here a telegraph pole will be decapitated as with a knife, and there the next one pulled up clean from its socket.

The most curious and otherwise unbelievable freaks are perpetrated by the natural elements. Live wires, broken gas pipes, exposed furnace and stove fires cause ignition in a dozen places—the track of the pillar of cloud is quickly marked by pillars of flame. The casualties to occupants of the wrecked houses or to people on the streets, afoot or in vehicle, are chiefly from concussion and collision, from flying debris and falling walls, although also from nervous shock and the consequence of exposure. Lights are extinguished; street car traffic stopped; telephones put out of commission. Except where houses are ablaze like funeral pyres it is everywhere darkness, chaos, and confusion worse confounded.

But if these are the physical effects of such a destructive visitation, what is the social reaction? How does a community respond to the call of the stricken? Here is a gigantic scar or rather a great open wound, from two to six blocks wide and four and a half miles long across the fair face of a big city, with 140 persons dead or dying, 350 seriously injured, 650 buildings completely wrecked, 1250 more damaged, but still repairable, 2500 people homeless, and a property loss estimated close to $5,000,000. Of course, not even approximate figures are immediately available, but it does not take long to realize the magnitude of the catastrophe, and the need of heroic measures of relief.

First aid to the injured must as a rule be rendered by individual effort, and practically without organization. Yet the facilities of the modern city where skilled surgeons and experienced physicians, well-equipped hospitals, and their corps of trained nurses are at command, came at once into play. Localizing our calamity again in Omaha, the hurrying and scurrying of carriages and automobiles back and forth between the storm district and the hospitals kept up all the night; the operating rooms were in incessant use; temporary hospitals were improvised in nearby houses or public institutions with available space. The spontaneity of the response to alleviate suffering proves that the training and education of the medical man has thoroughly impressed the social obligations imposed by admission to the profession—in event of public affliction the medical corps is like a reserve army ready to be summoned into active service and requiring no drillmasters.



ONE OF THE RELIEF STATIONS

SAFEGUARDING LIFE AND PROPERTY

Next after help for the injured, protection to life and property demands attention. For the able-bodied, the sheltering roofs of friends and neighbors may be counted on. In the eye of the English law, every man's house is his castle, yet facing an emergency like that of which I am writing, every house has an open door. But hundreds of buildings had been wrecked or damaged, their contents, in many instances of great value, being scattered about or exposed to tempt cupidity. With an outpouring of people soon swarming over the ruins, drawn there partly by a desire to be helpful, and partly out of mere curiosity, the several companies of regular soldiers stationed at the army post in the city's outskirts, lost no time offering assistance for policing the territory, and their commanding officer, who had service in San Francisco at the time of the last earthquake, was given charge of this most important branch of the work. His men were supplemented by the several local companies of the National Guard of the State, and relieved in turn later by other militia companies brought in from other towns by direction of the Governor. For a fortnight a quasi-martial law was established and maintained requiring permits and identifications to pass the lines, and noticeably effective in preventing pilfering, and in preserving order.

"CLEAN-UP" SQUADS AT WORK

The value of this peace service of the military arm of the government was especially emphasized a week later when the Sunday holiday was seized upon by 50,000 people from neighboring towns and territory to visit and view the scene of the tornado wreckage.

The Omaha tornado disaster occurred just at dusk on Easter Sunday; it took the dawn of day to disclose its extent, and open the eyes of the community fully to the demand of the hour. A meeting of leading citizens, hastily summoned by the mayor, went at the task as if in town meeting, appointed a general relief committee, to act in conjunction with the official authorities, which committee in turn organized for action through an executive committee of seven, and appointed a treasurer to receive contributions. The relief fund was started with an emergency appropriation of $25,000 by the city council, supplemented quickly by volunteer subscriptions. The social workers of all the regular charitable associations and institutions were forthwith brought together, to be pressed into service and assigned each to his or her most suitable work. The provision of food, clothing and shelter for the destitute had to be looked after without a moment's delay.

LOCAL RELIEF CENTERS

The city's fine large Auditorium became immediately the central supply depot, while the storm wrecked area was divided into nine districts with a local relief station in each directed by a capable business man of known executive ability. Besides the usual assistants two physicians and two trained nurses were attached to each district station. Ex-

MORE "CLEAN-UP" WORK
(Note the use of the automobile)

PROMPT REBUILDING OPERATIONS

perience demonstrated the relative demands upon these stations, and those found unnecessary, or poorly located, were closed or moved as conditions warranted. Public notice had been given the first day that cots for 300 were available at the Auditorium down town, but only three or four applied for them there; it was this that had forced the conclusion that relief must be taken to the storm sufferers through local centers rather than force them to seek it at a distance. It was found, too, that many in dire distress would not apply for help, and would even deliberately conceal their want out of false pride; these had to be hunted out, and in this search no service availed so well as that of the public school teachers detailed to make a systematic investigation of the families whose children they had been teaching, and whose confidence they could for that reason more easily gain.

GROUPS OF VOLUNTEER WORKERS

To arrange for systematic relief work required first of all knowledge of the number of people to be cared for, and the nature of the help they would need. At the very outset, without interrupting the emergency measures a hasty canvass of the whole area was made by a volunteer corps of enumerators whose reports, quickly compiled, showed roughly the number of persons killed, injured and homeless, and the number of houses demolished or damaged as already indicated. A second survey, more carefully made with the assistance of a committee deputed for the purpose by the Real Estate Exchange, brought fuller information, reduced at once by card cataloguing to a readily accessible index and check list, for distinguishing real storm victims from impostors.

It is remarkable, too, how many different elements of the community may be counted on to fit themselves into a general scheme of relief work. For investigation, the women who had had experience on directors' committees or managing boards of the numerous social-service institutions were in their special sphere. Likewise in the sorting of supplies and seeing to it that proper things rather than misfits went out to fill the multitudinous requisitions. Church auxiliaries, sewing circles, social clubs all bent to the task of helping out. For transportation the unlimited use of privately owned motors and trucks was given. The lawyers provided a free legal aid society for homeowners who might have to have adjustments with insurance companies, landlords, or mortgagees. The special needs of Jews were taken up by a Jewish relief committee, of negroes by a negro auxiliary, while churches, lodges, and large employers, gave attention to their own people. Lumber dealers and building-supply men entered into a gentlemen's agreement to furnish materials for rebuilding purposes at cost.

"CLEAN-UP" DAYS

One of the most striking manifestations of the community spirit came on the so-called "clean-up" days. More than one reason emphasized the urgency of a quick disposal of the accumulated rubbish. For sanitary considerations, the dead animals and decaying perishables buried here and there in the ruins had to be removed. The oppressive sight of the desolation wrought by the tornado threatened to exert a bad influence upon the people whose minds and activities could be none too soon fixed upon the restoration work before them. The second Saturday and Sunday following the catastrophe was duly proclaimed and set apart for a general clean-up of the storm district, and a call issued for men and teams to perform the labor. For one day nearly 5000 men, enlisted by them-

THE FLAG ABOVE ALL

selves, or sent out by their employers, applied their energies to putting things in order—material headway had already been made by the regular city street gangs—and half that number devoted a second day to putting on finishing touches. Squads of boys from the High School, Creighton College, and other schools distinguished themselves as clean-up crews. The debris was heaped in piles at intervals ready to be hauled away, and the changed appearance of the landscape afforded striking contrast with its previous aspect.

OMAHA TAKES COURAGE
From the *Bee* (Omaha)

REPAIRING THE DAMAGE

The actual repairing and reconstruction, it should be understood, had not been held in abeyance. Those with houses more or less damaged, yet in position to proceed with replacement, were at it almost over night. Within two or three days the tornado territory seemed alive with carpenters and bricklayers, roofers and helpers. It developed that many could command sufficient resources of their own, and that others—not a large percentage, however—had been protected with tornado insurance. One form of this insurance, a so-called "blanket" policy, taken out by certain building and loan associations, presented peculiar conditions, it being not an insurance for the homeowner, but an indemnity to the mortgage-holder to make the loan whole after the equity had been exhausted by exercise of all legal rights. It is only fair to say, however, that the agents of the insurance companies were empowered by them to waive the foreclosure requirements and make settlement on the basis of an appraisement of losses.

RESTORATION FUNDS

It was therefore soon plain that the problems of relief and the problems of restoration are different and to a large degree distinct. Restoration means rebuilding, and rebuilding must be done by the owner. If the loss is unusually heavy, the storm victim must be assisted to finance himself either by a loan on a purely commercial basis or by money advanced on security not acceptable in commercial transactions, or by outright gift or advance subject merely to moral obligation to pay back at convenience. The existence of other liens, the possible superior interest of security holders, the question whether the damaged property was occupied by the owner or held as an investment, and, if so, whether loss of the rentals would deprive of necessary support, all have a bearing on the problem.

What is wanted clearly is a loan fund, but only nominally a loan fund, to be used to promote restoration work without the strict security requirements exacted by individuals or institutions making loans as a business, and given out upon terms warranted by the condition of the borrower, which, in most instances, must be terms of indefinite payment. Realizing this situation a separate citizens' restoration committee was delegated to grapple with it. Contributions to the relief fund had been spontaneous and generous —in fact repressed by official proclamation early that outside help, while appreciated, was not needed—but it was decided to secure an additional restoration fund by solicitation of the great interests and public spirited citizens of large means most vitally concerned in the forward march of the city. It was estimated that for this purpose a sum ranging from $200,000 up would suffice. To have a reserve force to fall back on, if necessary, the legislature was asked to pass an enabling act permitting the county to vote not to exceed $1,000,000 in restoration bonds; it is doubtful if the authority will have to be exercised.

WELL-ORGANIZED RELIEF WORK

"What is the explanation of the success of our relief work? I believe it is accounted for by two things, thorough organization, and the centering of responsibility," is the answer of one of those in charge to the question. In the first place, the executive committee of seven has had absolute and unrestricted control, and applied the same principle down the line. The superintendent in charge of each district relief station has been practically a military satrap, with almost unlimited authority, and his decisions and orders were unquestioned. Such power could not have been safely given except for the fact that they were all business men of experience and known executive ability, dropping their own affairs to volunteer their services as a patriotic duty. It should be remembered, too, that while using reasonable safeguards, we tried to do away with red-tape as much as possible. Instead of complicating rules, each case was handled on its own merits, after a special investigation and allowance for peculiar conditions. This method will have to govern also in the restoration work because there are scarcely two cases alike, and the treatment will have to be made to fit individual requirements.

Worthy of note is the fact that just one month after the tornado catastrophe the last of the relief stations was closed down, and the remaining supplies apportioned among the various regularly established charity associations, these agencies assuming the obligation to take care of the little unfinished work and subsequent calls, and enabling attention to be centered on rebuilding and rehabilitation.

In view of the magnitude of the destruction, and the large number of homes destroyed or damaged, this is, I believe, quick work as compared with the relief operations following other similar disasters elsewhere. The reason, however, is obvious when we consider the fact that the damage was centered in a long, narrow strip leaving the buildings on either side unharmed, and the entire business and industrial parts of the city intact. Outside of the storm district streetcar, telephone, gas and electric light services were scarcely interrupted. The sources of food supply continued available, so there was no necessity to accept such offers from outside. There were few people thrown out of employment, and the demand for labor, particularly mechanical labor, was stimulated and increased.

Summing up, devastation by tornado, such as was visited upon our city, is indeed a terrible misfortune, but darkest clouds have silver linings. As it has been well expressed, "instead of a calamity-stricken community, the experience occasioned by the disaster develops a new spirit of higher citizenship." In the social reaction from dire necessity the people discover in themselves latent energy, and recuperative powers, and a faculty for material helpfulness and coöperation, which they did not previously dream they possessed.

THE CANTONAL PARLIAMENT OF GLARUS MEETING IN THE OPEN AIR IN COMPLIANCE WITH A CUSTOM OF A THOUSAND YEARS' STANDING

THE SWISS AS TEACHERS OF DEMOCRACY

BY JESSE MACY

SEVENTEEN years ago, when on a visit to Switzerland, I found the cities, the cantons, and the general government engaged in public enterprises which in America would be described as examples of state socialism, but there were then few Socialists and their organization was experiencing peculiar difficulties. At a Socialist conference held in Bern in 1896 one reason assigned for their comparative failure was that the government was already adopting socialistic policies and there seemed to be no demand for a distinct organization to promote such policies.

My observations and impressions of that time were published in the *American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1896. To-day I find practically no change in the attitude of Swiss citizens towards state socialism. The general government has taken over the railways. It is everywhere assumed that the water-power will either be owned and operated by the State or will be controlled in the interest of the public. There are city tenement houses, and nearly all the cities own and operate the plants for supplying water, light, and street-car service; but these enterprises have been projected by citizens who are not Socialists. There is now, however, a growing Socialist party, though it still remains difficult to distinguish between its policies and those favored by other citizens. In a former article I alluded to the fact that Socialist leaders of Zurich are fearing that in the next election they may have a majority in the government. They have no distinctive program to offer and they do not wish to be entrusted with the responsibilities of government. They are content to remain a minor party of education and influence.

In Switzerland there is no fear either of

socialism or of organized labor. The federal government appropriates an annual sum for the support of labor organizations and the custodian of this fund, under a government salary, is Mr. Herman Greulich, the most venerable and distinguished of Swiss Socialist leaders. Socialists and labor unions are thus officially recognized.

Capital and labor have never been in Switzerland in a position in which they could afford to engage in destructive warfare. In the absence of natural resources the people have prospered through coöperative effort. I asked a Zurich banker how one might account for the growth and obvious wealth of that great city. In reply he first mentioned religion as a factor to be considered in accounting for the phenomenon. Zurich he regarded as the seat of the most liberal and enlightened protestantism of the reformation. Refugees from persecution introduced silk-weaving into Zurich, and the city became and yet remains a great silk manufacturing center.

THE CANTONAL PARLIAMENT PROCESSION IN APPENZELL TO THE PLACE OF MEETING FOR THE OPEN-AIR SESSION

THE ZURICH MACHINE INDUSTRY

More remarkable still is the iron industry which has grown up there. To maintain it both iron and coal must be imported from long distances and skilled laborers are supported at a high standard of living. The great success of this industry seems to have been achieved in the face of every natural disadvantage. Zurich manufacturers have specialized in the production of high-grade machines. They make the great turbine wheels used at the power houses of Niagara Falls. To maintain the manufacture of these heavy machines from materials gathered from afar and then to market them successfully in a remote continent of boundless resources calls for unusual human qualities. The Zurich mechanic, said my informant, reverences his work. He puts into it his own personality. Every part is looked after with most scrupulous care. The soul of the man enters into the machine. It would seem that an enlightened religion, coupled with adverse natural conditions, has worked out in the Swiss city that which William Morris and other reformers have sought to inculcate in the English mechanic.

SWISS DEMOCRACY AN ACTIVE PRINCIPLE

Other Swiss cities exemplify the same principles. The people are rich because of the human qualities called forth by the poverty of their country. They are free because they carry these qualities into the conduct of their government. Between their business and their government there has always been the closest relation. Many European states have been named as holding the leading place in the development of democracy, but there is a wide consensus of

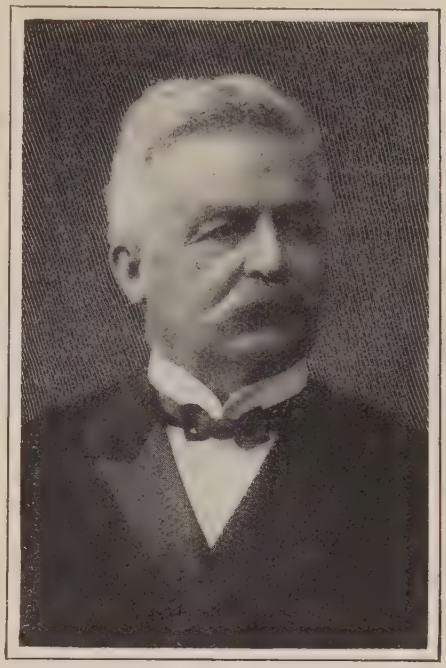
opinion in favor of Switzerland. An immense body of literature expository of Swiss democracy exists and is rapidly increasing. The Swiss are teaching the American states the use of the popular initiative and referendum. Following the example of Switzerland the Scandinavian states are adopting proportional representation. In all free countries the influence of this little progressive democracy is seen to be active and important.

THE ST. GOTHARD RAILWAY CONTROVERSY

On my first visit to Geneva I found the people agitated over a pending referendum regarding the transfer of the control of the militia from the cantons to the federal government. The question was decided at an election held on Sunday. Just now the entire country is profoundly stirred over a matter of far greater importance. On Easter Sunday the people, ten thousand strong, poured out of their churches and their homes and gathered in a public open-air meeting to protest against the ratification of a treaty with Germany and Italy involving the control of the St. Gothard Railway. The federal executive council has already given consent to the treaty. If it is ratified by the national assembly it will become binding upon the state.

This is an old controversy, but in its present phase it is bringing into discussion new and far-reaching principles of diplomacy. In 1869 Switzerland, Germany, and Italy entered into compact with a company for the building of a railway across the Alps. A minority in the Swiss legislature was at the time strenuously opposed to the compact, holding that such an alliance with stronger states would endanger Switzerland's independence. The debate in the Swiss assembly in 1869 reveals on the part of the minority of the members an early and complete comprehension of the methods employed by the more powerful states for gaining control of the weaker states through some sort of financial interest or obligation. One speaker who favored the treaty declared that the control of the Suez Canal by England did not endanger the independence of Egypt!

In spite of opposition the Swiss Government became a party to the convention with Italy and Germany. In 1877 by a referendum vote the people approved of the subsidy to the company, and in 1880 the railway was completed. Then in 1897, Switzerland adopted the policy of assuming governmental control of all the important railways of the country, that of the St. Gothard being distinctly included in the scheme.



COL. EDOUARD MUELLER, PRESIDENT OF SWITZERLAND

To this end active measures were instituted in 1904, Italy and Germany were notified that the Swiss Government was prepared to assume the obligations of the St. Gothard Railway Company. To this notice no reply was given until 1909. Then answer was made denying to the Swiss Government the right to buy the St. Gothard Railway without the consent of the other powers. At the same time the discovery was made that Germany had entered a protest eleven years earlier and that a knowledge of this fact had been concealed from the public. In the midst of much popular excitement a conference of the three powers was held in Bern and a new treaty was agreed upon by their representatives. It is this treaty of 1909 that is now pending before the Swiss legislature. It has already been accepted by Germany and Italy.

NATIONAL MEETINGS OF PROTEST

To bring the force of popular sentiment to bear upon the assembly and prevent the ratification of the treaty great public demonstrations are being held in the various cantons. A *Landesgemeinde* was called to meet in Bern on the day before the opening of parliament. Popular meetings are a familiar institution in the cantons; but I am told

that this is the first instance of a landesgemeinde for the whole country. The weather was most forbidding. Three days of almost incessant rain preceded the appointed day, and on the morning of Easter Monday snow mingled with the rain. Yet train loads of people arrived and filled the streets of the capital. Headed by their bands and with banners waving, they paraded the city in a drenching downpour, singing patriotic songs, and at two o'clock they filled to overflowing the riding-school, said to furnish standing-room for ten thousand persons. For two hours and a half the immense throng stood and listened to speeches. Interest was maintained to the end, and when the vote upon the resolution against the convention of Gothard was taken, every man held his hat high in air. Again there was marching through the streets and an open-air meeting was held in front of the parliament buildings at which additional resolutions were voted.

POPULAR CONTROL OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Whatever may be the effect of this "petition in boots," thoughtful men perceive that events are opening a new and significant chapter in international relations. My first introduction to the new doctrine foreshadowed in these occurrences came from the lips of a conservative party leader, son of a former President of the Republic. Said he, "We have not *yet* attained to the referendum in the making of treaties." Experienced professors in the universities say that the next step in the logical and orderly development of the Swiss democracy is the application of the referendum to diplomacy. This is likely to be the result of the long-drawn-out controversy over the St. Gothard Railway. That the attitude of Germany in the matter was for eleven years kept from the knowledge of the people has undoubtedly made a profound impression.

In the midst of the present agitation an official note has come from Germany which has apparently played into the hands of the opponents of the treaty. Germany disclaims any intention of interfering with the independence of Switzerland and expresses a willingness to modify the terms of the articles to which objection is urged. Those opposed to the treaty assert that surely the convention ought not to be accepted until the definitive changes have been made. In any event, whether this treaty is ratified or rejected, a growing body of citizens is determined that the people shall assume complete control of their foreign relations. That would involve a change in the Constitution; but that can be accomplished with no greater difficulty than the enactment of a federal law.

"THE RECALL OF JUDICIAL DECISIONS"

By popular initiative the people can formulate an amendment. By majority vote in the entire country, so distributed as to carry a majority of the cantons, the amendment may be enacted into law. The people are themselves the lawmakers and there are no checks of any kind upon their power to act. No courts are empowered to declare a law unconstitutional. The judges are themselves subject to law. If it happens in any way that the judges mistake the intention of the lawmakers, the error may be corrected by a popular declaratory act of interpretation. Thus do the Swiss "recall the decisions of their courts." It is not possible in Switzerland for the chance opinion of one member of a high court to serve as a substitute for the exercise of the sovereign legislative power. No jurist in Switzerland would ever write a book based upon the assumption that all laws are made by the courts; while the so-called sovereign legislative acts are simply one among many sources from which judges complete the law.

PATERNALISM IMPOSSIBLE IN SWITZERLAND

I have referred in former articles to the growing hostility between the people and their government in the great military states of Europe, and to movements on the part of the suffering masses towards combining against their rulers; towards an understanding among themselves for the purpose of devising ways and means for rendering war impossible and oppressive military equipments unnecessary. But in Switzerland there is no place for hostility between the people and the government. The government is the people and the people are the government. What is described as paternalism in the government of other states has no meaning in Switzerland. Paternalism can exist only in despotic states.

Of all states Switzerland is best placed for giving voice and action to the aspirations of all peoples for the effective control of their foreign as well as of their domestic relations. Until this sort of supremacy is attained there will be perpetual conflict between the people and their rulers, and, as an essential part of this condition, there will be maintained at least a pretense of threatened warfare between rival nations.

CONGREGATION GATHERING FOR A "BIG SING," OR UNION SONG SERVICE, ON A SUNDAY AFTERNOON ON CAPE COD,—ONE OF THE BY-PRODUCTS OF CHURCH FEDERATION

PRACTICAL CHURCH FEDERATION

BY EDWARD TALLMADGE ROOT

PROTESTANT denominations are independent ecclesiastical nations, whose citizens dwell side by side and daily mingle. Their avowed aim is the same, the establishment of the Kingdom of God on Earth. So long as they have no understanding, the more aggressively they work, the more likely are they to overlap and interfere with one another. A dozen missionary officials plan State-wide church extension. Churches are planted where they inevitably compete. On moral and social issues, the churches have had no means of acting together. To fill the gap, individuals, nine-tenths of them church-members, have come on to neutral ground in a society to meet each separate need; but the needs multiply so fast that the number of such organizations has become a bewilderment and a burden. What is the remedy?

FEDERATION BEFORE UNION

Organic church union may come. But many Christians are still unconvinced even of its desirability. Its coming is at least not immediate. What in the meantime? The tasks before the churches will not wait. All lands are open to foreign missions. At home, immigrants from all lands complicate problems already too complex. No one denomination alone can meet the needs. They must all act together and that at once. But how? The only possible solution is a *federal* union. Distinct as the States, the churches may yet be one as the nation. Such federation neither hinders nor necessitates church union. Whatever be the ultimate form of unity, the next step is to work together. Acting as if we were one is the way to make us one. Such is the pragmatic philosophy of the federation movement.

According to a favorite definition, a State federation is a joint-committee, officially appointed by the denominational bodies, to learn all the facts and ally all the factors in order to overcome overlapping, overlooking, and overorganizing. Resolutions adopted by the Federal Council at Chicago on December 6, 1912, declare that such official appointment is essential. A test of the principle and its practicability was afforded in Massachusetts last year when the Federation asked the denominational bodies to double, not merely their delegations so as to give an equal number of laymen and clergymen, but also their appropriations. The response to both requests was general and hearty. Twenty ecclesiastical bodies of fourteen communions have named representatives, constituting a council of over one hundred members.

SOME THINGS THAT PUBLICITY ACHIEVES

But how can even a joint-committee, having in the nature of the case no ecclesiastical authority, accomplish practical results? The Massachusetts Federation replies: We seek and need no authority but the logic of the facts. By investigation we discover; by addresses, correspondence, and a quarterly bulletin mailed to every pastor and the religious and daily press, we report. We keep the facts before the churches, till the *churches* change the facts! Even when, as at Somerset, a "federated church" was formally recommended by the State Council, or where, as in Boston, it issued the call for the convention which formed the local federation, the movement has seemed spontaneous and the part taken by the State office has been forgotten. To-day there is a growing popular movement all over the state, only partially conscious of the developing organization which has inspired and provided the machinery for its expression.

FEDERATION FOR CITY AND COUNTRY

The distinguishing characteristic of the Massachusetts Federation is comprehensiveness. It does not lay claim to brilliant achievements, like those of the Maine Interdenominational Commission in the line of comity. It has no metropolitan bureau of religious statistics and coöperation, like the New York Federation. Within the State it has nothing superior to the Portland, Me., Federation, which it is proud to claim, in a sense, as its daughter. The budgets of city federations like those of Baltimore and Cleveland would amaze Bostonians. What has been attempted is to develop the whole program of church federation throughout the State. It seeks not only consolidations where needed, but also coöperation everywhere. The "parish plan" in cities has been no more emphasized than the possibilities of "the new country church." Barnstable and Berkshire counties have felt its influence as well as Boston.

"ALL THAT CALL THEMSELVES CHRISTIAN"

Moreover, like the original federations in New York City and State, Rhode Island, and elsewhere, it draws no doctrinal lines, but aims to include "all that call themselves Christian." The Boston Federation made overtures to the Roman Catholic Church, and some form of alliance with it, and with the Jews, may yet result. The Unitarians, who in so many Massachusetts towns hold the original parish organizations of colonial times, with their traditions of community-service, are hearty supporters, especially in the lines of social betterment. The Protestant Episcopal Church furnishes some of the most enthusiastic leaders in local coöperation, who, while loyal to their ultimate goal, say with Dr. Alexander Mann of Boston: "We cannot consistently pray for church *union* and refuse to take *the first steps* toward it in church *federation*."

The "evangelical" denominations, on the other hand, are the ones most concerned with comity and consolidations. The comprehensive program interests all, some for one reason, some for another; while the conferences of groups of leaders for so many purposes are steadily promoting mutual acquaintance and confidence. The Federation has been most fortunate in its three presidents, all men of breadth and vision,—the late Dr. Reuen Thomas, Congregationalist; Dr. O. P. Gifford, Baptist, and Dr. Charles F. Rice, its present head, Methodist.

CONSOLIDATIONS WHERE NEEDED

Since it must rely upon the logic of the facts, the Massachusetts Federation, recalling the old recipe for fricasseed hare, saw that its first step was to get the facts. From denominational year-books was compiled a list of churches for every town and city. A "correspondent" in each was requested to verify the list and report local needs and opportunities. Such reports are on file for nearly all the 353 civic divisions of the Commonwealth. Civil boundaries were followed, because, in the New England system, the town, as a direct democracy, is the chief agency through which the churches must exert their influence for community-betterment. A digest of these replies, presented at the annual meeting in Springfield in 1908, was the first thing to convince the council itself of the feasibility of its program.

OVER-CHURCHED COMMUNITIES

One of the two counties in which verified lists of churches for every town were first secured was Barnstable. Comparison with the Federal Report on Religious Bodies for 1906 brought out the startling fact that while in the State as a whole there was one church, Protestant or Catholic, for each 960 inhabitants, "on the Cape" there was actually one for each 295! The publication of such fig-

CONGREGATIONAL

METHODIST

BAPTIST

ROMAN CATHOLIC

APPARENTLY AN OVER-CHURCHED TOWN,—FOUR CHURCHES ON A HALF-MILE STRETCH OF VILLAGE STREET SERVING A TOTAL POPULATION OF 561 INHABITANTS

(The total seating capacity is more than twice the population)

ures has had the desired effect, as this editorial paragraph in the Boston *Transcript* shows: "Such a condition of things as that reported by the Massachusetts Federation of Churches, that commendable organization which allies fourteen denominations, of course involves a serious waste of time and money; yet it is one more easily perceived than remedied. The depth and efficiency of the coöperative spirit will be severely tested."

CONDITIONS IN SMALL TOWNS

Another set of facts was drawn from a study of the one hundred smallest townships, classified as one-church, two-church, and three-church towns. The ten largest of the one-church towns were selected, with an average population of 724. From the two other lists sets of ten were compiled with the same average, population alone being considered. Then the church statistics were compared, and revealed the fact that the average church of the first class had 110 members; of the second, 71; and of the third, 51. While this shows some increase of total membership in the two- and three-church towns,—142 and 153, respectively,—the increase is obviously not commensurate with the increase of effort.

The law of diminishing returns appears, the third church adding but eleven members to the total. On the other hand, the cost per member and per inhabitant increases and the average pastoral salary diminishes from $874 in the one-church, to $687 in the two-church and $473 in the three-church town; while the missionary aid required averages $155 in the three-church, or more than ten times as much as in the one-church town!

Descriptions of concrete situations have proved even more effective than statistics. Economic waste is less deplorable than the perversion of the religious spirit. "Ideally," says Mr. E. T. Hartman of the Massachusetts Civic League, "the church is the unifier of the community; but in many places, the churches, just because there are several, are themselves the causes of faction and discord." A chance visit to a junction village of 1000 inhabitants discovered five churches for the Protestant half of the community and no resident pastor. The leader of a little W. C. T. U., bravely holding up the banner of the home against the dominant saloon, exclaimed: "You have dropped in upon the worst place in Massachusetts." Why? "Trouble with this place is," grunted an old man met on the street: "there's too many churches!"

To be sure, as the *Transcript* says, the evil is more readily seen than remedied. But the theory that the remedy lies in publicity, is being abundantly verified. The first to be convinced were the denominational officials. "It is true," exclaimed one, when a situation in Boston was brought to his attention: "we have four little gospel-shops among the Italians in the North End. I'll move out!" He did so; and in turn his new location was respected by another denomination. Such consultations are now the rule. Friendly protests are made and heeded without coming before the committee on comity.

ADJUSTMENT IN CASES OF OVERLAPPING

In January, 1911, an "Appeal to Overlapping Churches" named three methods of adjustment,—by exchange of fields, by a federated, or by a union church. This has had a marked effect. A few denominational exchanges have taken place. The case described in our opening paragraphs is an illustration. It has already led a district superintendent to suggest the closing of a Methodist Church. Indeed, in two cases, the Methodists had already yielded a field to the Congregationalists.

But adjustment is possible without surrender on either side, by what is called "a federated church." In this form of adjustment, each church retains corporate existence and denominational connection, while the two unite as one congregation under one pastor. The first merger of the kind in Massachusetts was promptly ratified by a stroke of lightning which removed the embarrassing necessity of choosing between two buildings. Heaven having thus approved, six pairs of churches have already "federated" in the eighteen months since!

"UNION" CHURCHES

One of the most significant acts of the council is its recognition of "union churches," of which there are some forty in the State. While ecclesiastical leaders have complacently gone on multiplying competing denominational churches, the people themselves in many a community, perceiving the folly of such division of Christian forces, have established union societies, which are necessarily independent. The extent of this movement is indicated by the Census Bulletin on Religious Bodies. While the total number of Protestant churches in the United States, between 1890 and 1906, increased 27.8 per cent., independent churches increased from 155 to 1,079, or 596 per cent.; their membership, 451.4 per cent., against an average increase of 60.4 per cent. Yet the denominations ignore or distrust the "union church." It has obvious weaknesses, especially the lack of fellowship and of a channel for the missionary gifts and interest, without which a church is merely a religious club. For union churches to organize to meet these needs would simply make them one more denomination. But why may not the Federation recognize and thus give them fellowship and aid without this danger? With this in view, the Massachusetts Federation called the first conference of union churches on June 11, 1912. A small but enthusiastic body of delegates assembled and requested the Federation to arrange such a conference annually and to name two union-church representatives to sit upon its council. Now new union movements are seeking advice.

AN OVER-CHURCHED CITY

But how far are consolidations necessary? Is overlapping confined to country places and missions among foreign races? Agitation is opening the eyes of the public to the extent of

the evil. Thus in Haverhill a Congregational pastor resigned in January, 1913, giving as one of his reasons, "the sharp religious competition of a greatly over-churched city which makes spiritual efficiency impossible."

A pastor of a stronger church of the same denomination said to a reporter of the Haverhill *Gazette* as to the issue thus raised: "There is no great difference between the Roman Catholic and Protestant population. The former have five, the latter about thirty churches. Four or five large churches rightly placed would accommodate all the Protestants, and draw more, for it takes a crowd to draw a crowd." The readjustment thus suggested would mean a religious revolution. The advantage of church federation is that it places control of the whole agitation and the resulting adjustment in the hands of official delegates of all denominations.

THE CHURCH AT MIDDLEFIELD, MASS., HAVING A BAPTIST AUDITORIUM, A METHODIST CHAPEL, AND A CONGREGATIONAL TOWER, SERVES THE WHOLE TOWNSHIP (POPULATION, 354)

COÖPERATION EVERYWHERE

But the program of church federation is not merely negative. Churches, no more numerous than the population requires, may yet fail of their true mission. "Why didn't the churches work together like this long ago?" asked a convert in New Bedford: "People outside regard them as little corporations, each living for itself." Absorbed in maintaining themselves as institutions, the churches overlook their real tasks. Dr. F. E. Emrich, secretary of the Congregational Home Missionary Society, once remarked: "I have been in ten counties in as many days, and am everywhere impressed with the fact that the churches ignore a large part of the population." They compete for the religiously interested and neglect the neglecters.

It is also true that they have not yet awakened to the unparalleled opportunity of the church for leadership in the growing movement for community betterment. The new knowledge of the causes of disease and of the laws of child-development, together with new arts of transportation and communication, make possible and demand a reconstruction of community life. The hindrances are all moral. The church alone can overcome them; for only religion can bring to bear the motives of eternity upon the moments of time. All betterment movements, therefore, instinctively turn to the church. The churches seem strangely reluctant or incompetent. Does not the main reason lie in their "unhappy divisions"?

For these reasons, urges the Massachusetts Federation, the churches of every community must have some simple but effective way of acting together. Reduced to its lowest terms, a federation is simply a joint-committee of the churches. The only objection arises from the number of existing organizations; but this multiplicity exists because the churches as such have not been organized to coöperate. Once let them organize to anything needed, and the further multiplication of organizations will be rendered unnecessary and the elimination of some now existing possible. Above all, by the coöperative parish plan, they must know and seek the entire population.

The State office not merely promotes such organizations, but furnishes a clearing-house of methods, reflecting the experience of all for the benefit of each. The results of its systematic work are apparent. Of the ninety-five city and township federations listed in the September bulletin of the Federal Council, 1912, twenty-six, three times the number in any other State, were in Massachusetts. The number exceeded thirty by the end of the year. As in consolidations, so in coöperation, results are proving cumulative. As many local organizations were formed in 1912 as in the seven years preceding. Moreover, some of the most striking cases of union meetings or coöperation are reported where there is no formal organization.

SOCIAL BETTERMENT

Nevertheless, organization is justified of her children. Formal federations insure greater permanence and steady development. Over twenty years ago, Dr. Washington Gladden's "Christian League of Connecticut," a sketch of possibilities, suggested the organization of a Methuen Christian League. By official

vote, the churches joined, and have held quarterly meetings ever since. Besides the usual methods, like the religious canvass, the league has done some most unusual things,—boldly calling a public meeting with the State Insurance Commissioner to expose the fallacies of fake benefit orders, and maintaining, through a woman's auxiliary, a Methuen bed in the Lawrence Hospital. The Fraternal Council of Jamaica Plain for ten years employed a joint church-visitor. These two organizations antedate the State Federation. All others are more or less directly the fruit of its suggestions.

Relatively the most effective, perhaps, are federations in places of from 5000 to 10,000 inhabitants. Massachusetts has more communities of this size than any other equal territory in the world. The Ipswich Federation, for example, at its December mass-meeting used the stereopticon to show the condition of tenements and back yards, and introduced two clauses in the warrant for the town-meeting, proposing remedies. In a town of even smaller population, Holliston, the Men's League, uniting three churches, has induced the town-meeting to set apart land and has raised money for a supervised play-ground, conducts a township entertainment course, and manages the annual no-license campaign. The significance is not in these things themselves, but in the fact that it is *the churches acting together* that are doing them. The advantages of thus organizing groups of churches, not too large to meet frequently and become thoroughly acquainted with one another and with their common tasks, are so great, that they are formed even within city federations. Thus Boston includes sub-federations in Hyde Park, East Boston, and in other suburbs.

Lynn was the first to demonstrate the possibilities of larger group coöperation. Its thirty-five churches have found fellowship in musical and social gatherings, form a clearing-house of up-to-date methods like church advertising, spend $1,000 a year in open-air preaching, and contemplate an improved parish plan with three permanent visitors. Lowell's new federation found opportunities in advocating and enforcing laws, in adjusting an incipient strike, and in coöperating with the Men and Religion Movement. Now the larger cities are rapidly coming into line with inter-church unions,—Fall River, Lawrence, Springfield, Worcester.

The metropolitan federation, long contemplated, was organized in 1910 by a convention of churches called also to appoint directors on "Boston—1915." It has wisely adapted itself to conditions in a city where the ground is preëmpted by useful organizations of every kind. Its committees link the churches with experts in each line,—immigration, prisons, sex-hygiene, etc. It thus points toward a solution of our "overorganizing,"—namely, that a church federation may act as the local agency of a score of State societies, which in turn may furnish it with specialists in each line as needed. It has enabled the Back-Bay churches to coöperate in reaching the great student population. Its sub-federations, like Hyde Park, are establishing a permanent parish-plan with paid secretary. Led by some of the strongest pastors and laymen the Federation of Greater Boston is steadily gaining in favor and influence.

A STATE-WIDE CHURCH

From such local experiments in practical unity arises the conception of a State-wide church.

When President Kenyon L. Butterfield of the State Agricultural College, a member of the Roosevelt Country Life Commission, established a summer school and conference for rural leaders, and desired to interest clergymen of all denominations, the Federation afforded the agency through which the churches could coöperate. Thus arose the "Amherst Movement," out of which have grown a Country Church League and the alliance of the denominational social service commissions to secure township "surveys" on a common plan.

With the watch-word "community-building" to unify its program, the Massachusetts Federation has naturally been reminded of the original builders of the Commonwealth, especially in view of the approaching tercentenary of the landing of the Pilgrims. It therefore sums up its program in an appeal to the churches during the remaining eight years of the decade to consolidate where there is overlapping, to organize for coöperation in every community; to make some church responsible for each square mile or city block, and to work with recognized agencies for the greatest possible moral and social progress. Surely such a demonstration of applied Christianity is a more appropriate commemoration of men whom William Stead aptly called "idealists with hands," than feasting and fireworks, monuments or oratory!

THE "YOUNG AUSTRALIA" MOVEMENT

BY GRANT HERVEY

LIKE the American Progressive movement, the "Young Australia" party is based on the intelligent coöperation of patriotic men and women. As yet, this movement contains no woman of the standing of Jane Addams, of Hull House, Chicago, but a nucleus is provided for the concentration of all the insurgent masculine and feminine brains and ability in Australia; and the further the Liberal and labor movements sink, the one into the rut of stand-pat reaction, the other into the grip of an ill-informed, equally selfish, and equally unprogressive trade-unionism, the greater will be the desire of intelligent Australians to cut loose from their existing party affiliations and join in with the progressive Young Australia Movement.

HOW THE MOVEMENT IS ORGANIZED

The organization of the Young Australia Movement is sectional, covering military, naval, industrial, hygienic, educational, internal, and foreign affairs. Each section has its president, who organizes his own department, appoints agents or representatives at home or abroad, and reports direct to the president-in-chief. For instance, the present writer, as president of the Department of Foreign Affairs, has representatives and advisory correspondents in Brussels (Belgium), London (England), Hankow (China), New York and San Francisco (U. S. A.), Buenos Aires (Argentina), Paris (France), and half a dozen other foreign countries. These correspondents and advisers are all men and women of insight and intellectual force. The majority are Australian-born, and are practising their professions abroad; but one American, two Germans, one Belgian, two French, and several other foreign agents—some of them have never seen Australia—are included. The business of this particular department, which is rated first in sectional importance, is to obtain the fullest and most authentic knowledge with regard to the course of foreign affairs. Practical patriotism demands this service, which is rendered without pay or remuneration of any description. The sectional presidents and State secretaries meet yearly—or oftener, if required—in conference, when the policy of the movement and the general situation affecting Australia is taken under consideration. The president-in-chief is John B. Steel, 193 Castlereagh Street, Sydney, New South Wales. He acts for the movement as a negotiator with other political parties, the aim being to detach the ablest men from existing regular organizations, and then, when the national dissatisfaction with existing old line parties has extended far enough, to proceed with the establishment of a Progressive party in many respects identical with that established last year in the United States.

GEOGRAPHICAL CONDITIONS AND THEIR INFLUENCE

Australia, at the creation of the Commonwealth, originally consisted of six States; it now consists of six States and two Territories—Papua, and the vast area that extends from the northern boundary of South Australia to Torres Straits. The plan of the Young Australia Movement provides for the abolition of these States, the majority of which are of a tremendous area, and therefore most inconvenient for administrative purposes. For instance, the single State of New South Wales is far bigger than France or the German Empire, and takes the same rank in the Australian Commonwealth that the State of New York takes in the United States of America. If the State of New York extended westward as far as the Mississippi, and far enough in the southward direction to close up the ports of Philadelphia and Baltimore—using the State-owned railways as a means of concentrating all trade, manufactures, and commerce for the benefit of the State capital—it would be a State like New South Wales. In point of population this State of New South Wales is the largest in the Commonwealth. Within its territory the Murray, the Darling, and the Murrumbidgee rivers—the Mississippi, Missouri, and Ohio river system of Australia—attain their fullest development; whilst the part of New South Wales west of the Blue Mountains—the Alleghenies of Australia—is capable of

being divided, and requires to be divided, into half a dozen compact States similar to Ohio, Indiana, West Virginia, Michigan, and Illinois. To secure such a subdivision, which involves the erection of new States and the admission to the Federal legislature of new Representatives and new Senators, is the basic feature of the internal policy of our Young Australia Movement.

LABOR UNION DOMINATION IN POLITICS

Conversely, the policy of the Australian Labor party has advanced to this stage. It seeks to strip the six State legislatures of all powers affecting wages and industrial conditions, concentrating those powers in the hands of the Federal Parliament. This is the trade-union policy. The trade unions control the Labor party because they are its masters. They demand the concentration of all Australian industries in the six State capitals—all of them cities upon the coast—with the reduction of working hours to the minimum and the increase of wages to the maximum. To the all-powerful trade unions of Sydney and Melbourne, the internal development of Australia seems to matter little. By their opponents they are regarded as a tyrannical collection of city-bred, political degenerates, knowing nothing of the internal possibilities of Australia and caring less. Imagine what the United States of America would be like were the Mississippi Valley practically unpopulated, and with both Houses of Congress at Washington filled with the delegates of trade unionism, fifty per cent. of the population of the United States being massed in the six cities of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, New Orleans, and San Francisco. Roughly speaking, that is the position of Australia to-day. Unbridled control by the Australian workingman is the greatest danger that confronts the Commonwealth, since the trade-union bosses are so bitterly hostile to the policy of legislative decentralization involved in the creation of new States. Their ideal is the establishment of a single all-powerful Federal legislature, plus the annihilation of the Australian High Court and the deprivation of all legislative and administrative functions at present exercised by the existing States.

Such a policy is a policy of national suicide. The Young Australia Movement stands for a legislature that shall be supreme in national affairs, but it believes that important administrative and legislative duties may be and must be discharged by elective provincial bodies. Hence the plan for the division of the Commonwealth into some twenty-odd provinces, with powers akin to those possessed by the provincial legislatures of Canada. We contend that a national convention should be called to draft a new constitution for the Australian Commonwealth; for at present no State can be subdivided into two or more States unless that State itself, through its own old-line legislature, consents. Australia to-day, as a direct consequence, is at a developmental standstill. The Federal Labor party, driven by the trade-union bosses on the one hand, fixes its attention and energy upon the task of crippling the existing States; whilst the Federal Liberal party, which is half Protectionist and half Free Trade, is dominated by the great financial and manufacturing interests upon the other hand, and therefore becomes a reactionary stand-pat organization committed to the defense of the unwieldy, unprogressive, and in certain cases absolutely stagnant States. Between these two factions the Young Australia Movement seeks to expound a sane and progressive constructional policy. Like all movements that rise between two conflicting parties, it incurs the enmity and receives the vicious hatred of both; but the worthlessness of both of the existing regular parties is being borne in upon the Australian people; and time is fighting on the side of the Young Australia Movement as surely as it fights in behalf of the Progressive party in the United States.

SOME ILLUSTRATIONS OF AUSTRALIAN POLITICS

Last year the Fisher government sought by means of a national referendum to carry out the constitution-wrecking orders of its trade-union masters. Its proposals were defeated on the full count by a quarter of a million votes. This year the same proposals will be submitted again, although in a slightly altered form; and the Labor party will make a supreme effort to secure its desired amendment of the constitution. It is as yet too early to predict the result. But one thing seems almost certain. Should the Labor government fail again, the Labor party will break in two, the irreconciliable "Socialists" and "class-war" political sore-heads going one way, whilst the more levelheaded and intelligent Laborites move into a coalition with the advanced and progressive Liberals. This is the outcome that the Young Australia Movement ultimately expects. In some respects a Fabian organization, it seeks to

prepare a policy in advance—a policy based upon the practical needs of the Australian Commonwealth, such as will recommend itself to the insurgent Progressives who, sooner or later, will have to leave the ranks of the old-line wrangling parties.

In New South Wales—the New York State of Australia—this process of extension has already reached a significant pitch. A Labor government controls the State, but this McGowan administration is itself controlled in turn by the State's trade-union bosses. John Christian Watson, labor's first Prime Minister of Australia, who sought some years ago to ally the Labor party with the advanced Liberals under Lyne and Isaacs—and paid the penalty by being deposed from his leadership by order of the trade-union wire-pullers—Watson, attacking the subordinate union bosses in detail, has now become the most powerful and most dangerous trade-union boss in Australia. His is the hand that directs the forces of labor in New South Wales. His influence in that State is akin to that of the Democratic boss—Murphy—in the State of New York.

PLATFORM OF THE YOUNG AUSTRALIA MOVEMENT

So much for the internal conditions which the Young Australia Movement has to face. The principal planks in its platform are as follows:

1. Australian citizens to own, control, and rule the Commonwealth.
2. A white Australia for all time.
3. Abolition of party government. Ministers to be elected by the Legislature to administer national departments.
4. The National Government to acquire the right to make treaties with any power or nation, plus the right to appoint consuls to any country.
5. A compulsory citizen defense force, backed up by an Australian Navy built, manned, and absolutely controlled by Australians.
6. National reconstruction, providing for local government alternatively of the London County Council type or the American commission plan.
7. National Land Act, to provide ample areas for settlement and to prevent the aggregation of large landed estates. Conservation of lands, waters, forests, etc.
8. Nationalization of all harbors, rivers, lakes, water-courses, and water-frontages.
9. White immigration policy.
10. Protection of trade, commerce and industry. Trading to be made honest; all goods to be pure and unadulterated. Manufacturers to be protected against the competition of those employing slave, sweated, or prison-labor in any country; and against dumping, trusts and combines, secret rebates or commissions.
11. Protection of labor. All employes to be paid adequate wages by tribunals fixed for the purpose, and protected against sweating, excessive hours of labor, unhealthy or dangerous surroundings, dishonest or inhuman employers, etc.
12. Protection of life. All hospitals to be under national control. Medical examination and care of children. Protection and care of aged and infirm citizens. Organization of National Health Department. Scientific campaign against dirt and disease.
13. Acquisition where possible of all islands and territories adjacent to the Commonwealth.
14. Abolition of the power to borrow money at present exercised indiscriminately by State and local governments. Organization of Commonwealth Department of Finance, to supervise all borrowings by inferior or local governments.
15. The initiative and referendum.

Nothing, either in the main or subordinate parts of the platform, advocates the arbitrary seizure of industries or the penalizing of honest business. A square deal for the people and from the people is the key-note of the Young Australia Movement. The existing Labor government is based upon a trade-union system of tyranny and force; howls for the socialistic moon; and is utterly indifferent to the urgency of need for developing, populating, and adequately defending Australia.

ATTITUDE TOWARD FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Having explained the internal policy and meaning of the Young Australia Movement, the elucidation of its external or foreign policy follows. This organization clearly understands that a political party is like an army—it has to face the continuous contingency of fighting on both flanks. In other words, its policy must face the needs of the nation on the one hand, and simultaneously it must face the international situation on the other. Lord Lansdowne, Mr. Balfour, and other members of the last Conservative administration, created the tripartite menace that hangs over the peace of the world—Germany, Russia, and Japan. The policy of England in supporting an Asiatic nation against Russia stinks in the nostrils of Australia. No blunder more fatuous has been committed in the history of Britain. The Japanese Alliance is an humiliating alliance, and the party that consummated such a bargain must stand for many years suspect in the eyes of the Australian people.

This brings us directly into contact with the issue of imperial unity. To be almost brutally candid, imperial federation, with Great Britain as its predominant partner, may look attractive enough to Canada; but in Australia the worthwhileness of federating with a country like England begins to be a debatable question. We want as many millions of

German immigrants as the Kaiser's Empire can spare. England, on the other hand, instead of coming years ago to terms with Germany, first assisted Japan to break the power of Russia, thus permitting Germany to become the dominant factor in Europe, and now muddles along in a half-hearted, spiritless manner with preparations for war with Germany. To us, the so-called Triple Entente seems scarcely worth the paper on which it is so adulatively described. Russia, as the American soldier-author, Homer Lea, points out in his "Day of the Saxon," is a nation that moves almost imperceptibly yet steadily and irrevocably forward. Hurled back by Japan in its attempt to find an outlet at Port Arthur, Russia resumes its former rôle as the menace at the back of India.

WHAT AUSTRALIANS THINK ABOUT RUSSIA AND FRANCE

Compliance with all that Russia demands is the price that England must pay for the allegiance of Russia as a member of the Triple Entente. Hence, when Russia ordered Shuster, the American Vitruvius of financial ruin, out of Persia, England had to look on in impotence. Although Shuster was doing a work for Persia equal in value to the work that England has done and is doing in India, this predominant partner in the proposed scheme of imperial federation dared not support Shuster in that admittedly excellent work. Of what use to us is a partner of such a craven calibre? If Shuster, the American, received such treatment with Britain's assent in Persia, how are we likely to fare if some other foreign power—Japan, for instance—to which England is tied or committed, should demand a share of our territory? An imperial federation in which Great Britain would call the tune and Australia would pay the piper has scant attraction for the more thoughtful citizens of this Commonwealth.

France is the third party to the existing Triple Entente. Now, what is the use of France as an ally? In a moment of peril, Germany could purchase the neutrality of the French Republic by the yielding of Alsace-Lorraine. We admire the Germans because their nation is the one nation in Europe that takes the business of empire seriously. What does France propose to do? France proposes to fight Germany in the next great continental war with the aid of black troops brought over from Africa. This is going one better than England, which saw fit to prop up its Empire in the Middle East by means of an alliance with Japan. When a European nation gets into this condition, that it has to turn its back upon all racial affiliations, that it has to call in the aid of the black savage of Senegambia or the brown savage of Nippon—when a European Power gets to this stage, it is a sign that it is a power no longer. That is how Australia feels about France, as well as about Great Britain.

About England—a nation that clings to the shadow of the Triple Entente, whilst Germany cleaves to the substance of might—Australians have few illusions. A nation that will not set its house in order is a nation damned. Lord Roberts and his kind have given years of patient effort to the preaching of the creed of compulsory military service. But to what effect? England will doubtless muddle along until the sounding of the trump of Armageddon with its existing small expeditionary army and its collection of failures known as the Territorials.

YOUNG AUSTRALIA'S INTEREST IN AMERICAN AFFAIRS

Out of these facts and out of their distinct, flint-sharp perception arises the interest of the Young Australia Movement in American politics. Some brain must do the high and clear hard thinking which is necessary in order to get this nation forward. Our movement is the collective brain of Australia. It looks outward and inward with simultaneous intensity. It takes note of the condition of old-line parties in New South Wales, the policy of England in Persia, China, and Tibet, the movement of industrial forces in Great Britain—it takes note of these, and of a thousand other things, equally with the emergence of a Woodrow Wilson and the declension of a Taft in the United States of America.

Since England will not assume the responsibilities of empire, we look elsewhere for potential friends and allies. And when Roosevelt sent the American fleet around the world in 1908, he captured the imagination of this commonwealth for the American nation. No such puissant fleet ever flew in these waters the flag of England. It was a revelation to the Australians of a great and separate English-speaking nation—of a nation identical in language, but as different from the English in all other essentials as pessimism is different from optimism. Australian interest in American politics has been continuous since then. The cutting of the Panama Canal attracts as much, if not more attention in New South Wales than in Massa-

chusetts or Connecticut. Sydney is a modern New York in the making—a coastal city with a continuous procession of Americans passing through its best hotels—and when the canal is completed, Sydney will become the great center of Australian trade with all the Atlantic ports as well as with New York. The centripetal pull of the United States is felt already through Australia. American books and magazines—the latter not always of the best—are read in thousands; English influences are passing; we are becoming Americanized without the Americans themselves being aware of it.

The Americanization of Canada, of course, is simply a natural process. When ninety millions of people are one side of an imaginary line, and seven millions, the great majority of whom speak the same language, are on the other, it is only a matter of time before fusion becomes complete. Far different from the Americanization of Canada is the influence upon Australia exercised by the United States. Only a great and imperial nation can exercise such an influence across a distance of six thousand miles. In territorial area, Australia is almost as big as the United States; in opportunities for expansion it is bigger. Old-line parties here are still more or less insensible to the centripetal pull of the American Republic, but it is because they have grown up in the British tradition and because their intellectual arteries have hardened. America appeals to the Young Australia Movement because the British tradition has passed or is passing. A centrifugal force is driving the Empire of Britain asunder—a force that has its point of dynamic origin in the unspeakable poverty of the British worker; a force, be it added in parenthesis, that not all the gift-battleships of Canada's Mr. Borden can overcome. The strategic center of the Anglo-Saxon Empire has shifted from London to Washington. The English do not know it, the Americans have scarcely a glimmering of it, but it has happened; and it is time for the Australians and the Americans to get closer together, so that they may clearly understand.

HOW PRESIDENT WILSON LOOKS TO THE ANTIPODES

The election of a new President matters tremendously to us, to the white people of Australia and New Zealand.

We regard the temporarily triumphant Democratic party with very great interest. Our reading of American history inculcates the belief that the historic Democratic faction is strongly opposed to all extensions of federal power. On the other hand, we regard the Republican party as the traditional exponent of federal expansion; as the party that stands for an efficient American army as well as a strong American navy. Consequently, we regarded the views of certain Democratic spokesmen with respect to the Philippines as a probable indication of Democratic foreign policy; and if correct, it is an indication that gives us no pleasure. If the United States is to withdraw from Luzon, withdrawal from Guam, Samoa, and Pearl Harbor must surely follow; and we do not wish to see any such withdrawal or series of withdrawals. We want to see the Stars and Stripes throughout the Pacific. We would not be very much annoyed if we were to one day discover it floating over the Commonwealth of Australia. Ours is not the Canadian attitude of aloofness and suspicion. We believe in America's integrity and in America's destiny, and there is no power whose expansion is more desirable in these seas. We want to see America taking up its work in the dominion of world-affairs, not merely providing financial regenerators for worn-out Eastern lands like Persia; but succeeding Great Britain, if necessary, as the new predominant partner in an over-seas Anglo-Saxon empire.

Dr. Woodrow Wilson will be watched as keenly in Victoria and New South Wales as in Missouri and Vermont. The Democratic party in America, like the Labor party in Australia, is notoriously boss-ridden. As Governor, Dr. Wilson seemed able to handle the boss-problem in New Jersey. Can he handle it as effectively throughout the American commonwealth? During the last Congress, the Democratic party strenuously opposed the construction of necessary battleships. Can President Wilson face the external issues that confront America? Will he equip the United States with an efficient army and navy? Will the power of the party be too strong for the policy of the President, or vice versa? Here are questions of which we await with concern the collective answer. We have our doubts and fears. The lesson, in short, that we draw from the condition of affairs in England, as well as in the United States, is this: That a Party of Progress is needed everywhere, and that patriotic Englishmen, Americans, and Australians must rise above the sordid, and rally to the service of the nation. We shall do our best, as we have done in the past, to discharge that duty in and for Australia.

AMERICA AND THE CHINESE LOAN

BY HERMAN ROSENTHAL

DURING the past two years the cable frequently brought news regarding a loan to be made by groups of foreign financiers to the Chinese Empire. Sometimes the dispatches mentioned financiers of four nations—Germany, France, England and the United States. Sometimes bankers of Russia and Japan were added to the groups. The amount to be loaned to China varied from $100,000,000 to $300,000,000. Almost invariably the news that a loan was about to be concluded was immediately followed by dispatches to the effect that the negotiations had been broken off. Occasionally it had appeared that while China really needed foreign capital, the terms imposed by foreign bankers, backed or instructed by their governments, were so burdensome and involved such sacrifices of the dignity and sovereignty of an independent state, that the Chinese people would rather do without the money than tolerate conditions which would entail continual interference with their politics and internal affairs, and would bring them more and more under alien bondage.

POLITICAL EFFECT OF FOREIGN LOANS

In political and literary circles, discussions of the loan negotiations have often raised the question whether the fate of China is to be like that of Persia, eventually to be divided into "spheres of influence" for the benefit of the Six Powers. If so, how could the United States Government, after having, in the Hay agreement, declared for the "Open Door" and the integrity of China, be a party to such a policy? The decision of President Wilson in pursuance of which the United States withdrew from participation in the proposed "Six Power loan," coupled with a declaration of the national good will, it would seem to be consistent with the traditional position of this country, as disinterested friend of China.

The lesson given to the Chinese during the Boxer uprising of 1900 was probably a necessary one. It awakened the torpid empire, helped to accomplish the overthrow of the Manchus, and cleared the way for real reforms, and a republican government in the most populous country of the globe. Yet the actions of some of the powers after the siege of Peking were hardly to the honor of Western civilization. Besides, for the Boxer uprising, China was forced to pay penalties aggregating three hundred million dollars—and to borrow the money from the foreign bankers.

AMERICAN TREATMENT OF CHINA "ALWAYS FAIR"

While America, with important interests in the Far East, could not help taking part in the siege of Peking, our government has always tried to treat the Chinese fairly. We returned part of the indemnity with the proviso that it was to be used for educational purposes. Many of the leaders of the new China have received their training in this country, and there are now in our universities about 600 Chinese students, some of whom will probably become leading statesmen of the new republic.

By the Hay agreement of 1899, the United States secured the assent of the great powers to the principle that none should either exploit railways in China for the advantage of itself and its nationals, or assert any exclusive financial privileges, in virtue of industrial concessions. Notwithstanding evasions and, recently, more or less open violations of this principle, its promulgation has been of the greatest service in protecting China from spoliation. Yet, in spite of the friendship and justice shown by our government, Americans have not fared very well in railway concession and other commercial and industrial enterprises in the Flowery Kingdom. Some idea of the causes underlying our lack of success may be gathered from the following sketch of Chinese railway concessions.

In 1895 and subsequently, when, after the war with Japan, China began to realize the necessity of developing trade and industry, and of building a system of strategical and commercial railways, there were a series of loan negotiations on a comparatively small scale, between Chinese officials of the old regime and the agents of some of the foreign powers. The difficulties in the way of floating loans and awarding railway concessions upon favorable terms were, at that time, mainly due to the instability of the Manchu government and official corruption, and partly to the aggressive policies of some of the powers, especially Japan and Russia.

RAILROAD BUILDING AND FINANCE

When I first visited Tientsin, in the fall of 1892, I met a Mr. Pettie, an American, who bore the title of Director-General of the Chinese Railways. There was in all China at that time one little railroad, the Taiping Railroad, about fifty-two miles long. Last year China had 5820 miles of railroads completed and about 2200 miles under construction. The Taiping road was originally built for the exploitation of the coal mines of Tang-Shan in the province of Pechili; and was later prolonged via Taku to Tientsin. Nine years from 1880 to 1889 were consumed in its construction. This first road was results of the enterprise of Li Hung Chang, the great viceroy of Chihli. Li Hung Chang's plans for further railroad development were temporarily blocked by the re-actionary court party, who feared that railroads would open a way by which an enemy might reach the capital. After the war with Japan in 1894–1895, however, the viceroy managed to extend his railroad from Tientsin to Peking.

By an edict of 1895 Li Hung Chang and his former opponent, but new ally in railway projects, Chang Chi-Tung, viceroy of Canton, received permission to build a road from Peking to Hankow, the project to be financed by subscription from wealthy Chinese merchants. Chinese capital, however, being backward, the viceroys were allowed to secure foreign aid.

The first capitalists who answered the call were Americans, English, and Belgians. The American group of financiers, represented by Senator Washburn, sent out their engineers to survey the road. The concession, however, was given to the Belgians. The Director-General of the projected road, Sheng Hsuan Huai, in his report to the government, in December, 1897, explained the matter by saying that "the conditions offered by Americans were too unfavorable." Therefore, "the negotiations with them have been broken off and your Majesty's servant has been compelled to turn to the Belgians. The Americans endeavor to obtain too much power. So do the English capitalists." A subtile Chinese explanation satisfactory to the Oriental mind. P. H. Kent, in his book, "Railway Enterprise in China" (1907), gives Sheng's Memorial to the throne. In commenting on it, he relates that a foreigner of some experience in such matters expressed his conviction to him, that, broadly speaking, to achieve success in negotiations with Chinese, it is sound policy, within limits, to sign your agreement first and discuss its terms afterward. In other words, obtain a grant of the rights you require in principle, and then with the aid, if necessary, of your minister in Peking, proceed to dictate to the Chinese the conditions on which it is to be held. It is said that you thus satisfy the natural weakness of the Chinese for appearances. In the present case this is precisely what occurred. While the Americans were bargaining, the Belgians were accepting the terms. As Sheng himself put it "our demands were all acceded to without further discussion." A contract was in due course signed between the Belgian Syndicate and His Excellency in June, 1897.

This Belgian syndicate, according to Kent, subsequent events showed to be "a Franco-Belgian combination with Russian proclivites designed to assist the achievement of the long cherished ambition of France to join hands across China with her great Northern ally."

TRIUMPH OF THE BELGIAN SYNDICATE

But the preliminary agreement of the Chinese Government with the Belgian company, which was signed in May, 1897, did not please the financiers or diplomats whom the societies represented, and in June, 1898, the Chinese had to agree to a new contract which was much more favorable to the Syndicate. The Belgians accepted the conditions of the Chinese, signed the contract and then managed to get all the changes made for their benefit. It appears that the French Ambassador Gerard reminded the Chinese officials of a paragraph in the Franco-Chinese Treaty of June 9, 1885, which says, "On the construction of railroads, China will do all in its power to attract French industries." This was found quite sufficient to give the Belgian Syndicate, that is, the French-Russian group of financiers, such a favorable contract. As soon as the English Ambassador in Peking, Mr. McDonald, learned of the new contract, he demanded in the name of his foreign office an explanation for the "treachery" in giving out concessions without notifying the representative of Great Britain. The Chinese Government, a few days after McDonald's communication, sent an apology, and gave England a few railroad concessions, mainly in the regions of the lower Yangtze.

In December, 1897, Sheng Hsuan Huai received the consent of the government to form a Chinese company for the construction of the Southern half of the Great Chinese Railway, from Hankow to Canton. The

company was organized with Sheng as General Director. As there was no Chinese money for this great enterprise, a contract was made with the America-China Development Company, headed by Senator Calvin S. Brice. This Canton-Hankow railway was to constitute a link in a north and south line connecting Canton with Peking, distance 1300 miles. About midway the route was to cross the Yang-tze-Kiang at Hankow, the latter point being 740 miles from Canton and about 700 from Shanghai.

Part of the northern section, from Peking to Hankow, was covered by a concession granted nominally to a Belgian syndicate, generally believed, however, to be under the control of French and Russian financiers.

The work was delayed by the Spanish-American War, the Boer War, and the death of Senator Brice, and was actually begun only in 1909. Owing to some difficulties, the contract was broken, the Americans receiving $3,000,000 for work done and $3,750,000 "as compensation for the loss of valuable rights."

In the summer of 1908 Tang-Shao-yi made an agreement with Willard Straight that American capital would be employed in constructing the section of the proposed line from Tsit-sihar to Aigun. The death of the Emperor and Empress Dowager, the dismissal of Yuan-Shih-kai and other events followed and these projects were temporarily held in abeyance. Then China, in the same year, formulated an agreement for another railway loan from Canton-Hankow with British, German and French capital. The American Government reminded China that the Chinese Government specifically had promised that when it was ready to build this road and it required foreign capital American interests would have an opportunity to participate.

THE SIX-POWER LOAN CONTEST

The "Six-Power loan group," from which the United States has recently withdrawn, had its origin in an agreement among some of the powers to work together in financing the new Chinese Government. First, the Anglo-France-German group was favored. But the Americans objected that the Chinese Government, as early as 1894, had promised them to engage, not English, but American capital for the Hankow-Sechuen road. So after delays and new negotiations the Americans, on May 23, 1910, participated in the organization of a new group of four powers, soon increased to six by the admittance of Russia and Japan. Early in March came repetition of the familiar report that the loan negotiations had been completed. This was followed shortly by more authentic news of a conference in Washington, between Secretary of State William J. Bryan and representatives of J. P. Morgan & Co. and Kuhn, Loeb & Co., in regard to the projected Chinese loan. Next came President Wilson's decisive announcement that the United States Government would not accept any responsibility for the Six-Power loan, or exercise any authority therewith, and the consequent withdrawal of the American bankers from the group. It should be added that these bankers have announced that they participated in the plan at the request of the pre-administration, and also that there are many indications that they really doubted the practical participation because of the complexity of the conditions.

Although it is clear that Americans have not had their proper and natural share of business in China, the United States cannot afford to join with, or compete with, other powers in establishing "spheres of influences" by methods neither humanitarian nor civilized.

We Americans, of course, cannot afford to participate in a scheme which may have grave consequences and ultimately lead to the overthrow of the promising Chinese Republic. Having now recognized the Republic, we should continue to uphold the principles laid down in the Hay Agreement. We should vigorously protect all legitimate American business interests and closely watch over the "Open Door" and the integrity of China. We should endeavor to get our share in commerce, railway concessions and industries, but only by friendly intercourse and legitimate means.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

THE BRITISH REVIEWS

THE current British quarterlies contain the usual variety of closely woven articles on serious topics by eminent authorities thereon. Most of them start their tables of contents with some sober consideration of the general condition of international politics and economics. The *Edinburgh Review*, in twenty pages of editorial observations entitled "The European Unrest," on five recently issued books, and one article from a French review dealing with the questions arising from the Balkan war, observes that "Turkey is not the only power which has been defeated during the past six months."

> Austria, though she has fought no battles and lost no lives, has also sustained serious reverses, and finds herself badly weakened. It is not merely that her *Drang nach Osten* is definitely checked, and her thirty-five years' effort to open a road to the Egean brought to the ground. The long intrigue over Macedonia has ended in futility; the Servians are at Uskub, the Greeks and Bulgars at Salonica. That is a blow for Austrian prestige, a painful indication of the failure of her calculations, a shattering of the edifice built up with elaborate pains since the Treaty of Berlin. But there is more than this. The successes of the Balkan League have placed a formidable Slav Power upon the south of the Danube.

In two other articles the *Edinburgh* considers the changes on the European chessboard brought about by the allied victory over Turkey. "The Turkish point of view" is a composite review of an even dozen new books on the Near Eastern question. The writer, E. N. Bennett, apparently lays most of the blame for the Turkish *débacle* on the Young Turks and their "half baked" reform schemes. He also records the Turkish surprise and indignation at the alleged atrocities of the allied troops and the "land hunger" of the allies. An unsigned article on "The Naval Problem," based largely on recently issued official documents of the British admiralty, throws odium on the "little Englanders" and scores Mr. Churchill for his "naval holiday" plan. Two articles on art, prehistoric and modern, are brilliantly written, as are also the historic analyses of "Greek Genius and Greek Democracy" and "Social Life in Ireland Under the Restoration." There are economic articles packed full of information on "The Trade of Canada," by Edward Stanwood, and "The State and Telephones," and "The Demand for Compulsion" (referring to military service), by the editor. Finally, there is a fascinating article on "The Romance of the Sea Deeps," from which we quote more at length on another page.

The *Hibbert Journal* has its usual complement of thought-provoking articles on the philosophy of religion and the religion of philosophy. Professor Josiah Royce considers "The Christian Doctrine of Life." This, he says, consists in "the postulate, the prayer, the world-conquering will whose word is let the spirit triumph." Principal J. E. Carpenter points out the nobility of the Buddhist doctrine of salvation; Right Honorable G. W. Balfour discusses telepathy and metaphysics; Professor B. W. Bacon and Rev. Hubert Handley consider different phases of biblical criticism; Professor Sorley asks "Does Religion Need a Philosophy?"—evidently believing that it does. Articles on non-religious topics are: "The New Spirit in the Drama," by John Galsworthy; "How Is Wealth to Be Valued?" by John A. Hobson; and "Does Consciousness Evolve?" by L. P. Jacks.

The articles on world politics and economics in the *Quarterly Review* are in the latter half of the issue, the first part being taken up with papers on purely literary topics, including "A Study of Andrew Lang," by R. S. Rait, Salomön Reinach, Gilbert Murray and J. H. Millar; an antiquarian study of "The Alban Hills," by Thomas Ashby; "The French Revolution in Contemporary Literature," by G. K. Fortescue. British imperial politics in many different phases are considered in three unsigned articles: "The Territorial Waters and the Sea Fisheries," "The Battleship and Its Satellites," and "British Interest and British Policy in the Near East." G. F. Abbott has an informational article on "The Rumanian Factor in the Balkan Problem," in the course of which he tells some interesting things about the Kutzo-Vlachs. A number of books on the land question in Great Britain give the editor an opportunity to discuss all the rural problems of the British Isles. University education

ROWLAND HILL'S FIRST OFFICIAL ENVELOPE FOR THE "PENNY POST"
(Designed in 1840 by William Mulready)

in London is treated in a discussion of the report of the recent parliamentary commission. Bertram T. N. Smith has a long summary of "The Postage Stamp and Its History." Mr. Smith points out the fact that the first postage stamp of which we have any record was issued in Paris in 1653. He traces the history of the postage stamp and the stamped letter, recites the various changes in the method of paying for stamps and cancelling them, and concludes with a couple of paragraphs on the popularity of stamp collecting which, a generation or so ago, attained the proportions of a fad.

The monthlies of the British Isles, which also devote a large amount of space to the same sort of heavy political and economic articles that find place in the quarterlies, have a more varied program. The *Nineteenth Century and After* leads off with a stirring appeal by His Eminence, Cardinal Bourne, Archbishop of Westminster, on preparing England against a foreign attack. In the same number Major Steward L. Murray has a frank statement of "The Internal Condition of Great Britain in Time of War." W. H. Mallock in "The Social Data of Radicalism" and L. A. Atherley-Jones in "The Promised Land" make some thoughtful observations on the internal problems of the empire. Mr. Jones is not sure whether the evils attendant upon the drift away from the country to the city are not incurable. In a series of predictions as to "The Future of Aviation," Harold F. Wyatt says that Britain is so lacking in aeroplanes that "should Germany attack us during the next twelve months our admirals and our generals will resemble blind men who have to contend against opponents endowed with the acutest vision." Philippe Millet compliments France on the way she is solving her Algerian problem; Alexander Devine speaks enthusiastically of "The Achievements and Hopes of the Greek Nation"; and the Right Honorable Lord Charnwood has some vigorous things to say about "Federal Home Rule and the Government of Ireland Bill." Finally, there is an article on "The Present Position of Christianity," from which we quote more extensively on another page.

The *Fortnightly Review*—"Published Monthly"—begins its April number with a rather depressing article by Sidney Low: "Is Our Civilization Dying?" which is chiefly a discussion of the declining birth rate among highly civilized peoples. The questions of pressing political and social import to the world are handled trenchantly by J. Ellis Barker ("The Armament Race and Its Latest Developments"); "A Journalist" ("The Press in War Time"); "Islander" ("The Military Conspiracy") and Herbert Vivian ("Turkey's Asiatic Problem"). Mr. Vivian thinks that "the Turks' only excuse was military prowess." Now this has been shattered.

A wireless message has gone forth from the last ditches of Chatalja throughout the valleys and mountains and wildernesses of Asiatic Turkey proclaiming the decay of the old phantom overlord, the vanity of all his specious spells, the broken reed. Gone are all the haughty delusions of holy wars, of the solidarity of Islam, of the omnipotent indignation of militant millions. Yet many weeks have not passed since sober statesmen prated with bated breath of awful consequences inseparable from Turkish reverses. The green flag had only to be unfurled and every Moslem in India would rise against the giaours, Senussis would overrun Barbary and drive Europeans into the sea, a great wave of religious zeal would compel all men to acknowledge Allah and Muhammad, the Prophet of Allah. Yet the Turkish usurpation now disappears unmourned by the Moslem world; Islam is quietly seeking new protectors, at least a better figurehead.

After all, there is no reason why a fresh Asiatic, Moslem Empire should not arise out of Ottoman ashes. It must, of course, begin by sweeping away the ashes into a pit, out of sight and out of mind; it must inaugurate a bag-and-baggage policy beyond Gladstonian dreams, and the hour must produce the man for the work of regeneration. That need not be so hard a procreation as we think. What a Mahdi and a Khalifa began in the Sudan might well be carried to completion in Asia, the cradle of religions, the happy hunting-ground of

conquerors. But not by the effete race whose type is a fat amorous gentleman in a fez and a frock coat.

F. C. S. Schiller believes Oxford's relation to the British workingman has been misunderstood; E. A. Baughan has some things to say about Richard Strauss in an operatic problem; Horace B. Samuel writes about "The Future of Futurism;" and there are literary articles on "George Borrow in Scotland," by Clement Shorter; "Alfred de Vigny on Nature," by A. Gerothwohl; and "The Elizabethan Spirit," by G. H. Powell; and, finally, a pathetic sketch by Walter Lennard entitled "The Soul of a Suffragette."

The *Contemporary Review* contributes its quota of articles on British politics and social problems. Lord Henry Bentinck, M. P., outlines "Copartnership in Land and Housing;" Dr. R. F. Horton tells "What England is Doing in India;" Mr. J. G. Swift MacNeill finds great advance in the belief of Britons in "Home Rule and Imperial Unity;" Holford Knight considers "Women and the Legal Profession" (noticed at length on page 734); a strong article on "Albania and the Allies" is written by H. N. Brailsford, the argument of which is sustained by Dr. E. J. Dillon in his regular department of foreign affairs; Mr. E. Cecil Roberts writes affectionately of Wordsworth and his "ascendancy." "He is the poet who waited, and not in vain, for to-day his audience is a large and ever-widening one and his popularity is likely to be permanent." Finally, Ernest Newman, writing apropos of the Wagner centenary, closes his article with this suggestive sentence: "The failure of Strauss suggests that in all probability opera will only take its next really great flight when there comes a man who is, like Wagner, poet and musician in one."

The *Westminster*, besides a number of shorter articles on topics of imperial politics and domestic economic reconstruction, prints an interesting one on "Norse Law in the Hebrides;" a literary comparison of Synge and Loti; and a plea for national and municipal theatres, by William Caird.

The *English Review* contains its usual variety of articles on literary and social topics. The *National* gives up its entire issue to an exposition of "The Great Marconi Mystery" by the editor, L. J. Maxse.

The *Review of Reviews for Australasia*, now under the editorship of Henry Stead, second son of the late W. T. Stead, is of the general form as the English *Review*, with features of special interest to the readers of the Antipodes. Imperial unity, says Mr. Stead in his editorial foreword, will be the only politics of the magazines.

TOPICS TREATED IN THE AMERICAN MONTHLIES

IN the *Atlantic Monthly* for June several problems of world politics are up for discussion,—notably the Monroe Doctrine, which Mr. Hiram Bingham in an incisive article characterizes as "An Obsolete Shibboleth" and "The Real Yellow Peril," which Mr. J. O. P. Bland's analysis would lead one to diagnose as far less imminent than several of the white perils that are now looming on the Chinese horizon. A question of the hour that has thus far received comparatively little attention in the magazines is the negro's relation to the labor unions, which is broached in the *Atlantic* by Booker T. Washington, who states his conviction that the labor unions of the country can and will become an important means of doing away with the prejudice that now exists in many places against the negro laborer. He thinks that they will do this, not merely from principle, but because it is to their interest to do so.

Timely articles in the May *Century* are "Schedule K," in which N. I. Stone outlines the effect of the tariff on the wool grower, the manufacturer, the workman, and the consumer; "The Widening Field of the Moving Picture," by Charles B. Brewer; "A War Worth Waging" (describing the successful fight to improve the health of New York City), by Richard Barry; and "The Environs of Athens," by Robert Hichens. The "After the War" paper in this number is contributed by Henry Watterson, and deals with the Hays-Tilden contest for the Presidency.

In *Harper's*, two geographical papers largely monopolize prominence,—"The Wilderness of Northern Korea," by Roy C. Andrews, and "My Quest in the Arctic," by Explorer Stefánsson. An instructive article on Lincoln's early associations in Illinois is contributed to the May number by Eleanor Atkinson.

Better international understandings should be promoted by at least two of the articles in the May *Scribner's*—the seventh instalment of Price Collier's "Germany and the Germans from an American Point of View" and a selection from the letters of Charles Eliot Norton entitled "English Friends." The two travel articles this month are H. G. Dwight's "Turkish Coffee-Houses" and Ernest Peixotto's illustrated account of his journey to South Peru and Arequipa.

In the *American Magazine* Miss Ida M. Tarbell writes on "The Hunt For a Money Trust." There is a new instalment of David Grayson's charming essays entitled "The Friendly Road" and Brand Whitlock gives a pen picture of Toledo's famous Mayor, Golden Rule Jones.

Among the serious articles in *Munsey's* are "The New Cabinet," by Judson C. Welliver; "The Star Ball-Players and Their Earnings," by Frederick C. Barber; "The Vacation Savings Movement," by Hugh Thompson; and "Myths of American History," by Hubert Bruce Fuller. Professor Brander Matthews contributes an essay on essays, and Karin Michaelis asks and attempts to answer the question, "Why are Women Less Truthful than Men?"

Elsewhere we are quoting at some length from Mr. Stephen Bonsal's article on "Our Great Little Army," in *Everybody's* for May. A clever and whimsical discussion of "What America Must Be Like," from the point of view of an Englishman who has never visited our shores, is contributed by Mr. W. L. George.

In the *North American Review* currency reform, socialism, European armaments, church federation, conservation of fur seals, and the menace of Pan-Islamism are conspicuous topics, while the *Forum* is concerned with state regulation of vice, the legal minimum wage, John Pierpont Morgan, and radicalism. "Bergson's Message to Feminism" is the title of a well-written essay by Marian Cox.

EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES IN VARIOUS FIELDS

THE report of Mr. Edward Monahan in Bulletin No. 8, of the United States Bureau of Education, on the status of rural education, is one of the first results of the recent studies into the condition of rural schools. The country school was once the social center of the rural community. It focalized the scattered efforts at improvement among rural people and gave out practical help and some inspiration to the parents as well as to the pupils. Religious meetings were often held in schoolhouses; the neighborhood literary society met there and in some backwoods districts town meeting was also held in the schoolhouse. The country schoolmaster during this epoch in the life of the rural schools, was in many instances a man of wide practical experience and diversified education. These teachers often laid down a Latin grammar to grasp the plow handle or to clear land or drain a swamp. Sometimes the minister taught the winter term in a rural district and varied the usual program with religious instruction and care for the spiritual welfare of his flock. All this had disappeared by 1870. The attention of educators became centered on town and city schools, conditions of country life were rapidly changing; the country school lost its former character as a social center; and it is only recently that there has sprung up sporadically in various sections of the States a keen interest in bringing the rural school back to its former place as a leading factor in the social life of the community.

For the last twenty-five years the country school has been a failure as an educational institution. Illiteracy in the country exceeds, twice over, the illiteracy of cities. Three-fifths of all the school children in the United States are classed as "rural" by the Bureau of Education. This rural school population consists of approximately 17,000,000 children and young people between six and twenty years of age. From these figures it must clearly be perceived that the real educational problem of those States having a large rural population is the country school.

Kentucky at the present time is experiencing the greatest educational awakening of any State in the Union; Ohio, with Dr. H. L. Brittain at the head of a school survey, is beginning the examination of 1000 rural schools, also of a number of village and special district schools and of all the normal schools in the State. Since Septembr 1, 1911, agriculture has been a mandatory branch in the common schools of Ohio. Wisconsin is also well to the front in efforts to raise the standards of rural education and combine all the schools of the State into one great coöperating university.

Mr. Monahan states in his report that as yet very few careful studies of country schools have been made; that we have amazingly little accurate information about them. What he finds that we do know is "that their terms are short, their support inadequate, their teachers poorly prepared, the attendance irregular, the management unscientific and wasteful of time, money, and energy, the courses of study ill-adapted to their needs and the houses in which the children are taught cheap, poorly equipped, and furnished."

Not every country teacher is able to attempt the work of organization and standardization single-handed; therefore the Bureau of Education has rather tardily taken the country school in hand. The well-trained, well-paid teacher is finding her way to the rural schools; the old-style unsanitary school building is being rapidly replaced by a model building, perfectly equipped for the moral and mental health of the pupils, with space for a library and a work-room for cooking, sewing, and manual training. These new schoolhouses are provided with shade-trees, flowers, and ample playgrounds. Where stoves are used they are jacketed and supplied with a foul air extractor. With the present approved system of heating the model one-teacher country schoolhouse, the temperature does not vary over four degrees in different locations in the room, whereas in the flimsy, frame buildings formerly used there was a variance in temperature of as high as twenty-five degrees.

One of the most significant changes in the teaching regime in rural schools is the introduction of a subject that should have been the obvious one from the beginning, namely agriculture. A school in Page County, Iowa, has a model farm (small scale), model henhouse, and school gardens which are the work of pupils. From this school comes a girls' cooking class that took first prize at the State Fair. Another country school at Chokio, Minnesota, uses a Babcock machine for testing milk as a part of its educational equipment.

The consolidation of small country districts has worked out favorably in the absolute equalization of school advantages. District organization is found to be less useful than county organization, for with the district system, while there "may be efficient schools, there can never be an efficient system of schools." Owing in part to the inefficiency of the district system, the rural schools are still far behind the city schools in three essentials,—supervision, organization, and administration.

THE UTAH AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE

The Agricultural College of Utah has come to the assistance of that long-suffering individual, the farmer's wife, with an exhibit of labor-saving devices for the farm home.

The whole "Back-to-the-Farm" movement fails without the intelligent coöperation of women. As the day of the patient farm-drudge is past, woman's work on the farm must have the same scientific labor-saving devices that man's work on the farm had had for many years. The model farm-house rivals the conveniences of a city home in labor-savers which include efficient water and lighting systems, vacuum cleaners, refrigerator, sewing and washing machines, dish washer, mangle for plain ironing, alcohol hand-iron, carpet sweeper, bread and cake mixers, fireless cookers, steam cooker, and dinner wagons on wheels for saving steps in carrying food from kitchen to dining-room and countless other small conveniences of kitchen cabinets and kitchen utensils. The use of paper towels for harvest hands and for ordinary household use is one of the unique suggestions of this western college that aims to coöperate with the home. The coöperative ownership by farmers' wives of labor-saving devices is advised where for financial reasons individual ownership is impossible. A large vacuum cleaner and a large mangle can be used coöperatively as well as a threshing machine.

A type of model farm home is one built and owned by Mr. W. S. Hansen, of Fielding, Utah. The house is a four-story, twelve-room modern brick dwelling. It contains the following improvements: "Hot water heating system; hot and cold water for kitchen and laundry, two lavatories, two bath rooms, electric-light system, also acetylene gas-lighting system, laundry fully equipped, stationary vacuum cleaner with pipe connections to the four floors, clothes chute to basement, ash tank in basement for each grate, cement basement, and cement walks around the house.

"The whole equipment is run by a two-and-one-half horse-power gasoline engine which also pumps water into a tank in the barn which is used for watering the animals." Further details about this work of the Utah Agricultural College may be found in Circular No. 7 of the Extension Division.

WOMEN AND THE LEGAL PROFESSION

ONE of the most brilliant and promising of the younger members of the English bar is Mr. Holford Knight of the Middle Temple.

Mr. Holford Knight is a well-known Liberal, having been for several years the honorary secretary of "The New Reform Club" in Adelphi Terrace, and being at present affiliated with the more celebrated institution in Pall Mall known as The Reform Club.

He is a moderate suffragist, being in favor of the advancement of women to positions of responsibility and power in degree as they show themselves capable by ability and training of such advancement. He is, on the other hand, strongly opposed to the methods of the militants, which he considers not only improper in themselves, but so gravely mistaken in tactics as already to have seriously retarded and injured the cause they are meant to further.

Nevertheless he had the courage to stand as sponsor for Miss Christabel Pankhurst in her recent application for admission to the bar—an application which it is perhaps needless to remark was promptly and even derisively rejected.

It is notable, however, that his argument was as judicial and logical as that of his opponent was heated and sarcastic.

The admission of women to the practice of law, so long an accepted fact in this country, is at the present moment a burning question in England, and Mr. Holford Knight was therefore asked by the *Contemporary Review* for an article upon this subject.

In this article, which appears in the May number, the author presents the matter with a brilliant lucidity and a cold-blooded impartiality which make his final conclusion far more effective than the flaming and perfervid utterances of any zealot could be. It is this quality too which makes certain paragraphs peculiarly applicable, not merely to the problem stated, but to the far wider question of the extension of women's privileges and duties in many other directions including that of the suffrage.

As a general rule which is increasingly followed in most walks of life, the criterion of ability is applied to the individual and not to the individual's sex. . . . The progressive extension of this test of fitness has been one of the outstanding marks of advancing civilization. . . . Further, subject to the reservations which must be described this is a fact which was bound to arrive in a world increasingly invaded by woman's ability and economic needs, and its further application is inevitable.

He then discusses the reservations referred to, viz., those constituted by a "bar of nature" and those due to social expediency.

Under the former head he groups the three commonest hostile arguments: (1) physical disability; (2) defects of temperament and mind; (3) interference with justice owing to sex influence.

The first is briefly dismissed as not borne out by the facts in regard to women now occupied in other laborious industries and professions, to say nothing of the fact that many men achieve success despite the interruptions of equally serious physical disabilities. As to the third, he finds sex influence and sex prejudice already operative in many courts of law. The entrance of women of exceptional ability and arduous training into such courts might indeed be expected to lessen, rather than increase, such prejudice. The second objection—so often hotly and fiercely debated—is handled with an even-tempered wit and a convincing fair-mindedness.

The second objection has more substance. It is alleged that there exist in women defects of temperament and mind which justify this exclusion. Certain faults, it is clear, whether exhibited by men or women, are inconsistent with efficiency in the legal profession. The distinction between barrister and solicitor may be disregarded in this connection; for whatever difference of function may exist, they share a wide field of common activity, and some general qualifications are essential to both. For instance, a disposition to "jump" to conclusions rather than to reach them by steps supplied by evidence; to become angry with others holding different views of the same matter; to resent adverse criticism; to give play to sex prejudice when one of the opposite sex is concerned; to talk instead of listening when spoken to; and to act generally as a private individual intent on self-assertion rather than as an officer of justice of whom dignity and responsibility are required—all these traits are quite inconsistent with the proper discharge of legal duties. Men, it is true, exhibit these failings in some courts of justice, but it is suggested women would display them more frequently and with greater assiduity. While I take leave to doubt whether the normal experience of private life supplies any strong refutation of this allegation, we must recollect again that we are considering the case of exceptional women. I cannot see why we should anticipate any marked digression from the experience gained as to men in similar positions. "Character forms itself in the stream of the world," and the correction supplied by education and training will be as effective in the case of women as it has proved to be in regard to men.

THE ENGINEERS AND FLOOD CONTROL

AS one sequel of the Ohio valley floods authoritative articles on the problems of flood control are now appearing in the technical journals. One of these is contributed to the *Scientific American*, of May 3, by Mr. Charles Whiting Baker, editor-in-chief of the *Engineering News*. In his discussion of the cause of the recent floods Mr. Baker fully confirms the statements made in "The Story of the Great Floods," which appeared in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS for May, having been written several weeks before the appearance of the *Scientific American* article.

Mr. Baker regards it as a common and widespread fallacy with reference to the floods that they are more frequent now than in former years and attain higher elevation. The explanation of this supposed fact is attributed to the clearing of the forests, the cultivation of the land, and the draining of swamps. Notwithstanding the prevalence of this explanation, Mr. Baker asserts on the "highest scientific authority" that the presence or absence of forests on a watershed has very little influence on floods in the streams which flow from it. He further maintains that there is no satisfactory evidence that the presence of forests increases the amount of rainfall, at least under the climatic conditions that exist in the United States. The idea that the climate is gradually changing Mr. Baker regards as equally unfounded. There are, however, from causes not fully determined, recurrent cycles of wet years and of dry years. Such a cycle of dry years came to an end in this country about two years ago. We are apparently now beginning a cycle of wet years, during which we may expect the average annual rainfall to be excessive.

The writer proceeds to give some of the reasons why, in his opinion, the presence of forests upon a watershed has comparatively little effect upon floods flowing from it. It is admitted that forests do have some influence in equalizing the rate of run-off from a drainage area during periods of ordinary rainfall. The mulch of dead leaves which covers the ground under forest trees is able to absorb half an inch, an inch, or possibly even two inches of rainfall, but after the point of saturation is reached, any additional heavy rainfall runs off very rapidly from the water surface formed by the rain that has previously fallen. In the recent Ohio storms the rain poured down day after day upon ground already saturated from the winter snows and rains, and as soon as the ground surface was covered with water, the additional rain flowed rapidly off on the surface of the water underneath. Considering that the total depth of the rain which fell in this four-day storm was nearly a foot at some points, there seems to be some justification for Mr. Baker's contention that the enormous discharge of water into the Ohio rivers would have taken place even if the whole State had been covered with forests.

In further support of his view, Mr. Baker cites the records of great torrents flowing from regions covered with dense forests. The Hudson River is an example. The flood in this river, on March 27–29, caused great damage at Troy and at Albany and at other points, yet the height which the flood attained and the volume of water flowing in the river were less than the flood of 1857, when the whole Adirondack region, in which the Hudson has its source, was covered with primeval forests.

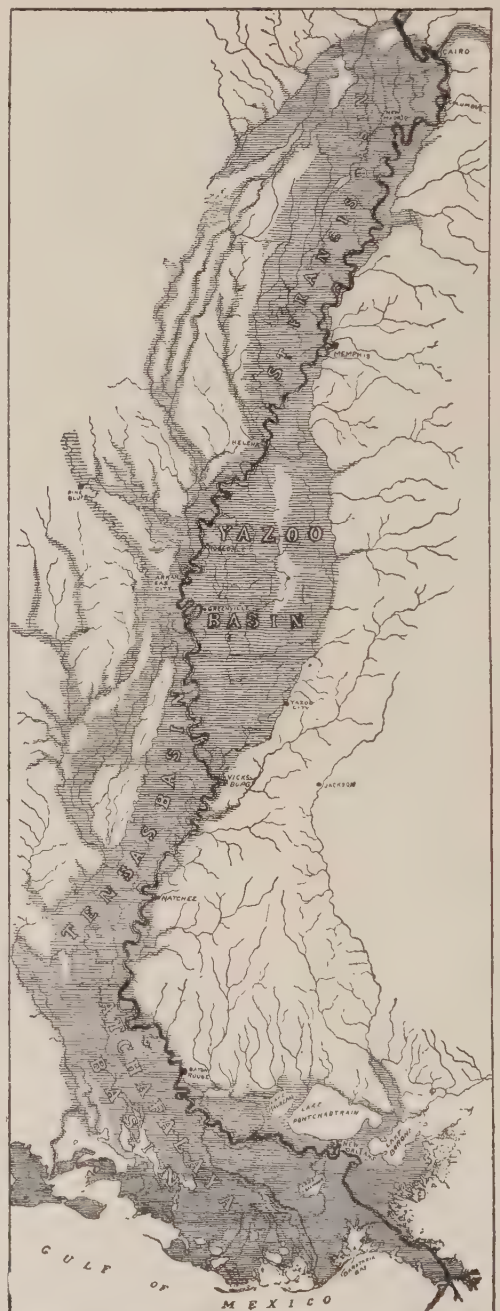
As to the prevalent idea that the cultivation of the prairies and the draining of the swamps have increased the floods in the Mississippi, Mr. Baker notes that the greatest flood height on record at St. Louis occurred in 1844, and the next highest in 1785. At both these dates the entire territory drained by the upper Mississippi and the Missouri rivers was practically uncultivated.

Mr. Baker's conclusion, then, is that the recent floods were caused by an extraordinarily heavy rainfall and that nothing that man has done in the removal of the forest, cultivation of the ground, or drainage of the forests had anything to do with it. Such floods, however, come only at long intervals. Since they are not increasing in frequency or height, the danger to cities built upon a river's flood plain is no greater to-day than it always has been. There are two general methods by which the flood waters of the river may be controlled and prevented from spreading over its flood plains. The first is to build embankments or levees along the river banks so as to confine the waters within a channel; the second is to build reservoirs upon the tributary streams which form a river and store up in them the flood waters, to be gradually discharged later to increase the river's low-water flow.

As to the reservoir system, Mr. Baker points out that all the instances where river regulation by this method is successful are on rivers of small size, like the Croton River, which furnishes New York's present water

supply, the Nashua River, which supplies Boston with water, the costly Gatun dam of the Panama Canal works. Considering the high cost of reservoir construction, and then recalling the enormous volume of flow of the Scioto River during the recent floods (estimated at 138,000 cubic feet a second) we are brought face-to-face with the practical difficulties of the situation. As Mr. Baker shows, there are very few artificial reservoirs anywhere which have as great a width as the flood plain in the city of Columbus—over two miles. Even if it were possible to build such reservoirs, it would be extremely difficult to find sites for them. Moreover, it was brought out at the recent Drainage Congress, at St. Louis, by Colonel Townsend, president of the Mississippi River Commission, that the floods on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers are due to rainfall upon their lower tributaries rather than to the increments from the distant headwaters in the mountains, where it is proposed to build storage reservoirs. Assuming that at the time of the recent floods there had been storage reservoirs available, not merely on the headwaters of the Allegheny and the Monongahela, but at Pittsburgh, St. Paul, and St. Joseph, Mo., Col. Townsend estimates that the flood flow of 2,000,000 cubic feet per second at Cairo would have been diminished by only 35,000 cubic feet per second by such reservoirs, or less than 2 per cent. of the total volume.

Turning to the levee system of the lower Mississippi River, Mr. Baker states that the levees on either side of the river, having a total length of about 1525 miles, contain 250,000,000 cubic yards of earth, and protect from inundation about 16,000,000 acres of lands as fertile as any on the globe. In its present condition the levee system is sufficient to confine all ordinary floods, and in the years from 1897 to 1912 the floods were held between the levees, except for a few small breaks in 1903. The floods of 1912 and 1913 have exceeded all previous records. There are weak places, it is true, in the levees, and these have failed during the past two years. This, however, is not the fault of the levee system, but is due to the fact that the levees have been built not to the height and width and strength that engineers knew to be advisable, but to such dimensions as the land owners along the river were willing to tax themselves for. Mr. Baker estimates that it would cost less than four dollars per acre of land protected to raise and strengthen the levees so that they would be safe against floods much higher even than those of the present year, and much of this land is worth, at the present time, one hundred dollars per acre, or more.



THE 20,000,000 ACRES (SHADED) PROTECTED BY LEVEES ON THE LOWER MISSISSIPPI

(Many of the plantations in this area are valued at from $100 to $200 per acre)

THE REMOVAL OF TIMBER OFTEN RESULTS IN SUCH CONDITIONS AS THIS,—FAVORABLE TO DISASTROUS FLOODS

A PLEA FOR REFORESTATION

WHILE it has been repeatedly asserted of late, especially in the article by Mr. Baker, summarized above, that the presence or absence of forests on a watershed has comparatively little to do with the frequency or extent of floods in the streams which flow from it, there are many trained observers who take a different view of the effects of deforestation. Such are some of the experts of the United States Geological Survey and of the Forest Service who have recently made an investigation of two adjacent White Mountain watersheds of nearly the same size, and otherwise similar in all respects except that one was well forested, while the other had been logged and burned over.

Writing in *American Forestry* on the subject of the Ohio floods, Mr. Robert V. R. Reynolds, of the United States Forest Service, calls attention to the report on the White Mountains published by the Geological Survey. This report sets forth the general conclusion that "a direct relation exists between forest cover and stream regulation." The report further states that throughout the White Mountains the removal of forest growth "must be expected to decrease the natural steadiness of dependent streams, during the spring months at least. Deforestation followed by fires results in conditions unfavorable to natural spring storage because conductive to rapid snow melting and stream run-off."

From a review of the results of experiments and observations conducted by foresters and other scientists in all parts of the world the Forest Service holds that the presence of forest tends to equalize the flow of streams throughout the year by making the low stages higher and the high stages lower. Floods produced by exceptional meteorological conditions such as prevailed in the Ohio river valleys last March cannot be prevented by forests. It is believed, however, that without the mitigating influence of forests floods are more severe and destructive than when the timber was standing.

Another opinion expressed in Mr. Reynolds' article which runs counter to some of the statements made by engineers apropos of the Ohio floods is that destructive floods are on the increase. It is admitted that even when heavily forested a portion of the Ohio basin suffered from floods many years ago, but the researches of the Geological Survey and of the Forest Service seem to show that the valleys of those streams that rise in the Appalachian mountains suffer more fre-

quently from floods than formerly and these increases seem to be greatest on the Ohio and certain other rivers where the most forests have been destroyed.

Of the various plans suggested for future protection against floods, it is clear that no one can be sufficient by itself. Each plan depends intimately upon the other for enough aid to render the whole scheme successful. Both the levee plan and the storage reservoir plan are dependent, according to Mr. Reynolds' view, upon reforestation of all available parts of the watershed. This reforestation should take place mainly upon the steep country at the sources of the rivers—the portion of every watershed which is most sensitive and at the point where the greatest erosion takes place.

Floods like those in the Ohio valley would soon fill with debris any system of reservoirs that could be constructed, unless the silt and gravel resulting from erosion at the head are kept out of the river. The most effective means of this is reforestation. Mr. Reynolds concludes, therefore, that no conceivable forest upon a watershed could have completely prevented the Ohio floods of the present year, but, on the other hand, that "no system of improvements for flood prevention on the Ohio which leaves protection forests out of account can be either economical or permanently successful."

WHAT THE JAPANESE DO IN CALIFORNIA

A STRAIGHTFORWARD statement of the number and occupation of the Japanese in California—particularly useful at the present moment—appears in the April issue of the *Japan Magazine*, "A Representative Monthly of Things Japanese," published, and edited in English, in Tokyo. The writer, who does not sign his name, is frankly a Japanese, but he writes fairly and temperately.

Speaking of the immigration of Japanese to the Golden State, he says:

The first Japanese immigrants to America, some 40 in all, set out for California in 1869, not long after Japan herself was opened to the foreigner. From that time onward there has been a steady stream of immigration from year to year, culminating at last in numbers that tended to cause alarm among the laboring population of the west. At first the stream was naturally thin. In 1878 there were only 120 Japanese in California. During the next ten years the number had increased to 1,000; and the ensuing decade saw it swell to 13,000; and by 1907 there were no less than 57,000 Japanese in the Golden State. Thus in a population of 2,377,569 the Japanese numbered 56,760, or about one-fortieth of the total inhabitants, comprising 44,368 males; 7,202 women; 2,703 boys and 2,487 girls. In 1908 the Japanese population of California had arisen to 60,780, the largest figure in the history of the country. The new immigration regulations, restricting the movement of Japanese to the United States, came into force shortly afterwards, and from that time the stream has grown smaller and smaller, and is still on the decline.

Most of the Japanese who come to California are engaged in agriculture. As to their number and influence, this writer says:

In 1911 the acreage under cultivation by Japanese in California was 239,720, mostly given up to potatoes, vineyards, orchards, berries and various vegetables; the total value of products amounting to no less than $12,507,000 annually. As the total agricultural products of the state amounted to about $58,000,000, it will be seen that the Japanese farmers produced nearly 20 per cent. of the whole. This takes no account of the amount of labor performed by Japanese on land over which they have no control. If this be reckoned, it might be said that the Japanese produce at least 90 per cent. of the total results of agriculture in California. More than fifty per cent. of the vineyard labor is in the hands of Japanese, and the same may be said of vegetable cultivation. Indeed it is not too much to say that the Japanese are the life of agricultural California.

JAPANESE AT WORK ON A CALIFORNIA FRUIT RANCH

JAPANESE LABORERS IN A CALIFORNIA CELERY FIELD

What the land would do without them is a question no one, not even their severest critics, has ever dared to answer.

In the districts surrounding the Bay of San Francisco the Japanese are an invaluable portion of the community. In the Alameda agricultural district the American population is about 26,000, while the Japanese is about 1,200, rising in the summer season to over 2,000. Some 200 are engaged in the salt fields; but the rest give their time to market gardening, orcharding and general agriculture; and without their assistance the orchards of the district could never place the fruit on the market in proper time and condition. It is their deft fingers that handle the millions of cherries, tomatoes and apricots that swell the market in season, and they also take an important place in the immense wheat harvest of the vast fertile valleys of the State.

In the northern portion of the great State there are some 16,500 Japanese, nearly all of whom are devoted to the tilling of the soil. Perhaps the most successful and important Japanese farmers of the State are in this northern district. Around Sacramento they are among the greatest fruit growers, vineyardists and vegetable producers the country knows.

The low-lying district along the river is tabooed by the native population, and given up almost wholly to the men from the rice fields of Nippon. Without the Japanese this whole fertile district would probably be idle and useless. Near Stockton alone there are about 4,000 Japanese farmers, all doing a brisk and productive business. I have seen a good deal of these; have lived near them and bought from them, and have always found them a practical, honest and enterprising set of men.

Describing the agricultural and horticultural beauties of the San Joaquin Valley, this writer says they could not have been developed without the Japanese laborers.

This vast harvest of fruit and grain could hardly be gathered in but for the help of Japanese hands. During the time of the anti-Asiatic agitation the number of Japanese in this district became somewhat reduced. Indians, Greeks, Mexicans and Italians took their places; but these were soon found to be inferior to the Japanese as practical orchardists and harvesters. The American managers freely admit that one Japanese proves equal to at least three or four of these other nationalities, when it comes to agriculture. It is now, I think, admitted that middle California cannot be fully developed without the assistance of Japanese labor.

As to the character of the Japanese workers the writer of this article is very explicit. He evidently speaks from an intimate knowledge of the country and his countrymen there. He says:

Round about Los Angeles the Japanese are the chief agriculturists and market gardeners. They form the most influential and enterprising of the green-grocers in the markets of the southern city, always outdoing natives and Chinese. The same is true of them along the coast towns. The Japanese farmer, as in his native land, is a sober, hardworking man, always trying to have his own little hut and his wife and family, when he is permitted to have a wife. He does not hang around the saloons and questionable places, wast-

ing his savings. It will indeed be a sad day for agriculture in California when the Japanese abandon it.

The Japanese in America are not all agrarian workers, however; they engage also in commerce and the professions, and in this respect are no less successful than the other immigrants settling down in the United States.

In trade the Japanese have an uphill fight; for the native population is likely to deal chiefly with its own tradesmen, so that the Japanese are left to cater to their own countrymen for the most part. As importers and exporters the Japanese are, however, coming more and more to occupy a position of importance in the trade of California. As hotel keepers, provisioners, laundrymen and cooks they are unexcelled, and are doing a very flourishing business. The income from each of the branches of enterprise mentioned was, last year, over $1,000,000; while other arts and crafts are followed with varying degrees of success by large numbers of other Japanese. The most prosperous of this class are in San Francisco, where the Japanese population is now over 7,000. When one thinks of the handicaps they have had to contend with there, the marvel is that they have succeeded so well. In such trades as laundry business, tailoring, dyeing and shoemaking, the competition is extremely keen, and jealousy prevails to a great degree; but the Japanese are well holding their own. In Fresno, in middle California, the Japanese were at first separated from the commercial center of the native merchants; but the Japanese have now opened shops supplying natives and Japanese alike, and are doing well. The Japanese report that at least 70 per cent of their customers in Fresno are white people, or *pink* people, to speak with due respect for truth.

The Japanese in California also take a considerable share in the fisheries of the State. On this point we quote again:

First beginning at Monterey and Los Angeles, they now are to be seen engaged in the fisheries of almost every town along the coast, in many of which they almost monopolize this occupation. The Japanese fishermen not only supply a large part of the domestic market, but their canneries supply a further demand in Hawaii. In Los Angeles alone some seven-tenths of the fishery business is taken by the Japanese.

Considering the amount of discussion that has been caused by Japanese immigration to California, it may be taken for granted, says this writer, that "questions of social ethics and religion are among the most important that have to be faced by the immigrants in making good their right to live in America."

It will be admitted at the outset that the Japanese are as anxious for education, both for themselves and their children, as any people in the world. This is quite a characteristic of the Japanese in California, no less than among their fellow-countrymen at home. When it is understood that the Japanese in California have a birth rate of about 1,000 a year, the problem of education becomes a pressing one. In 1911 there were found to be some 2,426 Japanese children of school age, that is, from 5 to 20 years of age. Of these, 582 attend American primary schools and 532 go to Japanese primary schools, in addition to which there are a number of Japanese children at various schools here and there through the State. The difficulty is that of the total number of school age not half have an opportunity of getting an education. One reason is that all those of exactly the age of five are not admitted to school, being less than five from an American point of view. Also there are numbers of parents who have not yet decided whether to send their children to Japanese schools or American schools; and so the children go nowhere. Moreover, in the agricultural districts many of the Japanese are so far from school that the children cannot go. There are also a number of Japanese at higher institutions of learning in California. Of these some 186 are at high schools, and at the various universities there are usually from 20 to 30 Japanese students. The Japanese in California spend about $18,000 annually on their primary schools, including 11 kindergartens connected with the said schools. They also have established schools for the teaching of language, cooking and crafts. In fact they are doing all within their ability to fit themselves to take an intelligent part in the great civilization in which they find themselves placed.

The Japanese have not lost all their home ways and traditions.

As to religion, the immigrants are either Buddhists or Christians. The impetus is in favor of Christianity and most of the Japanese incline that way. They have their churches and their clergy, and the American Christians maintain missions for them; while at the various Christian meetings and conventions there is always a fair sprinkling of Japanese. Of Japanese churches there are at least 48 now in the State, with 42 pastors or missionaries, and the membership is about 2,600. Last year the members contributed some $23,462 for the support of Christian work.

The Buddhist cause among the Japanese in California is under the auspices of Hongwanji sect, whose priests are laboring for the spreading of the faith among their countrymen. There are now about 14 places of worship, with an equal number of priests, and the amount annually contributed for the support of the religion is $16,400 with a membership of some 4,663.

Summing up, this writer says:

It will be seen that on the whole the Japanese in California are in a prosperous condition; and that compared with the rest of the population they are no less morally and spiritually inclined than the Americans. Considering the prejudice with which they have had to contend they have entered to a marvellous extent into the life and activity of the country, and have taken a very important part in its development. There is no doubt that as the spirit of true humanity and civilization prevails, racial prejudice will give way to genuine neighborliness and sociality, and the Japanese will be as welcome in California as the immigrants of Europe.

MEXICAN FEUDALISM

THE question, "What is the matter with Mexico?" receives a partial answer in the *Metropolitan* for May from the pen of John Kenneth Turner, who has studied Mexican conditions for years at first hand and has been an eye witness of the recent upheavals in that country.

It is stated by an authority whom Mr. Turner deems trustworthy that during the past two and a half years nearly 100,000 Mexicans have died by bullet, sword or bayonet, while property to the value of tens of millions of dollars has been destroyed, and business has been all but ruined. At the same time the poverty of the nation has grown more and more acute. For the cause of all this Mr. Turner does not look to political conditions alone; he believes that democracy has not failed in Mexico, for it has never been tried there. Indeed, except in a secondary sense, he denies that democracy itself is now the issue. He finds the key to the whole situation in one word—feudalism. While the civilized world generally has abolished the feudal system, it still flourishes in all its essentials in Mexico.

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TYPICAL MEXICAN REVOLUTIONISTS

The revolution that drove out Porfirio Diaz, according to Mr. Turner, was not fought to put Madero in the presidential chair, since many Mexicans took up arms who had never heard of Madero, and others who were unfriendly toward him from the first. What Madero's followers were really fighting for was something far more important than their leader's personal fortunes. The revolution was really a spontaneous uprising of the Mexican people to put an end to certain intolerable conditions, practically all of which were integral parts of the feudal system.

Specifically, some of these conditions are summarized thus by Mr. Turner:

Land holdings are concentrated to a greater degree in Mexico to-day than they were in France in 1789. Seven thousand families hold practically all the arable land. If the distribution were proportionately the same as it is in the United States, one million Mexican families would be in possession of titles to landed property. In the state of Morelos, the center of the Zapatist revolt, twelve *haciendados* (proprietors) own nine-tenths of the farming property. In Chihuahua, the center of the agrarian revolution in the north, the Terrazas family holds nearly twenty million acres, which comprise nearly all the tillable soil of that state. The greater portion of the state of Yucatan is held by thirty men, kings of sisal hemp. The territory of Quintana Roo, which is double the size of Massachusetts, is divided among eight companies. When I visited Madero on January 27, he unrolled a map of Lower California showing the land gifts of General Diaz. That territory, equal in area to Alabama, had been sold in five vast tracts for about three-fifths of a cent an acre.

In the United States the farmer is an humble person; in Mexico he is a king of millionaires. The typical farm in Mexico is not of one hundred and sixty acres, nor yet of sixteen hundred, but of a million. The Madero holdings in Coahuila run into the millions of acres. Nowhere in the world, not in India nor Egypt nor any country, are found the vast cotton plantations that are discovered in the state of Durango.

In a news dispatch regarding the operations of the rebels, which recently appeared in the Mexican papers, it was casually mentioned that on one farm in the state of Puebla, the Atencingo, the rebels had burned two million pesos' worth of sugar cane. If the crop standing in the fields was worth two million pesos, how much might the farm itself be worth?

Instead of showing a tendency to break up, this feudal system has been steadily growing stronger. Always, since the beginning of Spanish rule in Mexico, land has been held in huge tracts and there have been feudal lords and serfs. In Spanish times, however, and for some years after independence was

achieved, a considerable proportion of the common people had farms of their own, but, under Diaz, nearly all of these small holdings were swept away. They were swallowed up by the big farms. Production, however, was a secondary consideration; only a small proportion of the million-acre farms are cultivated. The chief reason why the little farm was grabbed by the wealthy landlord, says Mr. Turner, was to prevent the people from working for themselves. Having lost their lands, they had no other means of livelihood except to become peons on the big farms.

Another reason for increasing farm holdingings, of course, was to hold them for speculative purposes. Whatever the motive, the result of this land concentration was to give to Mexico a system analogous, in all the essentials, to the feudal system of Europe in the nineteenth century.

Not only did the Mexican feudal lord gain the power to dictate the daily living of the peon, but he also held and exercised, practically speaking, the power of life and death itself. "In the capital was a written constitution which proclaimed that all men were free, but to a man who owned a million acres and ten thousand peons, this constitution meant nothing, and it meant nothing to the peons." The general result of the feudal system in Mexico, as Mr. Turner views it, is that the country has fallen far behind her neighbors in everything that stands for progress. While tremendously rich in natural resources, Mexico is very poor when it comes to products, especially in agricultural products. A large proportion of the million-acre farms lie fallow. So long as the peon is so cheap that primitive methods are cheaper than modern methods, modern machinery will not be introduced. Only a small proportion of the Mexican population has any money to spend for anything, and so there is almost no home market for the products of the country. Many of the richest Mexican families live in Europe and never visit the country from which they derive their sustenance. More than half the population of the country are peons.

THE FIRST CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN BRITAIN

THE beginnings of the English Church, like those of many other institutions of widespread influence, writes Mr. Albert Porter in the *Churchman* (New York), are to be found in the least likely place.

> Not at Westminster, at Canterbury, or at Winchester need we search for the site of the first Christian church in Britain: we shall find it in the heart of an agricultural county. Although easy of access from London (131 miles) and from the cathedral city of Bristol (35½ miles), the quaint little town of Glastonbury, in Somersetshire, is visited by comparatively few Americans. . . . To Churchmen especially is the region of interest by reason of the fact that here for nineteen hundred years the observances of the Christian religion have been maintained without a break, and also that here, five hundred years before St. Augustine set up his *cathedra* at Canterbury, had been planted the first Christian church in Britain.

As with much of the early history of England, the first information about Glastonbury comes from a monkish record. In this case it is William of Malmesbury who, in his "De Antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiæ," relates the legend.

> In the year 63 Joseph of Arimathea and eleven disciples, sent over from Gaul by St. Philip, came to this district and sought to convert the British king Arviragus, who, while declining baptism, gave to them a certain island "surrounded by marshes and called Ynis-witren" ("glassy island" or "island of glassy water"). The region abounded in withes or osiers, and of these Joseph and his disciples built in honor of the Blessed Virgin a little church, the walls of which were "wattled all round." About a hundred years later two missionaries, sent to England by Pope Eleutherus, came to Ynis-witren and established there a fraternity of anchorites by whom the wicker structure, the *Vetusta Ecclesia* or "old church," was restored and repaired. . . . When St. Patrick came to Glastonbury, as Ynis-witren was now called, he found "twelve hermits living here apart, in cells and caves; he taught them to live together in common, and appointed himself their abbot." St. Patrick held the office for thirty-nine years, and was buried in 472 "in the *Vetusta Ecclesia* on the south side of the altar."

It is not necessary to depend on mere monkish legend for support of the claim put forth for the Glastonbury site; for, as the article says:

> All writers on the subject, and there are many of them, agree on the one fact that in British or Roman times a chapel or an oratory was built at Glastonbury by converts—whether disciples or apostles—of the best materials they could find, and that this low, wattled structure was venerated under the name of *Vetusta Ecclesia* as the first Christian church in Britain.

According to an old brass plate, formerly affixed to a pillar in one of the Glastonbury

churches, the dimensions of the old church were: length, 60 feet; breadth, 26 feet. The black-letter inscription on this plate, besides recording the arrival of Joseph of Arimathea and his colleagues, stated that St. David, Archbishop of Menovia, added a chancel at the east end of this church which he had adorned with "a sapphire of inestimable value." And "it is interesting to note here that at the dissolution of monasteries, under Henry VIII, among the lists of jewels, vestments, shrines, etc., delivered to the king, occurs the following entry: 'Item delyvered into his Majestie the same day (25th of May) a superalture garnished with silver and gilt, called the great Saphire of Glasgonburge.'" Ina, king of the West Saxons, besides plentifully endowing the monastery of Glastonbury, built a great church, known as the *Major Ecclesia*, which existed together with the old church when Turstinus, the first Norman abbot, succeeded. The two edifices stood until May 25, 1184, on which date "a conflagration destroyed the whole monastery, including the venerated *Vetusta Ecclesia* (which in the seventh century had been cased with boards) with its ornaments and treasures." Henry II, who had held the abbey for some time, at once proceeded to rebuild, and "where, from the beginning, the *Vetusta Ecclesia* had stood, he built the Church of St. Mary with stones of the most perfect workmanship, profusely ornamented." The remains of this church are among the most striking features of the abbey ruins to-day.

GLASTONBURY ABBEY, ON THE SITE OF THE FIRST CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN ENGLAND

SAN FRANCISCO AND PANAMA

THE development of our western States and the new impetus what will be given them by the opening of the Panama Canal are discussed in a recent issue of the *Deutsche Revue*, (Berlin). The writer, after a most suggestive comparison of the sharply contrasting civilizations of the Atlantic and Pacific nations of the globe, takes up the possibilities in store for our western States and for foreign nations in connection with them, by the completion of the canal. He says in substance:

The strongest expression of the self-consciousness of the American West is the plan of making the international exposition in San Francisco coincident with the opening of the Panama Canal. In the eastern States little attention is given to the idea. Even leading circles seem scarcely cognizant of it, while their press is almost silent on the subject. Interest increases on entering the region of the Rockies and reaches its climax in San Francisco.

What seems the indifference of the East may be partially jealousy. For the East owns the railroads which want to hold the West and which may be compelled, on account of the canal, to reform their management and radically revise their rates. The East has hitherto been the "middle-man" for the products of the West. The opening of the canal may change all that. The East, finally, holds the political power. This will diminish in proportion to the increase of population and progress of the West.

In conclusion, the writer dwells on the new opportunities which the canal will open up for European, and particularly German, trade with our Pacific States. The opening of the canal, he says, will mean not so much the replacement of one trade route by another as a fundamental change in the economic position of our Far West, which may be expected, for the first time, to assert its commercial independence and seek its own connections with the world at large.

The Pacific nations have recognized the significance of the moment. Japan was the first to appear on the scene in San Francisco, and was

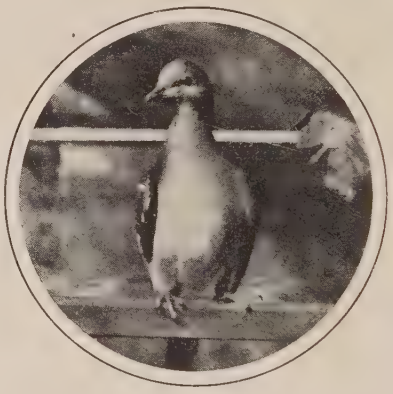
followed by the western states of South America because they anticipate a repetition of their own progress. Haltingly the European nations stand back, and the American East is apparently indifferent. We can not, indeed, tell what the Europeans can bring back from San Francisco, but one thing is certain—that success will come to him only who is right on the spot, because enterprises which are waiting to be developed may still be turned in one direction or another. I urge, therefore, that Germany be not found wanting at San Francisco. She must look upon the American West as a separate entity, and as belonging to the circle of the Pacific nations.

In an article in the *Gegenwart* (Berlin), special stress is laid on what the writer regards as the inevitable effect which the canal must have upon our tariff policy. He says:

Their absurd tariff policy has hitherto rendered it impossible for the United States to have a merchant marine. It is not to be assumed, however, that this condition will endure forever. It is probably, rather, that Uncle Sam, whose folly will be glaringly shown up through the new canal, will change his commercial policy in such a way that he may be placed in a position to exploit in his own interest the favorable natural conditions which his vast country enjoys as regards the shipping trade. The value and significance of the splendid position occupied by the United States between the two great oceans will be infinitely increased both for military and peaceful purposes after the work of piercing the Isthmus shall have been completed. Is it conceivable that the Yankees will not utilize the great advantages of a route, for example, from New York to Australia, shorter by three or four thousand miles? Since their present tariff would render the value of the future commercial routes illusory for them, it must be logically assumed that those able business men will bethink themselves, and by appropriate changes in the tariff secure a part of England's shipping trade.

THE LAST PASSENGER PIGEON

THE magazine *Bird Lore* for April is largely devoted to the pathetic story, we were about to say, tragedy, of the passenger pigeon. There are articles by leading authorities on the history and habits of this once-familiar American bird, and the causes which brought about its extinction. These articles are illustrated by a remarkable series of photographs of living birds made in 1898, but never before published.



PASSENGER PIGEON—PARENT BIRD

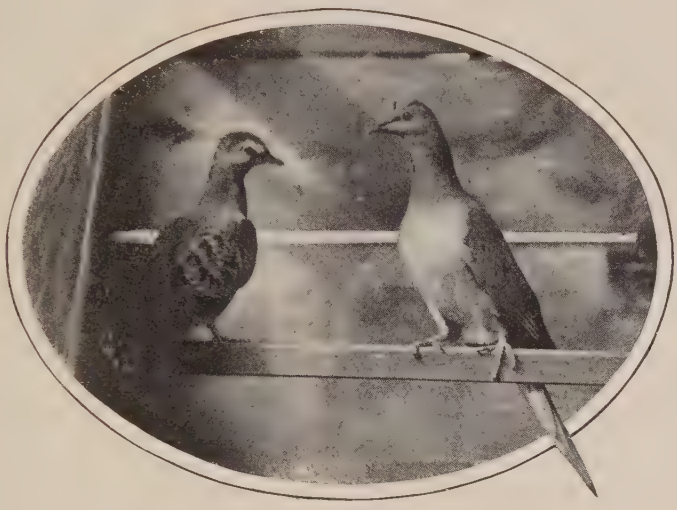
Mr. E. H. Forbush, the naturalist, characterizes the passenger pigeon as one of the greatest zoölogical wonders of the world. It was formerly the most abundant gregarious species ever known in any land, ranging over the greater part of North America, but apparently it has disappeared to the last bird. The offering of prizes for three years in succession did not succeed in producing so much as a feather of the bird, yet there are many people now living who have seen the sky literally darkened by clouds of pigeons and the markets overcrowded with dead birds. Mr. Forbush declares that the destruction of the passenger pigeon began within forty years after the first settler entered New England, and that until about the year 1895 the netting of the passenger pigeon in North America never ceased. Finally, in 1878, the pigeons, having been driven by persecution from many States, concentrated in a few localities in Michigan, where a great slaughter took place. The Michigan nesting-grounds were the last of great extent to be recorded. Smaller nestings were known for ten years afterward, and many pigeons were seen and killed. But after 1890 the pigeons grew fewer in number, until 1898, when the photographs were taken, two of which are reproduced herewith. Since that year there have been only two apparently authentic instances of the capture of the passenger pigeon.

Now for the last living passenger pigeon of which we have any information. David Whittaker, of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, procured a pair of young birds from an Indian in northeastern Wisconsin in 1888. During the eight succeeding years, fifteen birds were bred from this pair, six males and nine females. A part of this flock finally went to Professor C. O. Whitman, of Chicago University. In 1904 Professor Whitman had ten birds, but his flock, weakened by confinement and inbreeding, gradually decreased in number. The original Whittaker flock decreased also, and in 1908 there were but seven left. All of these died but one female, which was sent to the Cincinnati Zoölogical Society. At that time the society had a male about twenty-four years of age, which has died since. The female in Cincinnati, so far as I know, is living still, and in all probability is the last passenger pigeon in existence.

Protected and fostered by the hand of man, she probably has outlived all the wild birds, and remains the last of a doomed race.

In the opinion of Mr. Forbush, all theories that are brought forward to account for the destruction of the birds by other causes than man's agency are absolutely inadequate.

There was but one cause for the diminution of the birds, which was widespread, annual, perennial, continuous, and enormously destructive—their persecution by mankind.



A PAIR OF PASSENGER PIGEONS
(From a photograph taken at Wood's Hole, Mass., in 1898 by J. G. Hubbard, and reproduced in *Bird Lore* for the first time.)

Every great nesting-ground known was besieged by a host of people as soon as it was discovered, many of them professional pigeoners, armed with all the most effective engines of slaughter known. Many times the birds were so persecuted that they finally left their young to the mercies of the pigeoners, and even when they remained most of the young were killed and sent to the market and the adults were decimated. The average life of a pigeon in nature is possibly not over five years. The destruction of most of the young birds for a series of years would bring about such a diminution of the species as occurred soon after 1878. One egg was the complement for each nest. Before the country was settled, while the birds were unmolested, except by Indians and other natural enemies, they bred in large colonies. This, in itself, was a means of protection, and they probably doubled their numbers every year by changing their nesting places two or three times yearly, and rearing two or three young birds to each pair. Later, when all the resources of civilized man were brought to bear against them, their very gregariousness, which formerly protected them, now insured their destruction; and when at last they were driven to the far North to breed, and scattered far and wide, the death rate rapidly outran the birth rate. Wherever they settled to roost or to nest, winter or summer, spring or fall, they were followed and destroyed until, unable to raise young, they scattered over the country pursued everywhere, forming targets for millions of shotguns, with no hope of safety save in the vast northern wilderness, where the rigors of nature forbade them to procreate. Thus they gradually succumbed to the inevitable and passed into the unknown. Were it possible to obtain an accurate record of the receipts of pigeon shipments in the markets of the larger cities only from 1870 to 1895, the enormous numbers sold and the gradual decrease in the sales would exhibit, in the most graphic and convincing manner possible, the chief cause of the passing of the passenger pigeon.

While we have been wondering why the pigeons disappeared, the markets have been reaching out for something to take their place, and we have witnessed also the rapid disappearance of the Eskimo Curlew, the Upland Plover, the Buff-breasted Sandpiper, and the Golden Plover, from the same cause. Shall we awake in time to save any of these birds, or the many others that are still menaced with extinction by this great market demand? No hope can be held out for the future of these birds until our markets are closed to the sale of native wild game.

OPEN-AIR SCHOOLS IN ITALY

THE manifold advantages of open-air instruction in the case of delicate children, especially of those having a predisposition to tuberculous disease, are quite generally realized. In a recent bulletin of La Scuola di Roma, Signor Grilli gives some particulars concerning the utilization of this idea in Rome, where there are at present six schools of this type in operation, while in many of the other schools provision is made for giving outdoor instruction to the pupils during a part of the session.

The open-air schools, properly so called, constitute what might be termed "school colonies." Here are grouped together from the different city schools those children whose physical condition indicates the special need of an abundance of fresh air and sunlight. To secure this and at the same time afford the children protection in bad weather, pavilions of a special type have been built, with removable walls, so that while constituting closed but well-ventilated halls in bad weather, they give merely a roof shelter in fair.

Of the conditions governing these open-air schools, Signor Grilli writes:

The boys and girls admitted to the classes are in school daily, except Sundays, from 8 A. M. to sundown. They are provided gratis with three meals daily and their school tasks are suitably reduced, but two and one-half hours daily study being required, divided into half-hour periods, alternating with periods of absolute rest, play, respiratory exercises, or light gymnastics. The medical examination made before reception into the school is repeated twice a month, so as to determine the results of the physico-psychic treatment.

The limitation of the hours of study, with the corresponding reduction of mental effort and nerve waste; the pure air constantly renewed; the light, air, and sun baths, supplemented by a weekly bath in pure water; the provision of simple, pure, substantial food and of Ruspini syrup; the alternation of study and play, of exercise and repose, the substitution of the intuitive for the verbal method of teaching; the constant watchfulness of doctors and teachers; the pleasant companionship of these fresh young souls, unfolding like flowers under the beneficent influence of natural forces; all these contribute to render this type of school effective.

These schools are in a measure "peripatetic," as the children are furnished with specially constructed, portable chair-desks, which make it possible to hold sessions occasionally in various parts of the city, in the Coliseum, in the Janiculum, etc., where the pupils may study the history of Rome surrounded by the monuments of her glorious past.

In order to extend the benefits of this plan as widely as possible, arrangements have been made in several other schools to give the pupils open-air instruction for at least a part of the school session, each class in turn being transferred for a brief period to a court, garden or terrace connected with the school building. In the schools of this class one free repast is provided for the children, if necessary, or the parents share the expense of this meal equally with the school, if they are able to do so. Of this category Signor Grilli says:

> Given the poor condition of some old school buildings, destined indeed soon to disappear to make place for the fine modern edifices now being constructed, the schools of this type represent a transition stage, soon to pass away. When all the projected school buildings shall have been erected, there will be an opportunity to establish new open-air schools in the environs of the Eternal City, or in urban villas, where each morning at the school hour, thanks to the development of rapid transit facilities, our children may be sent forth into the open country. Here they can at once drink from the pure springs of knowledge and absorb the life-giving forces of Nature. The proposed permanent school colony at Ostia, to be called *Il sole per tutti*, "The Sun for All," will be typical of what can be accomplished in this direction.

MAKING OUR ARMY MORE EFFICIENT

FIFTEEN years ago this summer our little army went through its first experience of real war in a generation and only a week was needed to show its unpreparedness for even a trifling skirmish like that with Spain. Writing in *Everybody's* for May, Stephen Bonsal recalls the story of the high staff officer who said in the presence of President McKinley: "We had the finest little army the world has ever seen. We spent thirty laborious years in perfecting and polishing it. It worked like a charm in time of peace; but one week of war, sir, has smashed it into smithers."

It is Mr. Bonsal's contention that the staff officer's statement was not only absolutely true when it was made, but that the army collectively is no more efficient in 1913 than it was in 1898,—that if it were called upon to-day to do an army's work essentially the same thing would happen that happened in 1898.

Our fighting units, as Mr. Bonsal points out, are still dismembered; in some important particulars the army is distinctively weaker than it was before 1898; and, of course, as one result of the war with Spain, its responsibilities are greatly increased and its fields vastly broadened. While there have been improvements in several of the arms, its progress has not been uniform or coördinated.

Supposing war to have been declared with some foreign power, this is what would happen to a typical skeleton infantry regiment of the United States army. All the regimental fractions would repair to the regimental headquarters, probably, or assemble in the field, for frequently our regiments are divided into two or three parts and are living at widely separated posts. It is an actual fact that some colonels had never even seen all the fractions of their regiments until the recent mobilization in Texas. Mr. Bonsal

makes it clear, however, that it is not vitally important that a colonel should have a speaking acquaintance with his regiment in time of peace, since there is not one chance in a thousand that he will command it in time of war. The probabilities are that the colonel of our typical skeleton regiment will, upon the outbreak of war, either retire for age or become a major-general and command a division which will have to be improvised after the emergency is at hand. The lieutenant-colonel, in turn, will probably become a brigadier-general and command an improvised brigade, and the majors of our regiment will go to other regiments as colonels and lieutenant-colonels.

As a result, Mr. Bonsal deems it quite possible, and even probable, that within a week after war is declared our average skeleton regiment will find itself with only a dozen officers out of fifty above the rank of sergeant-major who are not absolutely new and untried for the duties they are hurriedly called upon to assume.

This, however, is only a part of the story. Our typical regimental company is only thirty-three strong, with perhaps sixteen men reporting daily for military duty, while the others are collecting garbage, cutting grass, and performing other non-military duties. These sixteen men drilled by a lieutenant, a sergeant, or a corporal, are well grounded in the manual of arms and are of fair physique. Suddenly with them are incorporated a hundred men, perhaps the rawest recruits direct from the recruiting station, "and this conglomeration of inexperienced officers and untrained men sooner or later is sent to the front masquerading as a war-strength regiment of the United States army."

This statement seems to be no exaggeration of what might be expected to happen in the event of war. "None of our military organizations or units has within itself a capacity for systematic expansion. A favored organization can only reach its field-service strength by despoiling or even absolutely putting out of existence less fortunate organizations, or by swamping a handful of trained soldiers with a deluge of recruits."

A step in advance has been taken, however, by those in authority:

To test a new plan of organization, last fall the War Department actually built up an infantry regiment in form and strength as it should be according to the proposed standards, sent it into the field, and tried it out under field-service conditions.

This provisional regiment was some nineteen hundred men strong. It was complete in every detail. It had every officer present, and every man. It marched for days, and was together for weeks in maneuvers, serving as a regiment of an imaginary division. It put to practical test the new infantry drill regulations.

It was a success in every way. It established the fact that, with no increase of officers and no increase in means of transportation, it was possible to increase the number of infantry rifles on the firing-line of a division by thirty-three per cent., while taking up in road space on the march but sixteen per cent. more than the division now officially prescribed. And to increase the rifles on the firing-line and to decrease the road space occupied on the march are the important factors in war.

But to make that provisional regiment for experimental purposes the parts of three different regiments, as now organized, had to be combined. These three regiments are now restored to their former state; but the provisional regiment, which spelt economy and meant efficiency, is, like the San Antonio Division, gone because of lack of authority for its continued maintenance.

While the concentration of troops in San Antonio, Texas, about two years ago cost millions of dollars, it would have been cheap at any price if the lesson taught could only be learned and taken to heart. That mobilization proved that in individual efficiency our commissioned officers and enlisted men were the equals, if not the superiors, of any military force in the world. This efficiency was shown in the company, in the battalion, and perhaps in the regiment—though not so clearly here: for the moment when the company and battalion and regimental units were merged into what our men were taught to call a tactical division—which they had never seen, much less taken part in before—it must be confessed frankly that much of the efficiency disappeared.

The War Department has developed a comprehensive plan of organization that will not only save money, but will place within our grasp at all times a small yet elastic army which will have fighting efficiency in time of need. This plan has not been generally understood. Newspaper accounts, while the project was under development, spoke of the general staff's plans to increase the regular army sevenfold. Nothing of the kind has been planned by the general staff. "The plan as worked out does not seek to add immediately a single officer or man to the regular army. There will be no increased military expenditures resulting from the adoption of the plan. On the contrary, there will be a considerable reduction in the actual cost of the military establishment of to-day and vast economy in any future development. The project, in brief, seeks to make the best of whatever we have in the way of military resources to-day, notwithstanding the bad proportions of different parts of the army. It plans a tactical organization immediately useful in time of emergency; eventual escape from territorial bondage which now prevents

the use of the army as a fighting machine; a gradual redistribution of the troops as the abandonment of useless and expensive posts becomes possible; and new, more economical and more military methods of quartering the troops. It covers the organization not only of the regular army but of the militia for war purposes and of the volunteers that would have to be raised if serious war came; it provides an organization into which all these forces will fit."

Mr. Bonsal shows that the territorial system, that by which the army is now administered, is extravagant, and for purposes of war preparation, as well as for actual hostilities, is most ineffectual.

It can not be denied that most of our army posts are very badly placed for our present needs. Some 50 per cent. of them were located—and generally well located, for the time—during the prairie-trail and canoe-travel period of our development. Of recent years here and there a post of strategic value has been erected; but more often than not these modern creations do not fit into any scheme of a possible war; they are simply costly monuments to the local pride and the national influence of one of those active, rustling politicians who were good providers for their constituents.

Posts should not be retained because they were useful in the War of 1812 or during the Black Hawk disturbance; and of course our Indian frontier has ceased to exist, as have the military necessities which this state of affairs imposed. *Fifty per cent. of the present army posts should be sold, or abandoned.*

The efficiency of the army would be immensely increased if it were garrisoned in large units around certain railway centers which would permit a wide range of rapid mobilization. The value or want of value of most of our inland posts should be a question of transportation facilities. If we say one thousand men stationed at Chicago have a radius of six hundred miles in twenty-four hours, while if they remained at Fort Oglethorpe or Fort Russell they would have a radius of only two hundred miles, then the Chicago position to meet invasion or repress internal disorders would be three times as valuable; and here also the men could be subsisted at a smaller cost.

THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE OF SOUTH AMERICA

THE prospects of a more or less intimate alliance of the three leading South American countries are passed in review by Prof. Vicente Gay, in *España Moderna*. Of the causes favoring such an alliance he says:

The idea of the so-called American A. B. C., designating a union of the three South American republics Argentina, Brazil and Chili, originates according to some writers in a reaction of the South American countries against the attitude assumed by the great European powers in the conflicts provoked by a failure to meet debt obligations on the part of some South American republics. Others, again, prefer to see in it a reaction against the influence of the United States. Essentially, however, it is simply the instinct of self-preservation that impels the South American countries to draw together and to increase their armaments. The question of the Orcades between Argentina and Great Britain, the Alsop claim, between the United States and Chili, the sanitary question raised by Italy in regard to the Italians in Argentina, are instances in point, showing how the South American republics may be treated. The slightest fault, committed in relation to the subjects in the interests of any one of the great powers, immediately results in the sending of an ultimatum, and often in the humiliation of the Latin American country. The republics of Central America, more especially, offer many examples of this. These are, then, some of the facts tending to promote the development of the idea of a union, or alliance of the South American A. B. C., this being in reality the imitation of a South American imperialism.

The writer admits that the recent death of Baron Rio Branco may be considered to have removed one of the obstacles to such a combination, for there can be no doubt that the great ex-minister of Brazil was animated with anything but friendly feeling toward Argentina. In order to pave the way for a better understanding between the two countries, it was essential that all disturbing questions and old animosities should be as far as possible eliminated, and this task has been ably forwarded by the efforts of President Fonseca of Brazil and those of his chief assistants, Señor Lauro Muller and Dr. Campos Sellos, the latter being intrusted with the representation of Brazil in Argentina. Professor Gay proceeds to note the change of policy on the part of Brazil in the following words:

The new Brazilian Minister of Foreign Affairs appreciates the necessity of smoothing over difficulties and of casting aside the wild dreams of his predecessor, realizing the impossibility of dominating Argentina, owing to lack of money and armaments, and also to the lack of homogeneity in the Brazilian nation, He perceived the atmosphere of distrust resulting from the foreign policy of Rio Branco, at once provocative and ambitious, and with great good sense, entirely disregarding the outcries of a vain-glorious press and of a minority which had embraced Rio Branco's ideas, he has sent to Buenos Ayres Dr. Campos Sellos, an ex-president of the republic, a persona grata in Argentina, a man possessing great diplomatic skill and one highly esteemed in the social and political circles of the Argentine capital, where his choice has been looked upon as a proof of friendship and confidence on the part of Brazil, and an assurance of that

country's desire to put an end to the alarmist propaganda and the groundless animosities of the past few years.

Chili, the other nation to enter into this triple alliance in South America, has applauded the rapprochement of the two sister peoples, with both of whom it preserves the best relations. The friendship between Chili and Brazil is of old date and has not been interrupted by any troublesome questions. As to Argentina, since the recent agreements, every day has served to augment her confidence in her ancient rival, Chili, and to-day, surprising as it may seem, these two peoples offer the best example of a confraternity between South American nations.

As the material value of any alliance between nations must depend in a considerable measure upon the means of offense and defense, Professor Gay concludes by summing up the naval resources of Brazil, Chili and Argentina. The last named country will soon have in commission two of the most powerful dreadnoughts afloat, and efforts are being made to induce the Chambers to make an appropriation for a third vessel of this type; three warships are already in service, as well as four protected cruisers and forty torpedo boats; six destroyers and a submarine are in construction. Chili will soon have a dreadnought of 28,000 tons, the Valparaiso, and the keel of another will shortly be laid down; the construction of four destroyers and of two submarines is being actively pushed. Brazil has now in commission three dreadnoughts, seven cruisers, fifteen torpedo boats, and several destroyers and submarines. While the enemies of the projected alliance see in it a source of danger, Professor Gay regards it as an eminently prudent measure, dictated by the past history of South America.

THE PRESENT POSITION OF CHRISTIANITY

A BOOK which appeared about a year ago entitled "Foundations, A Statement of Christian Belief in Terms of Modern Thought," by seven Oxford men, suggests to a writer in the *Nineteenth Century and After* for April (Edwyn Bevan) an illuminating and inspiring study of the "Present Position of Christianity."

The verdict of history has not yet been pronounced, says this writer, in his introductory paragraphs. "Christianity has neither won the whole of mankind nor gone as yet the way of the ancient religions of Egypt and Babylon." The present state of things, he continues, is felt by both Christians and the opponents of Christianity to be transitional. "Transitional to what?"

It is a fundamental fact of religious complexity to-day, says Mr. Bevan, that "the division between Christians and non-Christians is not peculiar to any class or social grade or level of culture, but exists everywhere and at all levels." Taking up these different "levels" upon which Christianity and the opponents of Christianity exist in the modern world, this writer in the *Nineteenth Century* sets forth the general attitude maintained by the so-called Rationalist. He points out the fact that there is no longer any conflict between science and religion in what is known as natural science. Scientific geology was irreconcilable with the old Hebrew cosmogonies; biology left no place for the Garden of Eden . . . but the great mass of educated Christian opinion has adjusted itself to this and there is no longer any collision on these fields."

It is in anthropology, philosophy, and experimental psychology, continues this writer, that Christianity has to defend itself to-day, particularly in the field of philosophy. During the past half century, however, it is not only the beliefs of the Christian Church that have changed, but the dogmas of the scientists as well.

If educated Christians have abandoned some of the beliefs of their grandfathers, time has dealt rudely with the fabric of the old Victorian rationalism. True, the first chapter of Genesis is now esteemed out of date as science, though it continues to have its value as a literary monument. The "Synthetic Philosophy" is also out of date as science; whether it continues to have value as a literary monument may be questioned.

It is all a question of "endless shades and degrees and combinations."

It is not as if a hesitating and hard-driven Christianity were enclosed by a body of opinion, vast, compact, and victorious. There is, no doubt, some confusion of belief within the Church, but outside of it what we see to-day is chaos. Hundreds, no doubt, start up to bear witness against Christianity; the difficulty, as it was of old in the case of the founder, is to discover two whose witness agrees together. If we sometimes find it a hard problem What to believe, it is no less hard a problem What to disbelieve. Supposing that Christianity is not

true, does that mean that every single assertion, which it implies, is untrue? If not, which are we to reject? In answer to such a question we can get to-day, from the non-Christian world, nothing but a babel of voices.

If there are many, still formally members of a Christian Church, who have rejected a mass of beliefs characteristic of Christians in former generations, there are not a few people who stand outside all religious communities and abjure the name of Christian, and who yet have adopted as their personal beliefs large elements of the Christian tradition. There is nothing commoner to-day than to hear people denounce "dogma." What they mean by "dogma" is any belief which they themselves may happen to have discarded. There is a type of Christian who cries aloud that we need to turn from the "dogma of the Churches" to the Living Christ. But the belief in the Living Christ appears a dogma to the Unitarian who feels he has got to something real in the Fatherhood of God. The conception of God as a Person is still dogma from the standpoint represented by an eminent French Protestant, the late A. Sabatier. To Höffding, however, the Danish philosopher, who wrote a well-known book on the Philosophy of Religion, Sabatier does not seem radical enough. Sabatier still habitually uses phrases of God, *as if* he were personal. We must give that up, Höffding says, and we touch the ground at last in the bare belief that the Universe is somehow of such a nature that "values will be conserved." But do we? This optimistic supposition will seem a dogma to the man who holds that we know absolutely nothing about the Reality behind phenomena, although there is even here a possibility of dogma creeping in, if we are not careful. If we assert definitely that the ground of the Universe is Unknowable, we may be taxed with dogma by the man who does not know enough about it, even to say whether it is in its essence unknowable or not, who will go no further than to say that he personally does not know. It will be seen that it is no simple matter to get rid of Christian belief. The Christian Church has suffered great changes in the last half-century, but it has seen around it system after system arise, have its day of pride and power, and with strange rapidity sink into obsolescence. Spencer and Haeckel, except for the less-cultured classes, are gone; Comtism is a thing of the past; Pragmatism is already *vieux jeu;* Nietzsche from a prophet is becoming an interesting literary phenomenon; Bergson himself is beginning to experience the inevitable reaction to the vehemence of his popular *réclame.* Whatever weaknesses the non-Christian world may discover in Christianity, it has so far not been able in Europe to put forward any rival to it of equal permanence and power. And one has to notice how much of the vague and informal religiosity which runs through the modern world, far outside the confines of the Christian Body, depends for its existence upon the tradition of the Christian Church. It exhibits—to use the figure of a shrewd observer, Ernst Troeltsch—variations played by each virtuoso according to his individual fancy upon the Christian theme.

It cannot be denied, says Mr. Bevan, in conclusion, that the leaders of the Christian body have abandoned some of the beliefs attacked by rationalists two generations ago.

If, however, any enemy thinks that Christianity has thereby been brought nearer to destruction, nearer to abandoning its central and essential faith, the facts hardly seem to bear out his confidence. . . . One may, I think, divine that the Christian Church will advance its cause in the days lying before us only by exhibiting a type of life, the love life, realized and practised.

FOR EFFICIENCY, NOT WEALTH, IN THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

THE difficulty the President and the Secretary of State have always found in appointing competent persons to positions in the diplomatic and consular service, owing to the meager salaries paid therefor, has been often discussed and debated in the periodical press. *The American Journal of International Law* (quarterly), devotes five pages to editorial comment on this subject, in its current issue.

Alluding to the fact that the government is generally limited in its choice of men to represent it abroad to those possessing ample private means the writer quotes from General Foster's "Practice of Diplomacy," the following:

The great expense has debarred many prominent Americans from accepting diplomatic posts. Mr. Calhoun, in 1819, was offered the mission at Paris, but he answered that he was well aware that a familiar practical acquaintance with Europe was indispensable to complete the education of an American statesman, and regretted that his fortune would not bear the cost of it. Again, in 1845, he was tendered the mission to England, but declined for the same reason. George William Curtis, Senator Hoar, and other able and cultured public men have likewise been forced to decline our highest diplomatic posts.

Many means have been suggested to open the diplomatic service to men of ability even if they have no fortune. It has been suggested that the standard of living for diplomats might profitably be changed, since it is an open question whether elaborate receptions and luxurious dinners really enable a diplomat to better accomplish his work.

The question is not whether an American ambassador or minister shall take part in the social life of the community in which he resides and represents his country, but as to the

extent of such participation measured by actual benefits to his country. It is related of the first Napoleon that, in approving the accounts of his ambassador to Russia, composed in large part of enormous outlays for wines and entertainment, he accompanied his approval with the curt comment that the ambassador should remember in the future that he was not sent to St. Petersburg to run a restaurant.

It is to be feared that the French ambassador in question is not the only public servant to whom this remark could be applied in the modified form that the diplomatic agent is not expected to keep open house for all comers.

There can be no doubt, continues the writer from whom we have been quoting, that the purchase of suitable residences for our diplomatic officers would go far to open the service to men of moderate means by enabling them to live upon their salaries without drawing upon their own personal savings,

but the residences built or purchased should be modest; otherwise the official salary would be spent in maintaining them and the situation might be worse than before, because the official residence would have to be occupied by the diplomatist whether he desired to do so or not.

On February 17, 1911, Congress passed an act authorizing the Secretary of State to purchase in foreign countries, at its discretion, sites and buildings for diplomatic and consular purposes.

Even if salaries should be raised and buildings acquired, there would still remain the question of permanancy of position. In spite of the fact that many of our most successful representatives abroad have been taken directly from private life, it is nevertheless true, says the editor of the *Journal*, that, "without a diplomatic service permanent in character—that is to say, a service which offers a career—we are not always sure of getting the right man, and may lose him entirely before we want to." Of course all countries occasionally make appointments from the outside. Take the distinguished case of the distinguished Mr. Bryce. But it would seem that "such appointments should be the exception, not the rule." We quote again from the writer in the *Journal*.

Young men of ability should be encouraged to enter the diplomatic service and their salaries should be such as to support them in their positions. The ambassadors and ministers require a trained corps of assistants to enable them to do their work properly. Secretaries of legation should not be chosen from men of means, which will inevitably be the case if their salaries are so small that they must contribute to their own support, and it is to be feared that there will not be sufficient encouragement to people dependent upon their own exertions, unless they can count upon permanency of tenure and promotion as a reward of merit.

A good deal of progress was made in this direction by President Roosevelt's executive order, continued and enlarged by his successor,

so that since President Roosevelt's administration original appointments as secretary of embassy and of legation have been made only after examination, and secretaries of embassy and legation have for faithful service been promoted to ministries. An efficiency record of the officers of the diplomatic service is kept, so that promotions may be based upon efficiency. A career is thus in process of formation, and it is to be hoped that the present administration will continue the precedents of its immediate predecessors in this regard.

The writer regrets that, "however admirable in theory, these executive orders may be defective in practice."

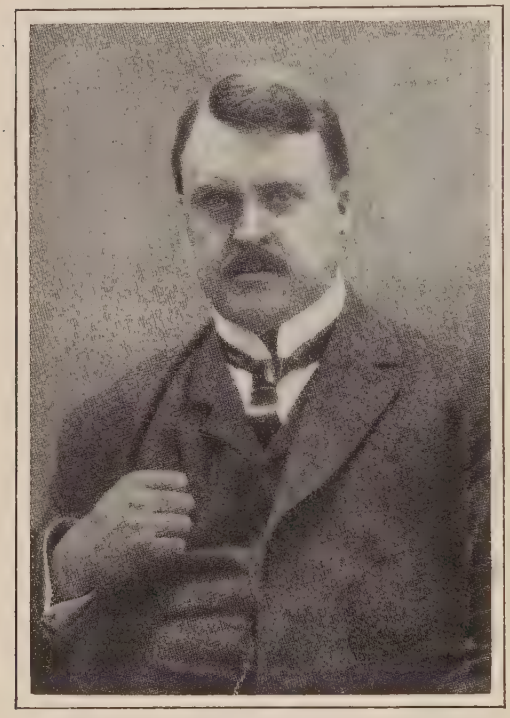
Political influence plays its part. A young man wishing to take the examination is required to be designated, and designation is a matter of influence. In a Republican administration Republicans would be designated, in a Democratic administration the tendency would be to designate Democrats. But the examination weeds out the unfit and supplies the embassies and legations with qualified secretaries.

Returning to the question of salaries, the international law *Journal* believes that a compromise may be reached which will give the President and Secretary of State free choice in filling the various posts in the diplomatic service at their disposal. The editor makes the following significant comment:

If it be found that receptions and dinners are essential, an entertaining fund can be created and the number, nature and kind of receptions and diplomatic dinners prescribed and paid for out of this fund, for, if it be to the advantage of the diplomat to receive and entertain, it becomes his duty to do so, and the duty being official, the means to meet it should be supplied. It is feared, however, that the advantages of entertaining are exaggerated, just as our diplomats lay undue stress upon the advantages, indeed the necessities, of diplomatic costume. With Mr. Jefferson's statement concerning the alleged advantages of entertaining and lavish expenditure, may be quoted the statement of Andrew D. White on the matter of dress, who, as an experienced diplomatist, speaks with authority. "Truth compels me to add," he says, "that, having myself never worn anything save plain evening dress at any court to which I have been accredited, or at any function which I have attended, I have never been able to discover the slightest disadvantage to my country or myself from that fact."

THE ROMANCE OF THE SEA DEEPS

THREE comprehensive, scholarly works on oceanography furnish the basis of an article by Dr. E. A. Shipley, F. R. S., in the *Edinburgh Review*. Dr. G. Herbert Fowler's "Science of the Sea," and Mr. James Johnstone's "Life in the Sea" are English University publications. "The Depths of the Ocean,"[1] by Sir John Murray, of the *Challenger* Expedition, and Dr. Johan Hjort, Director of the Norse Fisheries, appears also



DR. JOHAN HJORT, DIRECTOR OF THE NORSE FISHERIES

in this country. In his highly entertaining review of these books, Dr. Shipley lures us with this introduction:

The passengers and the crew of a liner racing over the surface of the Atlantic are apt to imagine that under them is a vast layer of water of varying depth sparsely inhabited by a few fish. As a matter of fact the whole of this great ocean is teeming with life. If instead of taking ship we could take to the water and walk across the bed of the Atlantic to America, starting from the shores of Western Europe, we should in effect be traveling through a succession of new countries. Not only would the surrounding physical conditions vary as we advanced, but the animal and plant life would vary in correlation with the altering physical conditions.

[1] The Depths of the Ocean. By Sir John Murray and Dr. Johan Hjort. Macmillan. 821 pp., ill. $7.

He tells us how plant and animal life changes with the depth to which we descend. The deepest ocean pit yet sounded is in the Pacific, we are informed. It is 31,614 feet deep or 2,612 feet deeper than Mount Everest is high. The Atlantic has an average depth of from 2,000 to 3,000 fathoms. Speaking of the plant and animal life at low levels, this writer tells us:

These cold waters are very still; at the bottom of the ocean there is a great calm. The waves that churn the surface overhead are unfelt at the depth of a few fathoms; even the great surface currents which stream along the upper waters of the ocean are hardly perceptible below some 200 fathoms. There are of course—as the wear and tear of cables teach us—places where deep-sea currents are strong; but on the whole the abysses of the sea are cold, noiseless, and motionless. The monotony of the surroundings is increased by the fact that no diurnal or seasonal change reaches those great depths. Summer and winter, spring and autumn, are to them unknown; for them there is no such thing as night and day, seed-time or harvest. Probably the inhabitants of these abysses breed all the year round, as land-forms do in the tropics. There we find insects and other animals showing no seasonal change of life, eggs, larvæ, chrysalises, imagoes all existing at one and the same time.

Deep-sea animals live at a tremendous pressure. Every five fathoms we descend in the sea the pressure increases by one atmosphere, and at a depth of 3000 fathoms the pressure on each square inch of the body of an animal amounts to three tons, whereas at the surface of the waters it is about fifteen pounds. So great is this pressure that unless special precautions are taken the glass of the thermometers which measure the bottom temperatures is crushed to powder.

The main distinctive fact about marine life, particularly at low depths, says Dr. Shipley, is rhythm. Quoting Mr. Johnstone and his book, "Life in the Sea," the reviewer says there is rhythm in the ocean.

There is a rhythm of the tide, a rhythm which corresponds with the rise and fall about twice every twenty-four hours, and that is involved in a still bigger fortnightly rhythm corresponding with the full and the new moon; for about halfway between these two phases the tide rises more slowly and to a lower height; and again, just as there is a half-daily and a half-monthly rhythm, so we have a half-yearly rhythm in the vernal and autumnal equinoxes. So regular are these rhythms that the tide is calculated years in advance, for all parts of the world, and navigators rely trustfully on these calculations, which are not found wanting.

This rhythmical change has impressed itself upon many marine organisms. As Mr. Johnstone reminds us, to keep cockles healthy in aquaria under artificial conditions one must run the water off the tank at least once a day so as to simulate a low tide. *Convoluta*—a small and lowly worm—which lives on the sand and burrows beneath it when the tide is ebbing off the beach, kept in a

laboratory in vessels of sea-water, periodically burrows under the artificial sand at the bottom of the vessel when the real tide is normally going out. The phosphorescence of the surface organisms which we have noticed above only comes into play at best some time after sunset. If these surface organisms capable of producing phosphorescence be kept in an aquarium in a dark room the same remains true. Although they are exposed to no secular change of light and darkness, they only show their lights at a time when the outside world is dark. The same is true, as Gamble and Keble have shown, with the chameleon-shrimp, which in the sea shows a variety of protective coloring during the daytime but at night becomes a transparent blue. Hence it is obvious that the tide has produced an effect which is lasting on certain organisms even when they have been removed from their natural surroundings and from the tidal influence for considerable periods.

Then again we have a rhythmical change of temperature, which is fairly constant for given places in the sea. About February and March the sea is at its coldest, but it gradually warms up until in August it attains its highest normal temperature. Of course, in all these rhythms there are many disturbing features, such as the weather. But these can fairly easily be discounted. Just as we have an annual rise and fall of temperature, so do we have a daily one, the temperature being at its lowest about sunrise, and gradually rising till about the middle of the afternoon. And again, there is a fortnightly rhythm, inasmuch as near the land the sea is warmer in the summer just after the time of new or full moon, and colder at the same periods during the winter.

Other rhythms might be pointed out, such as those dependent on the intensity of sunlight, and on the degree of salinity, which in turn depends to a very large extent on the water circulation of the sea. The pulsing-up of the Gulf Stream is the direct result of this circulation and affects not only the warmth but the salinity of the waters on our western shores. "The water is saltest when the drift is strongest, in the months of February to June, and is less salt when the drift is weakest, in the months of November to February." All these features have a profound influence on the life of the ocean; and a remote influence on land animals whose ancestry was marine.

THE ROENTGEN RAYS IN MEDICINE

THE earliest uses of the X-rays in medicine were for the location of foreign bodies, such as bullets, fragments of rock, splinters of bone, etc., which had been forced into the human body by violence, or such things as coins, buttons, bones, and pins, which had been accidentally swallowed, or had "gone down the wrong way," and become lodged in the air-passages, and for the location and the determination of the extent of internal injury due to fractured bones.

During the past few years, however, the field of this wonderful instrument has been vastly widened by improvements in technique and by the painstaking experiments and careful records made by numerous experts in various parts of the world.

It is now possible for the skilled Roentgenologist to study the condition and the movements of the hollow organs of the body, such as those constituting the alimentary canal, and even to note delicate tissue changes, such as those involved in the lesions occasioned by tuberculosis and cancer.

A recent number of *Die Naturwissenschaften* (Berlin), contains an article on the subject, the less technical portions of which we offer an abstract of for our readers.

The author, Dr. Max Levy-Dorn, Berlin, begins by calling attention to the fact that observations may be made by means of the fluorescent screen or by photographs.

The fluorescent screen consists of a substance that glows under the influence of the X-rays. The barium-platinum-cyanide screen, which glows with a green light, has been much used, but is now often replaced by the "astral-screen," or zinc-chloride screen, which gives a white light and which has the advantage of being more stable. The screen shows the observer the organs actually in motion. It does not, however, show the finer details which appear in a photograph. Obviously, too, the photograph forms an important record.

Thus, in the admirably equipped and conducted X-ray department of St. Luke's hospital in New York City, which the writer mentions because of personal knowledge, there are carefully catalogued and indexed series of photographs forming invaluable records of individual cases, and affording means of comparison and study to physicians interested in similar cases.

These photographs are made by instantaneous exposure or time-exposure, according to the nature of the subject. "Snapshots," of course, are better where motions are to be recorded, while more time is advisable where there is a state of rest and where fine details are to be brought out, such as the deterioration of tissue or a delicate hair-like fracture of bone.

Nearly every part of the body can now be photographed in 1-100 of a second. Only in "fleshy" persons is there difficulty in this, especially for the stomach and intestines—however, the motion

of these organs is so slow that this difficulty is not important, since 1-10—1 3-10 seconds is sufficiently fast.

The "snap-shots" are particularly important in taking nervous or restless persons, or children, in comparing men and animals, or in studying involved motions as of stomach and intestines. Sometimes stereoscopic views are desirable. These should be taken rapidly, and excellent apparatus has been devised which automatically shifts the tubes and changes the plates. Of late some cinematograph records have been made, but these are more important for scientific than for practical purposes. In general, however, time-exposures of 1½ seconds to 2 seconds are preferable, as being more certain of success and giving more detail.

The chief progress in X-ray diagnosis of late years has been with regard to the digestive organs. Since these are hollow they can be investigated by X-rays only when filled with some contrasting substance, generally some opaque substance such as bismuth.

It is primarily requisite, of course, that the substance used should be harmless. For this reason *Bismuthum subnitricum* has been replaced by *Bismuthum carbonicum*, because the former sometimes (though rarely), caused symptoms of poisoning.

The opaque substance is used in the form of a fine powder stirred into a liquid to make a "broth" of greater or less density as may be required. "Zoolak" is the liquid commonly used. A most interesting fact, however, is that where it is desired to retard the movement of the mass, grated pineapple is used instead of zoolak, since the particles of pineapple fiber are roughened, or provided with minute hooks, which cling to the surface of the mucous membrane and thus cause the downward movement to be slower.

Thus a sort of cast of the interior of the hollow organs is formed which shows both form and motions with more or less accuracy, and in certain cases also shows diseased conditions.

Dr. Levy-Dorn is most particular, however, to observe that it is by no means an easy matter to distinguish between the normal and the abnormal, the regular and the accidental, in making X-ray diagnoses. It requires in fact a highly trained expert. And the largest progress of all, he considers, lies in the enormous amount of material gathered by many separate investigators and tabulated so as to form sources of information and comparison for such experts. There exists already a great mass of valuable technical information of this nature in pamphlets, periodicals, and archives devoted to the subject.

Not only diagnosis, but therapeutics, has derived vast advantage from the use of the X-rays.

It was not long before it was discovered that these rays might be sources of grave injury to those exposed to them, including their manipulators—especially to the skin, to those organs which evolve the blood, and to sex-organs. This field of medicine, like all others, has a roll of noble martyrs. But these very injuries led not only to the knowledge of proper precautions, but of their tremendous effectiveness as remedies in some cases.

They were first used in all sorts of skin affections, then in blood-affections, for malignant tumors, and for certain forms of tuberculosis.

The greatest recent progress has been made in treating trouble peculiar to women, such as hemorrhages and *myoma*.

Finally, there has been an admirable development of technique in the methods of handling the rays so as to obtain powerful internal action at certain spots without injuring the skin or other tissues.

In this connection we may mention the differentiation between the "soft rays" and the "hard rays," which is a matter not touched on by Dr. Levy-Dorn, but is well known to X-ray specialists.

ENTRANCE TO MRS TRASK'S ROSE GARDEN AT "YADDO," SARATOGA SPRINGS, N. Y.

MRS. TRASK'S APPEAL AGAINST WAR

PRECISELY what steps it is best for one particular nation to take in order that its action may most assuredly advance the cause of universal peace, is a matter about which good and intelligent people are at variance. But there ought to be no difference of opinion upon the intrinsic merit of the thesis that war in itself is a horrible evil, that it ought to be abolished, and that even those modern wars for which some excuse can be made are the outgrowth of wrong motive or wrong policy and are attributable to criminal statesmanship, on one side or on both.

"PINE GATE," ONE OF SEVERAL ENTRANCES TO THE HEAVILY WOODED GROUNDS OF "YADDO"

Back of the movement for ending wars there are many motives, such as those of complex modern relationships in trade, and the exigencies of finance. But none of these "practical" motives is strong enough to control men's passions, prejudices, and selfish ambitions when the moment of crisis presents itself. The only motive that can avail is the moral one, involving the sense of justice and the broad spirit of human brotherhood.

The best safeguard against war is the cultivation of high and fine sentiment. When the scales drop from men's eyes and they see truth clearly, they will know that the sheer presumption that a nation like ours must—somehow, sometime—be engaged in war against another great nation, is as false and obsolete as it would be for the individual citizen to presume that, in the natural course of things, he must fight a few duels or murder a few personal enemies for the protection of his honor or the advancement of his interests.

Whatever, therefore, helps to strengthen the cause of peace as a sentiment, and as a moral and intellectual conviction, is to be

A GLIMPSE OF THE WONDERFUL ROCK GARDEN

welcomed as the thing most needful to secure results. It is from this standpoint that Katrina Trask's new book, "In the Vanguard," should be most strongly commended. It is written in the form of a drama, and it has throughout the touch of Mrs. Trask's literary skill. It is simple and direct, without tragic strain or over-emphasis. Its characters are the leading types in a small American town.

The hero is a young lawyer who volunteers and goes to the front in a war that appeals to the current motive of patriotism. With no lack of physical courage, and in the face of high approval and rapid promotion, he refuses to take part in further active fighting, because he becomes convinced of the evil and horror of war through conversation with a dying enemy to whom he ministers on the battlefield. Moral and intellectual courage triumphs in spite of temporary humiliation through the misunderstanding of parents and friends.

This little book is not a treatise, either in private ethics or in public policy. It might, indeed, be criticized from either one of those standpoints. It is, in fact, a noble appeal to the high and durable motives. It challenges cynicism, and it lifts the banner of faith and trust in one's fellowmen.

It is not likely, indeed, that the reading of Mrs. Trask's brilliant and touching little drama will convince statesmen that the United States Army ought immediately to be disbanded, and that our battleships should be broken up and sold as junk; but it is hard to believe that the reading of this book will not impel statesmen to strive more hopefully and definitely for the fulfillment of peace ideals. Every experience of generous and sympathetic contact between men of different nations makes clearer the fact that questions at issue can be settled honorably by diplomacy or arbitration.

Mrs. Trask's hero, after his vision, and his consequent determination to cease fighting, declared:

> True civilization must mean Construction—not Destruction; it must be unto Life — not unto Death. There *must* be a better way to settle our difficulties, and every man who accepts war helps to retard the finding of that better way. I never thought of that before—but now that I *have* thought of it, I dare not go on.

STONE TOWER IN THE PINE WOODS

THE TERRACE, LOOKING SOUTH, AT "YADDO"

The heroine at home had also seen a vision, and had heard a voice which cried solemnly in the stillness of the night:

> Woe unto those who break the bonds of Brotherhood; woe unto those who lay waste the pleasant places of the earth; woe unto those who fan the powers of enmity and hate; woe unto those who have called false things true, cruel things brave, and barbarous things of good report.

Mrs. Trask's messages of peace and good will among men are sent forth from her beautiful home called "Yaddo," at Saratoga Springs. It is because the delight of these gardens, enclosed in a noble private park, is intended not merely for her own private enjoyment but also for the happiness of many others, that the photographic glimpses of "Yaddo," which accompany this note upon Mrs. Trask's new book, are here published. "Yaddo" is as truly the expression,—in landscape gardening and domestic architecture,—of exquisite taste and feeling, as is the writing which Mrs. Trask has given us; while the motive of the one as well as the other is the high and true service of ideals.

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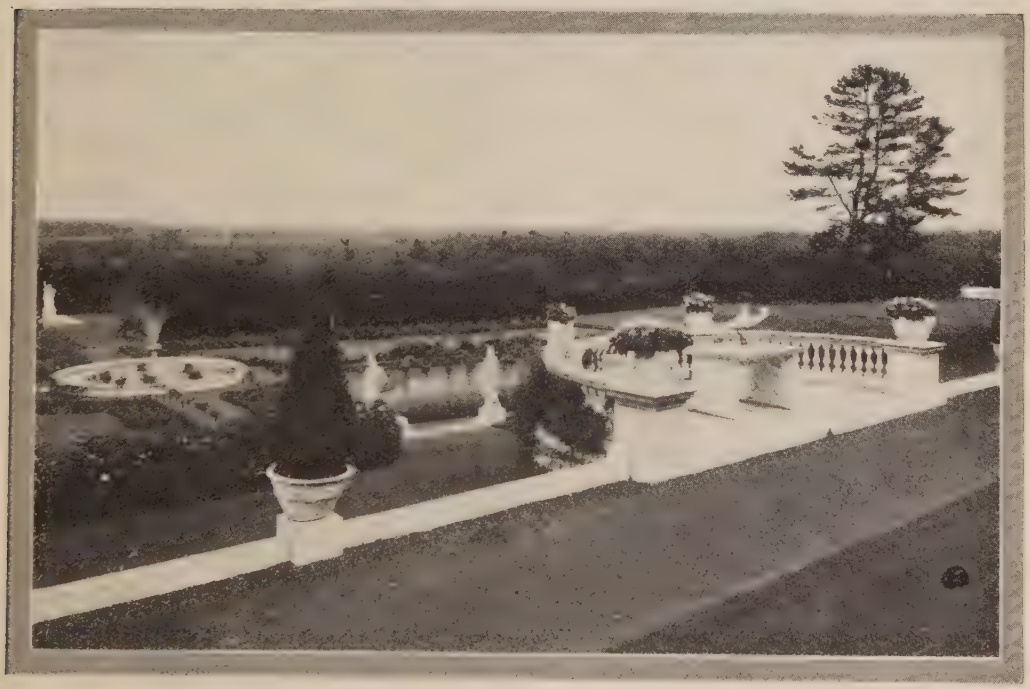
MRS. KATRINA TRASK



EASTWARD VIEW FROM THE TERRACE, LOOKING ACROSS GREAT EXPANSES TO THE GREEN MOUNTAINS OF VERMONT

NEW VOLUMES OF ENGLISH VERSE

FOLLOWING close upon the publication of Alfred Noyes' "Drake," that master-epic of the sea (noticed in the March REVIEW), comes "The Tales of the Mermaid Tavern,"[1] the famous gathering place of the Elizabethan wits, among them Raleigh, Jonson, Beaumont, Fletcher, and Kit Marlowe. The "Tales" are stories that the author imagines to have been told at the Mermaid Tavern over the pipes and wine. The lyrics are but loosely strung together by the narrative verse and there are places where the rough energy of the poesy does not cover the creaking mechanism, but the animation and high spiritedness of the whole carries the reader along with a fine zest.

Noyes' Latest Poems

Noyes' work is composite, a mixture of Tennyson and Swinburne, with a dash of Stevenson and a flavoring of Cavalier lyricism. At times it seems artificial, but at least it is good artificiality. "The Tales of the Mermaid Tavern" is a processional, a pageant of the Elizabethans splendidly tricked out in rich attire and flying banners with burgeoning of crimson and gold. It does not pause for a moment; it marches on and on, and after it passes there is a little mist and glamour in one's eyes.

The London *Times* declares that "this is the best work Noyes has done so far." In unity and evenness of poetical expression, it hardly rivals "Drake," although there are fragments of the "Tales" that are truly the finest things Noyes has written.

"The Sign of the Golden Shoe," tells the story of the life and death of Kit Marlowe, the son of a Canterbury cobbler,—

> "The little lad that used to play
> Around the cobbler's door,
> Kit Marlowe! Kit Marlowe!
> We shall not see him more."

This fine poem rises with simplicity and great power up to the scene where Nash comes to the Mermaid in his bloodied coat and cries out:

"Come, come and see Kit Marlowe lying dead,
Draw back the sheet, ah, tenderly lay bare
The splendor of that Apollonian head;

The gloriole of his flame colored hair,
The lean, athletic body deftly planned
To carry that swift soul of fire and air;

The long, thin flanks, the broad breast and the grand
Heroic shoulders! Look what lost dreams lie
Cold in the fingers of that delicate hand;

And shut within those lyric lips what cry
Of unborn beauty sunk in utter night,
Lost world of song sealed in an unknown sky,

Never to be brought forth clothed on with light,
Was this, then, this the secret of his song—
Who ever loved that loved not at first sight?"

Then follows the scene of the brawl on the deck of the *Golden Hind* and the description of Marlowe's death, which Nash ends with the words: "Here on my breast, with one great sob he burst his heart and died."

"The Burial of a Queen" is the burial of Mary, Queen of Scots, at dead of night at Peterborough. The old sexton tells of the ghostly shadows in the vault, of the foreigner with the olive face and soft French words, who begs once more to look upon her face; of the dark catafalque with its inscription, "In my defense, God me defend," and of the voices of the host of heaven that bear her soul away. Aside from some few lyrics, this scene in the nave of Peterborough Cathedral, with its ghosts, shadows, and angels, is the finest poesy Noyes has written. The book closes with a tale of Raleigh, and here, as in "Drake," there is no cunning appeal to patriotism, or trick of stirring the blood that he has hesitated to use. It is—"Englande, Englande, Glory everlasting and lordship of the sea, that moves the soul of this maker of ballads and chanteys, who stirs us with the tread of armed men, with clanking of hoofs and horns blowing, and at last brings us to the more peaceful delight of a pipe and a cup of wine at the Mermaid Tavern where huge projects and mighty dreams go skittering in the blue smoke."

"The Daffodil Fields,"[2] a versified novel by John Masefield, shines with a steady glimmer among the poetical reapings for the month. It is filled with Masefield's own peculiar literary beauties that mark his passionate gift of simple utterance; the art to tell a simple tale and yet reflect all of heaven and earth within it as a pool of water reflects the sky.

Masefield's Daffodil Fields

"The Daffodil Fields" tells of the love of two men for a girl. Nicholas Grey, an English farmer, when he knows that he is near death gives the guardianship of his son Michael, a wild boy at school in Paris, to his closest friends, Charles Occleve and Rowland Keir. Occleve has a son, Lion, and Keir has a daughter, Mary. The two boys and the girl have been playmates since childhood. Lion is a quiet, grave young man, with features that give "promise of a brilliant mind." He is devoted to Mary, but Mary loves Michael. In his own light-hearted way Michael too loves Mary, but his desire for a broader life calls him to the cattle ranches of America, where he says "land is for the asking." Before he goes away to be gone three years, he swears constancy to his beloved in the "daffodil fields." For a time he writes to Mary, then there is silence between the lovers.

"Spring came again greening the hawthorn buds;
The shaking flowers new-blossomed seemed the same
And April put her riot in young bloods;
The jays flapped in the larch clump like blue flame.
She did not care; his letter never came.
Silent she went nursing the grief that kills
And Lion watched her pass among the daffodils."

When Lion, tender of heart, can no longer endure the grief of the deserted girl, he goes to

[1] Tales of the Mermaid Tavern. By Alfred Noyes. Stokes. 234 pp. $1.35.

[2] The Daffodil Fields. By John Masefield. Macmillan. 124 pp. $1.25.

America to bring Michael back, but he will not come. The free life of the plains suits him and a dark beauty with "eyes that burned" holds his fancy. When Lion returns and tells Mary the truth about Michael, her resistance to his suit breaks down and she consents to marry Lion. A newspaper clipping announcing Mary's marriage reaches Michael, who is already weary of the dark beauty and longing for his lost love. He goes back, like Enoch Arden, comes to her house and looks in the window. He does not see Mary th[illegible] so he creeps inside the house by stealth and [illegible] a scarf, an old keepsake, in Mary's ro[illegible] she will know he has returned, and [illegible] await her at the trysting pla[illegible] fields." She finds the scarf and [illegible] they renew their love and [illegible] Michael. They are han[illegible] in a mood of weaknes[illegible] to offer to give hi[illegible] of anger, torn [illegible] fights with M[illegible] the "daff[illegible] stanzas[illegible] grant[illegible]

"Th[illegible]

Bu[illegible]
R[illegible]
T[illegible]
[illegible]

Primroses, daffodils, and cu[illegible]
She bowed her singing h[illegible]
"Oh, it was sweet," s[illegible]
You were the dear[illegible]
Beloved, my b[illegible]
By you forev[illegible]
Now the[illegible]

...S AND MISCELLANY

...olume of ...ce,"[1] ...v.

Woman's Work

An exceedingly emotional book of personal life-history, "The Woman With Empty Hands,"[2] has attracted considerable attention as an argument for woman suffrage. It is the work of a well-known suffragette, but is published anonymously. The book ...n appeal in that it approaches the sub- ... standpoint of utility or of political ... but from the sentimental point ...e "woman with empty hands." ...nce, a young woman of intel- ...ilness is bereft of husband ...r aimlessness and acute ...Common Good of ...r woman means ...lled away like ...ion flooded ...ine and ...oman ...r for ...dren ...non ...d" ...ts ...o

includes, beyond husband and wife, a baby and a cook and a nursemaid. The book is readable and pleasantly written, but there does not seem to be the exudation of romance one might expect from such a title. Instead, the "beginning husband" discusses woman suffrage, sociology, and the cost of living.

Those who have had the good fortune to have a taste of English country life, will enjoy "The Odd Farmhouse,"[1] a delightful book published under the pseudonym of "The Odd Farmwife." An American couple decide to take a country farmhouse within fifty miles of London. They find their ideal in the village of Kynaston. "It lay in a dimple in the downs; all around it were meadows full of browsing sheep. A long, low Jacobean house of simple but beautiful lines, with a group of farm buildings clustered in the background." "An old English farmhouse, fourteen rooms, inside plumbing, an acre of garden, a coachhouse and stables, a trout stream and a tennis court." The narrative follows the furnishing of the house, the making of the garden, the holiday excursions, the excitement of cricket matches and conversation over the tea-cups; all the warm joy of noonday and the coolness of blue dusk, the names of flowers, quaint verses and leisurely delight in country life is poured into the pages. It is a little book-tour through English moorlands and rose gardens.

Rural England

The greater portion of "Youth and Life,"[2] by Randolph S. Bourne, has appeared in essay form in the *Atlantic Monthly*. These essays, together with considerable additional material, form a most agreeable book, which is offered as an "eloquent expression of youth aware of itself." This very quality of awareness constitutes a minor flaw in a work whose beauty of literary expression and delicate nuances of sentiment will recommend it to a large audience. There is a type of youth like that of Marie Bashkirtseff, that is utterly aware of its own preciousness and imperiousness; but this youth belongs to the genius alone; it is the highly bred intellectual who reveals this superb self-consciousness. For the average individual, middle age reveals in clear perspective the full values of the youth that lies behind. Mr. Bourne's essay, "The Adventure of Life," is rich with triumphant bravery; "The Experimental Life" emphasizes the value of life as an experimental laboratory: "The Philosophy of Handicap" is Emerson's "Compensation" in a new dress, and "The College, An Inner View" discusses the present period of transition in our colleges and universities—with some analysis of "the new spirit that the colleges seem to be propagating."

The Meaning of Youth

Prof. Irving Babbitt's "Masters of Modern French Criticism"[3] represents a valuable addition to our all too scanty store of American literary criticism. In his preface the author expresses the opinion that "to study the chief French critics of the nineteenth century is to get very close to the intellectual center of the age." And his work draws added value and interest from the fact that it is philosophical in its basis, being throughout related to the recent thought currents principally represented by the late William James and Professor Bergson. There is a very helpful bibliography.

French Criticism

The boyhood experiences of two American writers who have won distinction, each in his own special field, form the substance of two of the most attractive publications of the current season,—"The Story of My Boyhood and Youth,"[4] by John Muir, and "A Small Boy and Others,"[5] by Henry James. In the matter of environment, the two boys fared very differently. John Muir, having passed his earlier years in Scotland, came with his parents to America and plunged at once (a boy of eleven) into the hardships of frontier life in Wisconsin. In those mid-century years young James, five years the junior of Muir, was living a life of pampered ease, comparatively speaking, in New York City, which indeed was about as different from the metropolis of to-day as from the contemporary pioneer settlements of Wisconsin. Each of these "boys" of the '50's tells his story well and each story in its own way makes its appeal. John Muir was in training as naturalist and philosopher, Henry James as man of letters. In each case the achievements of mature life have fulfilled the promise of youth.

Two Boyhoods

"The Bend in the Road"[6] is the title of a volume of stimulating essays from the pen of Truman A. DeWeese. The aim of the book is to show the city man the way to health and contentment through the return to intimate relation with the soil. It tells him how he may acquire a small place in the country not far from the scene of his daily employment, and in many ways suggests the fuller meaning of what is known as the country life.

A Rural Home

Mr. Felix E. Schelling's brilliant pen has added a scholarly book, "The English Lyric,"[7] to the series of books treating of the field of English literature which are edited by William Allan Neilson of Harvard University. Three volumes previous to Mr. Schelling's book have been published and seven others are in preparation: "The Allegory," by Professor Neilson, "Literary Criticism," by Irving Babbitt; "The Short Story, Medieval and Modern," by W. M. Hart; "The Masque," by J. W. Cuncliffe; "The Saint's Legends," by G. H. Gerould; "Character Writing," by Chester N. Greenough, and "The Novel," by J. D. M. Ford. The series is intended as a "fairly comprehensive survey of our literature." The chapter of Mr. Schelling's book devoted to "The Lyric and the Romantic Revival" can scarcely be overpraised for its beauty of diction and lavish outpouring of knowledge.

The English Lyric

[1] The Odd Farmhouse. By The Odd Farmwife. Macmillan. 271 pp. $1.35.
[2] Youth and Life. By Randolph S. Bourne. Houghton, Mifflin. 365 pp. $1.50.
[3] The Masters of Modern French Criticism. By Irving Babbitt. Houghton, Mifflin Co. XI–427. $2.50.
[4] The Story of My Boyhood and Youth. By John Muir. Houghton, Mifflin. 294 pp., ill. $2.
[5] A Small Boy and Others. By Henry James. Scribners. 419 pp. $2.50.
[6] The Bend in the Road. By Truman A. DeWeese. Harpers. 209 pp., ill. $1.
[7] The English Lyric. By Felix E. Schelling. Houghton, Mifflin. 335 pp. $1.50.

A FEW OF THE SEASON'S NOVELS

ABOUT two years ago a powerful novel entitled "Predestined" appeared from the pen of a new writer, Stephen French Whitman, and was appreciatively noticed in these pages.

A New Story by Stephen Whitman

Mr. Whitman's second book, which he calls "The Isle of Life,"[1] fully sustains his reputation for literary work and well-built structure. The hero of this story is a singularly repellent person, who, however, contains in him what tradition and literature have come to recognize as the essentials of masculinity. Repulsed by the girl he loves, he seizes her in his arms and springs overboard from the deck of a Mediterranean steamer. He then swims with her to a small island off the coast of Sicily, she fighting like a cave woman against his admiration. In a cholera epidemic and a native rebellion he proves himself to be a real hero, and, in the end, compels, if ever the term were literally true, the admiration and love of the woman. There is some fine description, some brilliant conversation, and much that is stimulating.

The traditional English fling at Scotch character: "that it is an intimate mixture of caution and candor, of meanness and generosity, of complete reticence and intense loyalty"—occurs forcibly to the reader of two recently issued novels by the Findlater sisters: "Crossriggs"[2] and "Penny Monypenny."[3] Both these books show the intensive literary culture of a small garden. They are stories of Scotch dramatic life with much of the commonplace, some sordidness, a good deal of humor, pathos, and brotherly kindness, and all told with an adroit, yet gentle touch that suggests Stevenson.

Scottish Tales

"The Amateur Gentleman,"[4] to whom Mr. Jeffery Farnol introduces us in his first book since his fame was made by "The Broad Highway," is one Barnabas Barty, a country bred English youth of the early nineteenth century, son of a retired champion pugilist. With a fortune left him, he sets forth to London to become a gentleman. His adventures in dueling, romance, and love are the subject of the book, which is written with a rollicking good humor, wholesome sentiment and human instinct which characterized Mr. Farnol's preceding volume. There are some very impressive illustrations.

Mr. Farnol's Second Book

In "Child of Storm,"[5] Rider Haggard gives us another Allan Quatermain tale of South Africa. It is a book of adventure in peace and war, a theft of a thousand head of cattle, and exploits in the winning of a wife, including some of the deeds of a beautiful, malignant Zulu girl. The book shows Haggard's literary gifts, swiftness of movement, dramatic effect, and "the emotional fervor of the adolescent."

Rider Haggard's Latest

[1] The Isle of Life. By Stephen French Whitman. Scribner's. 498 pp. $1.35.
[2] Crossriggs. By Mary and Jane Findlater. Dutton. 361 pp. $1.35.
[3] Penny Monypenny. By Mary and Jane Findlater. Dutton. 408 pp. $1.35.
[4] The Amateur Gentlemen. By Jeffery Farnol. Little, Brown. 625 pp., ill. $1.40.
[5] Child of Storm. By H. Rider Haggard. Longmans, Green. 335 pp., ill. $1.35.

An unusual story is "John Cave,"[6] by W. B. Trites. Its subject is not a pleasant one. It is the story of a rather unattractive American newspaper man, who has many unpleasant experiences while becoming convinced that sordidness does not pay. He had a soul "too timid to destroy itself, too weak to uplift from the morass its weight of flesh in sustained flight." There is a beautiful, pure and angelic "Diana" and an unfortunate but very attractive "Prudence," who "had not always been as she ought to have been." The story is told with a powerful, realistic directness which suggests the Russian masters in its pessimism and the French in its artistry of style.

A Pessimistic Novel

The Southern woman's heart history since the Civil War is the real theme of Ellen Glasgow's "Virginia."[7] As the Old Dominion epitomizes, to many American minds, the entire South, so this woman having the Old Dominion's name represents the great sisterhood in its changing environment,—those women whose fathers and brothers fought in the great war and who have survived to do their part in working out a new civilization on Southern soil, under changed conditions. Miss Glasgow's novel has been described as an historical work. Such it truly is; it embodies the very essence of history.

Three American Novels

"The Heart of the Hills,"[8] is the most recent accession to Mr. John Fox, Jr.'s rapidly growing list of Kentucky mountain tales. Readers of "The Trail of the Lonesome Pine" and "The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come" will not be disappointed in the new story. Three things can be said of all Mr. Fox's novels: They are strong; they are clean; they are never dull.

John Luther Long surveys the conflict of the '60's from a new angle in his latest story, "War."[9] The narrative is supposed to come from the lips of a loyal old Marylander of German descent, who relates the fortunes of his two sturdy sons, one of whom fought under the Stars and Stripes, the other under the flag of the Confederacy, and of the woman with whom each was in love. There is less fighting than love in the tale and the deliberate tactics of the two brothers in the early period of the war put the reader's patience to a rather severe test. Later they give a good account of themselves in battle and as a tragic outcome one dies by the other's hand. There is originality in the story, and a notably human quality.

A batch of unusually interesting and well-handled short stories comes to us with all the glamour of the names of Joseph Conrad, Maurice Hewlett, Perceval Gibbon and Jane Findlater. Mr. Conrad's three tales: "A Smile of Fortune," "The Secret Sharer," and "Freya of the Seven Isles,"

Short Stories

[6] John Cave. By W. V. Trites. Duffield. 297 pp. $1.25.
[7] Virginia. By Ellen Glasgow. Doubleday, Page. 526 pp. $1.25.
[8] The Heart of the Hills. By John Fox, Jr. Scribners. 396 pp., ill. $1.35.
[9] War. By John Luther Long. Bobbs Merrill. 371 pp., ill. $1.30.

which he has grouped under the general title "'Twixt Land and Sea,"[1] are in his best, most characteristic vein. A strong man writing of strong men with strong passions, but with an unerring insight, and a delicacy and balance that rivals Dickens and Thackeray, Mr. Conrad has already come into his own. These tales are all of barbaric coasts of the sea, yet chiefly of men's emotions on the sea. Particularly strong is "Freya of the Seven Isles."

In "Lore of Proserpine"[2] Mr. Hewlett writes ten fanciful tales of fairies, oreads, wind sprites, and other intangible beings, who, in his fancy, in some way or other always have love affairs with mortals. He half admits, in his preface, that in so doing he is trying to make English mythology. The stories have a haunting, beautiful flavor about them, and "A Summary Chapter" is the most fanciful of all.

Again we have some "Adventures of Miss Gregory."[3] This lady, as readers of Perceval Gibbon know, knocks about the world, and wherever she goes is always in the thick of things. She seems to attract adventure to her. While always remaining feminine, she somehow manages to do masculine things, and Mr. Gibbon tells us these things in very entertaining fashion.

Very few, if any, recent writers can make glow before the reader's eyes the atmosphere of lowland Scotland as the Findlater sisters, Mary and Jane. "Penny Monypenny" and "Crossriggs," from the joint pens of these Scotch writers, are noted on the preceding page. The collection of "Seven Scots Stories,"[4] however, which contains some of the best writing, is by Jane alone. These stories, "The Bairn-Keeper," "The Tattie-Bogle," "Ower Young to Marry Yet," "Charlie Over the Water," "Mysie Had a Little Lamb," "The Deil's Money," and "The Love Bairn," are full of the grave and gay, delicate touches that characterize all of the Findlater style. They are soaked with much of the same spirit that made Barrie and Crocker so popular.

THE FINDLATER SISTERS, MARY AND JANE
(Whose three recent books of fiction are noticed this month)

ART AND THE DRAMA

MR. HENRY ARTHUR JONES in "The Foundations of a National Drama,"[5] handles the intellectual inferiority of the English and the American drama with searching analysis and brilliant criticism. He thinks our playwrights supply the stage simply with bright, clever tomfoolery, that our plays are divorced from literature and are so far from life as to be filled with "little sniggering indecencies and ribaldries" which seem "far more degrading than the broadest, frankest Rabelaisian mirth; or than the bold and fearless handling of the darker side of human nature which is so loudly reviled in our realistic plays." He notes that there is an utter absence from our stage of sane and intelligible ideas about morality. He believes that not until the religious dread of the theater is conquered and it takes its proper place with sister arts and as a franchised place of amusement and education for "reasonable, respectable people," then and not until then, can our drama rise to its highest development and a national drama come into secure existence. The material of this book—lectures, essays and speeches—was delivered and written in the years 1896-1912. It forms the most comprehensive and thorough statement before the public as to the past and future of drama and the stage, and of the relation of the drama to art and to life.

The Drama of Life

"Sardou and the Sardou Plays"[6] is a clear, vigorous study and critical estimate of the life and work of Victorien Sardou, by Jerome Hart. The book is divided into three parts; the first is a biographical sketch; the second is made up of the synopsis and analysis of the Sardou plays, with copious quotations; the third is devoted to the Sardou plays in the United States.

A Sketch of Sardou

Very little has been previouly written about the actual life of the dramatist. Mr. Hart has given the story of his boyhood, his early struggles and failures, his literary and dramatic growth, with exceeding detail. The young Sardou had a glimpse of the Revolution of 1848 and it is interesting to know that on the morning of June 24th, when the Sardou household was fearfully preparing for flight from the thick of battle, the young Victorien "from time to time rushed up to his room to write in his diary thinking it might be valuable to me some day." The Sardou plays produced in this country are too well known for need of comment. To those who desire a full knowledge of the life

[1] 'Twixt Land and Sea. By Joseph Conrad. Doran. 287 pp. $1.25.
[2] Lore of Proserpine. By Maurice Hewlett. Scribner's. 245 pp. $1.35.
[3] The Adventures of Miss Gregory. By Perceval Gibbon. Putnam. 336 pp., ill. $1.35.
[4] Seven Scots Stories. By Jane Findlater. Dutton 339 pp., ill. $1.35.
[5] The Foundations of a National Drama. By Henry Arthur Jones. Doran. 358 pp. $2.50.
[6] Sardou and the Sardou Plays. By Jerome A Hart. Lippincott. 403 pp., ill. $2.50.

and work of the great French dramatist, this book will be invaluable.

Art Handbooks

Recent handbooks on art include a critical study and biography of the great French Realist, Gustave Courbet,[1] by Leonce Benedite, Curator of the Luxembourg Gallery and Professor at the Ecole du Louvre. It is a brilliant and exhaustive study of Courbet as man and artist. There are forty-eight illustrations reproducing his principal paintings. "British Pictures and Their Painters"[2] by E. V. Lucas, is an anecdotal guide to the British section of the National Gallery. It is a handy volume for the tourist and art-lover compiled with taste and skill. Another book on the National Gallery[3] by J. E. Crawford Flitch treats of its masterpieces by artists of various nationalities more from the historical viewpoint. Both books are copiously illustrated.

"The Louvre,"[4] a book by E. E. Richards, while more literary in its general plan, performs the office of a general guide to the Louvre and its contents "One Hundred Masterpieces"[5] by the late John LaFarge, describes in detail one hundred paintings that are interesting to the general public as records of certain art influences, or as personal records, or as commemorating great events that have made history. The text is simply and clearly written, the book is well made and printed and illustrated with photographic reproductions of the "masterpieces" in question.

BOOKS ABOUT EDUCATION

A Teachers' Cyclopedia

PERHAPS the most ambitious reference work now in course of publication in this country is the Macmillan "Cyclopedia of Education,"[6] edited by Professor Paul Monroe, of the Teachers College, Columbia University. The fourth volume[7] of this work, covering titles in the alphabetical arrangement from "lib" to "pol," has now come from the press. Like its predecessors, it contains a great number of useful articles on topics which, in many instances, are not satisfactorily treated in other works accessible to the general public. Pains have been taken to bring the information closely up to date, and the remarkable changes that have characterized the advance of higher education in the United States during the past decade are well brought in these articles.

Theory and Practice

Three recent publications dealing with educational theory and practice from the American point of view are Dr. Paul Klapper's "Principles of Educational Practice,"[8] "Educational Administration,"[9] by George Drayton Strayer and Edward L. Thorndike, of Teachers College, and "Problems in Modern Education,"[10] by William S. Sutton, of the University of Texas. Each of these books has its special value for the student of education, the second being particularly concerned with the actual workings of our modern school system, giving critical studies of school records and reports and a great number of statistical illustrations. Dr. Klapper's book covers the whole field of educational theory, while the addresses and essays of Professor Sutton have to do not so much with abstract ideals as with the application of her recognized educational principles to the solution of modern school problems.

College and University

In view of the fact that students and teachers in every State in the Union are interested in the Rhodes Scholarships at Oxford, it was a happy suggestion that led Dr. George R. Parkin, the organizing secretary of the Rhodes Scholarship Trust, to summarize this experience gained in that position in the form of a statement of facts regarding the scholarship system. This has now been done in a volume entitled "The Rhodes Scholarships,"[11] brought out by the Houghton, Mifflin Company. This is a book of practical information for teachers, candidates, and committees of selection. It makes many interesting suggestions for making the most of the specific opportunities at Oxford.

Clayton Sedgwick Cooper's "Why Go to College?"[12] gives the results of ten years of observation among American college men and many months spent in visiting the leading educational institutions of Europe and the East. It is a vivid and sympathetic appreciation of American college life.

Junior Republics

"Citizens Made and Remade"[13] is the significant title of an interpretation of the meaning and influence of the George Junior Republics, by William R. George and Lyman Beecher Stowe. The work and growth of the original Republic at Freeville, N. Y., is familiar to readers of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS. The history of the institution has already been written by Mr. George in a volume entitled "The Junior Republic," published several years ago. The present work seeks to interpret the significance of all such training, with an outline of a practical method by which principles, already proved notably successful in the reformation of boys and girls, may be applied to law-breaking adults.

[1] Gustave Courbet. By Leonce Benedite. J. B. Lippincott Co. 96 pp., ill. $1.
[2] British Pictures and Their Painters. By E. V. Lucas. Macmillan Company. 264 pp., ill. $1.25.
[3] The National Gallery. By J. E. Crawford Flitch. Small, Maynard & Co. 144 pp., ill. 75 cents.
[4] The Louvre. By E. E. Richards. Small, Maynard & Co. 171 pp., ill. 75 cents.
[5] One Hundred Masterpieces of Painting. By John LaFarge. Doubleday, Page & Co. 400 pp., ill. $5.00.
[6] Cyclopedia of Education. Vol. III. Edited by Paul Monroe. Macmillan. 682 pp. $5.
[7] Cyclopedia of Education. Vol. IV. Edited by Paul Monroe. Macmillan. 740 pp. $5.
[8] Principles of Educational Practice. By Paul Klapper. Appleton. 485 pp. $1.75.
[9] Educational Administration. By George D. Strayer and Edward L. Thorndike. Macmillan. 391 pp. $2.
[10] Problems in Modern Education. By William S. Sutton. Boston: Sherman, French. 257 pp. $1.35.
[11] The Rhodes Scholarships. By George R. Parkin. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 250 pp. $2.
[12] Why Go to College? By Clayton S. Cooper. Century. 212 pp., ill. $1.50.
[13] Citizens Made and Remade. By William R. George and Lyman Beecher Stowe. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 265 pp., ill. $1.25.

Art in Schools

Under the title "Art Museums and Schools,"[1] Scribner's have published lectures delivered at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, in New York, as a course for teachers. The object of the lecturers, Dr. Stockton Axson, Kenyon Cox, President G. Stanley Hall, and Dr. Oliver S. Tonks, was to show instructors in various departments of school work how the Museum collections of work might be useful in connection with the teaching of their subjects. The lecturers demonstrated the great power of an art museum for making vivid to the pupil various branches of study. Dr. Axson showed the value of art museums to teachers of English; Kenyon Cox spoke of their use by teachers of art; President Hall showed how art museums offer opportunities to teachers of history; and Dr. Tonks dwelt on their importance to teachers of classics. Helpful coöperation between schools and museums should be furthered by the wide circulation of these lectures.

DR. MARIA MONTESSORI

The Training of Children

Dr. Maria Montessori's methods of child education have created quite a sensation in kindergarten circles, and her book, "The Montessori Method," has already run through many editions in English. Quite a number of volumes about the Montessori method by thoughtful teachers who have tried it are now coming from the press. "A Montessori Mother,"[2] by Dorothy Canfield Fisher, aims to tell just what American mothers and teachers would like to know about the new system of child training. Mrs. Fisher spent considerable time in Rome recently in close personal touch with Dr. Montessori herself. It was in answer, she says, to the question, tell us about Montessori, when she returned, that she wrote this little volume. She visited Casa dei Bambini, the Montessori school, and observed there the workings of the method of this Italian teacher—"the method of flexible and unhampered individual growth," and its superiority to "the hierarchic rigidity of our system of education with its inexorable advance along fixed foreordained lines."

"A Guide to the Montessori Method,"[3] by Ellen Yale Stevens, with illustrations, is a more detailed study of the method. Mrs. Stevens also spent some months in personal confererce with Dr. Montessori in Rome.

"The Diary of a Free Kindergarten"[4] in a half forgotten corner of Edinburgh has been written up sympathetically by Lileen Hardy. Kate Douglas Wiggin has written an introduction. There are a number of illustrations from photographs taken by the author.

Two recently issued books on boy training are particularly suggestive and entertaining. "That Boy of Yours,"[5] by James S. Kirtley, is a series of sympathetic studies of boyhood written for the kindred, guardians, teachers and neighbors of the boy. Mr. Kirtley, who calls himself an ex-boy, says that there are no bad boys, bad boys are manufactured by misunderstanding. He traces all phases of the boy subject, because he says, "my frequent lapses into the estate of boyhood have been among the most inspiring and refreshing experiences of my life." In "Training the Boy,"[6] William A. McKeever, Professor of Philosophy in Kansas State Agricultural College, believes that ignorance of boy life is responsible for more money spent on reformatory institutions than any other one fact. "Train the whole boy" is his motto. The book is illustrated from photographs.

A delightful little book on childhood, with a new turn to it, is "The American Child."[7] The author, Elizabeth McCracken, has no patience with the criticism and disapproval of the American child and his ways and manners. "After all," she says, "the American child is a very nice one." The book is full of charming pictures—pictures in word and photograph.

"The Posture of School Children,"[8] by Jessie H. Bancroft, Assistant Director in Physical Training in the New York City Public Schools, is a consideration of posture in its larger sense: "the habitual carriage of the body, particularly in the erect position." The book is illustrated.

[1] Art Museums and Schools. By Stockton Axson, Kenyon Cox, G. Stanley Hall and Oliver S. Tonks. Scribner's. 144 pp. $1.

[2] A Montessori Mother. By Dorothy Canfield Fisher. Holt. 240 pp., ill. $1.25.

[3] A Guide to the Montessori Method. By Ellen Yale Stevens. Stokes. 240 pp., ill. $1.

[4] The Diary of a Kindergarten. By Lileen Hardy. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 175 pp., ill. $1.

[5] That Boy of Yours. By James S. Kirtley. Doran. 250 pp. $1.

[6] Training the Boy. By William A. McKeever. Macmillan. 368 pp., ill. $1.50.

[7] The American Child. By Elizabeth McCracken. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 191 pp., ill. $1.25.

[8] The Posture of School Children. By Jessie H. Bancroft. Macmillan. 327 pp., ill. $1.50.

FINANCIAL NEWS FOR THE INVESTOR

DISTASTEFUL as the continued decline in high-grade bonds has been to the individuals and institutions owning them, there is no denying the opportunity which confronts prospective buyers. Not in many years has it been possible to secure such a large variety of sound investments with such uniformly high returns as now. Of course, if the decline in prices undermined the safety of bonds or foreshadowed a general inability to pay principal when due there would be no point to these remarks. But a moment's reflection shows that safety is not at present the question at issue.

It is a simple matter to pick out here and there one or two old and formerly well-regarded railroad stocks, such as the New Haven, or the preferred shares of several of the newer industrial companies, the current quotations for which indicate lower dividends. Indeed, there are several highly speculative railroad bonds which fall in the same class. But these are marked exceptions. They are numerically insignificant. Investment securities as a whole are suffering from world conditions involving capital. If it were only the bonds of a small town in this or that State, one might suspect the ability of the town treasurer or the wisdom of the village fathers. But when the same conditions apply to the securities of New York City, Philadelphia, and Berlin; to British Consols; to bonds of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul and Baltimore and Ohio Railroads; to the stock of the Pennsylvania Railroad and to practically every standard municipal and railroad bond, the same simple explanation does not explain.

Perhaps the uppermost topic in financial circles has to do with the high returns which the City of New York and the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway have felt obliged to offer investors on their recent bond issues. The apparent widening gap between investment income and living expense and the international strain on capital are not to be discussed in detail here. Not but what they are practical questions. No other economic subjects touch us all so closely. But whether these conditions last, or whether they pass away, which is much more in accordance with economic history, the practical problem of personal investment remains the same, namely, how may you and I find safe securities which yield the highest possible return consistent with that safety?

Under present conditions, the $40 interest on a $1000 bond does not buy anything like as much as it once did. Consequently, the prices of bonds have fallen and those who buy them now really obtain more than $40 a year. Corporations selling new bonds must either make bargain prices or pay much more than $40, which is one and the same thing. Investment bankers in offering bonds seek to make out lists which yield as high returns as possible, and they often suggest exchanges of low interest bearing securities for those of higher yield. Their investigators make painstaking efforts to discover bonds which are selling at low prices because they were not thoroughly distributed to begin with, or for other reasons which do not affect the real value of the security. It is getting to be more and more customary for bankers to make up lists of say five or six bonds, the average return on which is about 5 per cent. These might be called combination offers. What one bond lacks in marketability another makes up. One is perhaps safer than another but yields less. Great ingenuity is shown in these combinations and they deserve the investor's closest attention.

One firm offers five bonds, the average return on which is over 5 per cent. There is one State and one minor government bond in the group, a minor railroad issue, one public utility, and one industrial. This list affords great variety, which strengthens the element of safety. Still another list consists entirely of railroad securities, combining absolute safety, fairly high yield, and easy marketability,—a remarkably attractive combination. The chief drawback is that one of the securities runs for only a year, another runs for only three years, and still a third matures in eight years. A further drawback is that one of the securities can be had only in $5000 denominations. But the combination of high yield, unquestioned safety, and easy marketability is so unusual and so distinctly modern that the list is worth reproducing for those who do not object to the trouble of early reinvestment:

Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway Company General Mortgage 4½ per cent. Gold Bonds, due May 1, 1989.....	to yield 4.52 per cent.
Northern Pacific-Great Northern Joint Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Collateral 4 per cent. Bonds due July 1, 1921.	to yield 4.80 per cent.
Pennsylvania Railroad Company Convertible Debenture 3½ per cent. Bonds, due October 1, 1915.....	to yield 5.00 per cent.
New York Central & Hudson River Railroad Company One-year 5 per cent. Notes, due April 21, 1914.....	to yield 4.85 per cent.
Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company Convertible 4½ per cent. Gold Bonds, due March 1, 1933.....	to yield 5.07 per cent.
Average yield.....	4.85 per cent.

A third list is even more suggestive in several of its features. The six bonds average 4.94 per cent. and consist of two municipals, three public utilities and one industrial. The large number of public utilities afford safety and high yield. Possibly the most interesting feature, however, is that two municipal bonds are included. This raises a point which has not been sufficiently called to the attention of investors recently: namely, the present attractiveness of municipal bonds.

Writers on investment subjects have failed to emphasize the extent to which the bonds of States, counties, cities, and towns have been affected by general conditions of capital. So much has been said and written about railroad bonds in this connection that other classes have been overlooked. Yet municipals have felt the strain upon capital fully as much as railroad securities. Officials of both large and small cities have recently been surprised to find how difficult it is to sell bonds at par with an interest rate of 4¼ per cent. Many such sales have been advertised without bringing out a single bid. There has been nothing wrong with the credit of these cities although their securities have gone begging.

As a class, municipal bonds are rated as probably the most substantial of investment securities. Much care must be exercised in selecting municipals, but there are many experienced firms whose long experience in this field make their selections highly dependable for the investor. Not only in New York and Boston are there numerous important banking firms which specialize in this class of security, but the extensive offerings of municipals made by several of the better Chicago and St. Louis houses are indeed remarkable. Municipals are now being offered by reputable firms to yield upward of 4¾ per cent., and the variety of these bonds, especially in the West, which return more than 4¼ per cent. is such that no investor need find it impossible to make a choice.

TYPICAL INQUIRIES AND ANSWERS

No. 453. NOTES, "MUNICIPALS," AND PUBLIC UTILITIES

What kind of securities shall I buy that would be most likely to be saleable at any time, in case I should need to convert into cash, and that would give me at the same time, the best rate of interest? I sometimes have the chance to buy municipal bonds issued by small cities and villages at a higher rate of interest than those of larger ones. What is the reason for this? Have the issues of smaller cities caused the investor more trouble than the others? Have municipal bonds always proved good investments? Which is the better practice, to buy from a reliable dealer or to buy wherever the best rate is obtainable? Are public service corporation bonds, as a general rule, good?

The most satisfactory securities for the investor, who foresees the possibility of having to convert his holdings into cash quickly, are short term bonds and notes. These may be of the railroad, industrial, or public utility type, secured or unsecured. They offer income, ranging from 4¼ to 4½ per cent. on the best railroad serial equipment trusts, to 6 per cent. on unsecured industrial or public utility notes. As a class, municipal bonds have proved excellent investments. Output considered, there have been relatively fewer defaults, principal or interest, on municipals than on any other type of securities, excepting State and Government issues, of course. One municipal bond may sell on a higher basis of income than another because it has behind it less security, or municipal credit that is not so well established. But, as a rule, the difference in yield between the issues of small cities and villages and those of larger ones is due merely to the fact that the former are, naturally, not as well known and are the least readily convertible. The question of market aside, the most desirable investment issues are frequently found among those of small prosperous communities. Unless you have facilities for investigating personally all of the antecedents of a municipal bond, in order to be assured of the legality of the issue, etc.,—and few investors have such facilities that are at all adequate—it is unquestionably the better practice to invest through some reliable and experienced investment banking house. Public service corporation bonds have been extremely popular among investors for the last few years. In general, they have proved very satisfactory, but there is need for careful discrimination in buying them. They present a wide range of quality—all the way from the highly speculative to the gilt-

edged and strictly conservative security. The best issues of this type offer income of about five per cent.

No. 454. BALANCING AN INVESTMENT LIST

I now have, in addition to twenty shares each of two 6 per cent. public utility preferred stocks, three bonds of an Ohio public service corporation, ten shares of one of the newer industrial preferred issues, and one 6 per cent. industrial bond, the following listed securities, ten shares each of Swift & Company, Atchison common, Northern Pacific, General Electric and American Telephone & Telegraph. I shall have a little more money to invest shortly, and would like to have you tell me what would balance up what I already have, and also give me your opinion of my present list. What is your opinion of Rumely preferred and common? I would like to get as much as 6 per cent. on my investment. I do not wish to jump in where I may lose, but I have faith that the country is not going up in smoke in my time, and will take a little chance on it.

It strikes us that you already have a pretty well balanced list of investments. To carry out the principle of diversification a little bit farther, there are two types of securities, in particular, to which you might turn your attention now, namely, sound railroad bonds, which are at a general level of prices that makes them more attractive from the point of view of income than they have been in several years; and to straight real estate mortgages. You could not expect to get as much as 6 per cent. on high class railroad bonds, even under prevailing market conditions, but with judicious selection you should be able to get 5 per cent. and a good quality of underlying security. On the mortgages, however, you could get 6 without taking much chance. The only thing about the latter type of securities that might possibly make it unattractive to you is that it does not offer ready convertibility. Mortgages, as a class, are best suited to the needs of investors, who want to put money away permanently for income. We should not consider it advisable for you to make any commitments in the Rumely shares at this time. Their recent decline probably discounted to a large extent the temporary omission of dividends on both preferred and common, recently announced, but until the financial problems with which the company is confronted are more definitely worked out by the bankers there will continue to be more risk in buying the shares than we believe you would care to assume.

No. 455. BONDS AND PREFERRED STOCKS

We have received some money from an estate, which we are desirous of investing in a sound security, so that some day we may be able to use it for another purpose. We have been advised to buy the bonds of a Southern enterprise which are offered with a bonus of common stock. These bonds pay 7 per cent. I know that you frown on 7 per cent. money, but would like to have your opinion on this particular investment. I have used the word "bonds," but it may be that it is preferred stock. However, it's all one and the same.

We do not frown upon *all* 7 per cent. securities, but if we get the right impression of the ones you have under consideration from the rather meager details you give, we are frank to say that we should be inclined to frown upon them, at least for your purposes. We believe, in other words, that you should be able to find something a great deal more suitable, especially in view of the fact that you seem not to have been careful in discriminating between bonds and preferred stock. It isn't, by any means, "all one and the same," as you say. You should understand that the ownership of the one kind of security makes you a creditor of the issuing corporation, entitled to receive fixed interest, and giving you legal recourse, in case the interest isn't paid; whereas the ownership of the other kind of security makes you just a partner in the enterprise, entitled to receive a specified share of the profits in the form of dividends, but leaving you without recourse, in case there are no profits, or in case the directors should happen to decide that what profits there were ought to be used in some other manner. For an inexperienced investor, bonds that are really bonds, are best, not to mention real estate mortgages which are more readily available to the small individual investor nowadays than they used to be.

No. 456. ROCK ISLAND STOCK AND BONDS

I note that in the April number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS, in one place you speak of the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific refunding 4 per cent. bonds as a safe investment for a part of a woman's funds, while in another place you speak of the stock of the Rock Island road as a dangerous stock for the small investor. Are they two separate roads? Would you consider it wise to invest a portion of a trust fund in the Rock Island bonds? I received a list of securities recently in which they were mentioned. I am also offered the 4½ per cent. bonds of a Pacific Coast municipality at about par. These are said to be legal for savings banks and trustees in New York. Is there any choice between these two investments?

The Rock Island stock to which reference was made as dangerous is not the stock of an operating railroad at all, but of a holding company whose securities are twice removed from the railroad itself. The bonds are the obligations of the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railway, the company which actually owns and operates the property on which the bonds are secured. The bonds in question are, moreover, a first mortgage on a substantial part of the property, and they are legal investments for savings banks and trustees in New York State. They are good bonds, selling at present on an unusually attractive basis of net income, but, if you were thinking of putting all the money available for investment into one security, we think, the better choice would be the municipal bonds you refer to. On the other hand, if you were thinking of dividing the fund among different kinds of securities—as, in fact, it would be highly desirable for you to do—a part might go into the Rock Island bonds to help keep the average rate of income slightly above five cent.

No. 457. MUNICIPAL "IMPROVEMENT" BONDS

Will you kindly give me your opinion on the municipal bonds described in the enclosed circular. Why should they pay 6 per cent., when other issues of the same city, paying only 5 per cent. are successfully floated?

The fundamental reason why bonds of the general class of those described yield as much as 6 per cent is that they are not municipal bonds in the strict sense of the term. In other words, they are not the direct obligations of the issuing municipality backed up by its general credit, but depend for security of their principal and interest upon the tax-paying ability of property situated within the special district, for whose improvement the bonds are issued. They are similar in many respects to issues sometimes referred to as special assessment bonds. They have a pretty good record for safety, but not as good as straight municipals. In our judgment they are not, as a class, strictly conservative investments, and we think that any investor going into them should be at some pains to investigate carefully all of the circumstances connected with their issuance. We have sometimes suggested this type of bond to mix in with other more conservative securities with the idea of bringing the average of the net income on the whole investment up to a higher rate than might otherwise be obtained with safety.

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